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assisted by
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A LATE EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR

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To

MARIE ČERNÝ

with my affection and gratitude

Dust as we are, the immortal spirit grows
Like harmony in music; there is a dark
Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
Discordant elements. (Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, I. 340).

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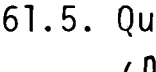
61.5. Questions introduced by  (,), *ist* and , *is* . 556
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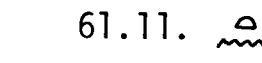
61.11.  , *tnw*, 'where?' . 559
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abb.	Papyrus Abbott in Peet, *Tomb Robberies*.
Acta Or.	*Acta Orientalia*; Leiden, 1923-.
Adoption	A. H. Gardiner, "Adoption Extraordinary," *JEA* 26 (1940), p. 23-29.
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*; Chicago, 1895-1941.
Allam	Schafik Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Band I - Tafelteil; Tübingen, 1973.
Ancient Egypt	*Ancient Egypt*; London, 1914-1935.
Ann. Serv.	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*; Cairo, 1900-.
AZ	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*; Leipzig, 1863-.
Behnk, *Amarna-Grammatik*	F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna*; Paris, 1930.
Beziehungen	W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Äg. Abh. 5); Wiesbaden, 1962.
Bib. Or.	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*; Leiden, 1943-.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*; Cairo, 1901-.
BM	British Museum (followed by a papyrus or ostracon number; from Peet, *Tomb Robberies* unless otherwise stated).
Botti-Peet, *Giornale*	G. Botti and T. E. Peet, *Il Giornale della necropoli di Tebe*; Turin, 1928.
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*; Brussels, 1925-.

Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.*	J. Černý, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*; *Ostraca hiératiques*; Cairo, 1935.
Černý, *Ostr. DM*	J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*; Cairo, 1935-1970.
Crum	W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*; Oxford, 1939.
Crum Studies	*Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum (The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, 2)*; Boston, 1950.
Daressy, *Ostr. Cairo*	M. G. Daressy, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*; *Ostraca*; Cairo, 1901.
DME	Faulkner, *A concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*; Oxford, 1962.
L'Egyptologie en 1979	*L'Egyptologie en 1979; Axes prioritaires de recherches,* Tome I; Paris, 1962.
Erman, *NAG*	A. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* (2nd Edition); Leipzig, 1933.
GG	A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd Edition); London, 1957.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*; Göttingen, 1972-.
Gottingen	*Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*; Göttingen, 1894-.
Griffith, *Stories*	F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*; Oxford, 1900.
Groll, *Negative*	S. I. Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian*, London, 1970.
Groll, *Non-verbal*	S. I. Groll, *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian*; London 1967.
Gunn, *Studies*	B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, Paris, 1924.
Hierat. Pap.	*Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*: III; Leipzig, 1911.

Hintze, *Untersuchungen*	F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*; Berlin, 1950.
HO	J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I*; Oxford, 1957.
IFAO	L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*	T. G. H. James, *The Ḥeḳanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*; New York, 1962.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven, 1851-.
JEA	*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; London, 1914-.
JEOL	*Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"*; Leiden, 1933-.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; Chicago, 1942-.
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*; Manchester, 1956-.
LES	A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*; Brussels, 1932.
LRL	J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*; Brussels, 1939.
Mayer	T. E. Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A and B*, London, 1920.
MDIAK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts fur Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*; Augsburg, 1930-.
Mes	A. H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*; Leipzig, 1905 (in K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* IV).
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*; Berlin, 1953-.
Muséon	*Le Muséon*; Louvain, 1882-.

NÄS	H. Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien* (Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band 6); Wien, 1976.
Naunakhte	J. Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents," *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 29-53.
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*; Berlin, 1898-.
Or.	*Orientalia*; Rome, 1920-.
Ostr.	Ostracon.
Ostr. Berlin	From Hierat. Pap. unless otherwise stated.
P.	Papyrus.
P. Anastasi VI	A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*; Brussels, 1937, p. 72-78.
P. Anastasi VIII	*Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*; London, 1844, pl. CXL-CXLII.
P. Berlin	From Hierat. Pap. unless otherwise stated.
P. Boulaq	Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*; Paris, 1871-1876. For P. Boulaq 10, rt. see now Allam, p. 88-89.
P. Jud. Turin	T. Devéria, *Le papyrus judiciaire de Turin et les papyrus Lee et Rollin*; Paris, 1868.
P. Lee	T. Devéria, *Le papyrus judiciaire de Turin et les papyrus Lee et Rollin*; Paris, 1868.
P. Leiden I	J. J. Janssen, "Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 41 (1960), 31-47.
P. Leop. Am.	J. Capart, A. H. Gardiner and B. van de Walle, "New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies," *JEA* 22 (1936), 169-193.
P. Mallet	G. Maspero, *Rec. Trav.* 1 (1870), 47-59.
P. Rollin	T. Devéria, *Le papyrus judiciaire de Turin et les papyrus Lee et Rollin*; Paris, 1868.

P. Salt 124	J. Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)," *JEA* 15 (1929), p. 243-258.
P. Strassburg	W. Spiegelberg, "Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibe," *AZ* 53 (1917), 1-30.
PDM	J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, Tome 1 (DFIFAO 8); Le Caire, 1978.
Peet, *Tomb Robberies*	T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*; Oxford, 1930.
Personennamen	H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. II; Glückstadt, 1935.
Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*	W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin* (Planches); Leiden, 1869-1876.
Plumley, *Grammar*	J. M. Plumley, *An Introductory Coptic Grammar*; London, 1948.
Polotsky, *Études*	H. J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*; Cairo, 1944.
Polotsky, *Papers*	H. J. Polotsky, *Collected Papers*; Jerusalem, 1971.
Polotsky Studies	*Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky*; Jerusalem, 1964.
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; London 1878-1918.
RAD	A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*; London, 1948.
RdE	*Revue d'Égyptologie*; Paris, 1933-.
Rec. Trav.	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et a l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*; Paris, 1870-1923.
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*; Hamburg, 1974-.
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Sethe, *Zahlen*	K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern und was für andere Völker und Sprachen daraus zu lernen ist*; Strassburg, 1916.
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Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*	W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*; Heidelberg, 1925.
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Thacker, *Relationship*	T. W. Thacker, *The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems*; Oxford, 1954.
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Till, *Grammatik*	W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (3rd Edition); Leipzig, 1966.
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WB	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*; Leipzig, 1926-1963.
Wente, *LRL*	E. F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*; Chicago, 1967.
Wente, *Verbs of Motion*	E. F. Wente, *The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian*; Doctoral Dissertation, Chicago, 1959.
Wilbour	A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II & IV; Oxford, 1948-52.
Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses*	M. R. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic*; The Hague, 1970.
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INTRODUCTION

A few months after Professor J. Černý's death I was commissioned by the Management Committee of the Griffith Institute to use the material which he had collected for a Late Egyptian Grammar in order to compile a memorial volume to him. I had before me two groups of sources: Group 1 was the notebooks of various Egyptologists who had attended Professor Černý's lectures; Dr. I.E.S. Edwards; R. Caminos; R. Parker; C. Spaull; J.M. Plumley; H.W. Fairman; J. Harris. The 2nd Group was the material collected in Professor Černý's own notebooks from 1943-1970 in preparation for the grammar. Helen Murray, the archivist of the Griffith Institute has arranged Professor Černý's notebooks in the following way:

Černý MSS 20

1. The earliest edition, in Czech, of Černý's Late Egyptian Grammar, with additional pages in English on the "use of *sḏm-f* in Pap. Mayer A".

2-3. Edition in English and French of Late Egyptian Grammar verb-forms in 6 notebooks. Additional pages on Relative Clauses, Imperative and Participles not numbered by Černý.

4. Late Egyptian Grammar 1-145 in English copied by Caminos in 1950 for Gardiner. Prepositions, nouns and verbs.

5. Pages 46-60 of Edwards' copy of the Late Egyptian Grammar. The Verb Form.

6. Notebook - Verb forms.

7. Notes on the Verb.

8. Late Egyptian Grammar - English edition.

9. Late Egyptian Grammar - English edition.

10. Late Egyptian Grammar in Czech. Paragraphs 1-362. Bound photocopies.

11-15. Late Egyptian Grammar. Examples of the way Černý wanted the book written (1969).

11. Past *sdm-f* form.

12-13. Participles - active and passive.

14. Imperative.

15. Relative form.

16. Index of Relative forms.

17. " " " " Wenamun.

18. Notes for lectures on Late Egyptian Grammar given by Černý at University College, London, in 1945.

19. Verb forms - notes used for lectures given at Collège de France in 1958.

20-21. The Verb in Late Egyptian - Parker's copy annotated by Černý.

The book has been compiled in the following way. The first stage was to unite the various notebooks into one comprehensive picture, and, in addition, to transliterate the Egyptian and complete the translation of examples frequently left untranslated. The second step was to extend and re-write chapters left incomplete or unwritten, e.g. prepositions, adverbs, particles. The material for the extension of the chapters is taken from Černý's notebooks in the Griffith Institute. The third stage was to write the theoretical side of the Grammar, especially the verbal system, left by Černý completely unwritten. This is based on the way Černý classified his material. In addition, I had to take account

of recent works and to incorporate them in the theory of the grammar and the bibliography. The final stage was to compile the bibliography.

Transliteration

This is only for the purposes of clarifying outwardly identical verbal formations; for example, the various patterns which take the apparently identical form of *iw.f stp.f* or the form of the mere stem. It is not meant to represent in any way the phonetic structure of Late Egyptian.

Translation

It can happen that the same example is translated differently in different paragraphs or chapters. I have tried to strike a balance between idiomatic English and the necessity of illustrating the particular construction under discussion.

The Translation of the Emphatic Formation

Since not every example of the Emphatic Formation can be translated into English as a cleft sentence I sometimes use instead the method of underlining the adverbial predicate.

General Principles

The nomenclature is mine, but based on Černý's way of classifying his verbal formations. The principles which, in my opinion, Černý adopted, were as follows:

(a) The priority of the spoken language over the written one. Since it is out of the question to use the spoken language as the subject of our grammatical investigation, it has been necessary to look for the nearest alternative.

(b) The priority of the non-literary texts over the literary ones. Non-literary written documents are those which deal

with everyday life and affairs, such as genuine letters, accounts, court reports, oracles. Since the very purpose of their existence is to communicate and inform native speakers about practical matters concerning them, they are the nearest alternative to the spoken language. Literary texts include the Late Egyptian 'novels', songs, wisdom literature, and 'documents' serving as exercises for apprentice scribes. Thus, in the literate community of the Egyptian scribes, imbued with a profound knowledge and admiration of the writings of the past, there developed a situation of diaglossia, wherein literary and non-literary languages were learnt and used by educated Egyptian scribes as independent languages, a situation reminiscent of the peculiar status of Latin in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. This is not to say that literary texts have no grammatical system. On the contrary, they constitute a grammatical system of their own, which differs from that of the non-literary language. The literary language contains many specific verbal formations, many Middle Egyptian verbal formations, and also the verbal formations which occur in non-literary texts. Thus, to describe grammatically and systematically the verbal system of literary texts demands a diachronic method.

(c) The priority of synchronic over diachronic description. The synchronic description of a language is the grammatical description of that language at some given point in time. Since languages are constantly changing, every language, at any given time, represents, in fact, a distinctive grammatical system. Thus, each state of a language is entitled to be described in its own terms. A 'dead' language can, of course, be analysed synchronically, provided that there are enough non-literary records from a limited time span. Thus, the

records used in this book are limited as far as possible to the non-literary records of the 20th Dynasty. Since most of the non-literary records of this dynasty come from Thebes and its vicinity, one may safely state that the language here analysed is the nearest possible representation of the spoken 'Sahidic' dialect.

(d) Every language, at any given point in time, must be described according to certain systematic rules which are characteristic of the language. These rules have a universal validity in regard to that particular stage of the language, and by discovering them the language can be analysed as a coherent system. These universal rules constitute the distinctive character of any given grammatical analysis. As far as our own description is concerned, the rules of (a) 'initiality' or 'non-initiality', that is, compatibility or incompatibility with the direct or indirect indicators of 'initiality', and (b) compatibility or incompatibility with certain negative elements, are the universal distinctive rules of the language represented by the non-literary records of the 20th Dynasty.

(e) Considerations of meaning and grammar cannot be kept separate in a dead language written in a script which does not indicate vowels. One must bear in mind that the first stage of Egyptian grammar was the understanding of the meaning of the written records. That is to say, in practice the first 'grammars' were based on intuitive translations, not vice-versa. Of course, every 'grammar' improves our translations, and eventually these improve the subsequent grammars. Thus, it is practically impossible to separate considerations of meaning from grammar. Semantics and philological interpretation necessarily form a part of the grammar.

The establishment of Egyptian grammars procedes by:

(1) intuitive translation,
(2) grammar,
(3) improved translation,
(4) improved grammars,

and so on.

(f) Morphology and syntax cannot be treated independently. In a dead language written in a script which does not indicate vowels, one cannot describe the 'simple minimal' grammatical units. The purely practical procedure of singling out the 'simple minimal' grammatical units is necessarily connected with environmental syntactic considerations. Thus, our description is basically a morpho-syntactic one, i.e. it is a context-sensitive grammar.

The majority of texts used herein fall into three groups coming from (a) the beginning, (b) the middle, and (c) the end of the 20th Dynasty:

(a) P. Turin, i.e. the Judicial Papyrus.
P. Lee
P. Rollin
) Harem conspiracy against Ramesses III.

(b) P. Abbott
P. Leopold-Amherst
P. Mayer A and B
P. BM 10052, 10053, 10054, 10068, 10403, 10378
) Tomb Robbery Papyri.

(c) Wenamun (*LES* 61-76)
Late Ramesside Letters
The El-Hibe Letters (*AZ* 53 (1917))
) End of 20th Dynasty and beginning of 21st Dynasty.

Other examples have been taken from various ostraca and papyri that do not fit conveniently into these categories. Where there is reason to believe that an example belongs to the 19th Dynasty this is noted.

Sarah Israelit Groll
OXFORD, 1973.

FOREWORD OF THE THIRD EDITION

Although eight years have passed since the first edition of the Late Egyptian Grammar appeared, the justification of a separate grammar based on non-literary texts of the 20th dynasty is still challenged.

Some scholars understand the term "non-literary texts" not linguistically, as texts written in a particular system of language, but stylistically, as defining texts lacking artistic qualities. Others are indifferent to terms such as "non-literary" because their expectations of the Egyptian language are purely pragmatic; they understand the study of Egyptian linguistics to be a means of improving translation, not an end in itself.

I. Definition of "non-literary" Late Egyptian by style and content.

The non-literary language of the Twentieth Dynasty can be defined functionally as restricted to utilitarian subject matter such as administrative documents, personal letters, letters of commission, reports of court proceedings, oracles, invoices and so on. Other types of texts, such as mythology, poetry, novels and historical inscriptions are almost never written in non-literary

Late Egyptian.

Texts which fall into the category of non-literary Late Egyptian can, nevertheless, be poetical, civilized and learned. Wenamun* is a superb artistic work in its choice of vocabulary, grammatical forms, sense of humour and accurate expression of emotions such as fear, bewilderment and frustration. The Turin Strike Papyrus is an unequalled expression of black humour, class hatred and conflicting interests. And yet both texts are written in the non-literary language.

II. Definition of "non-literary" Late Egyptian by linguistic features.

At the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the non-literary language is characterized by almost zero occurrence of prepositions, and the verbal forms of the non-literary language are those described in this Late Egyptian Grammar; the literary texts of the later Twentieth Dynasty, however, are characterized by a much higher level of occurrence of prepositions. In addition, the verbal forms used in the literary language are those which are described in this Late Egyptian Grammar, but,

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*See J. Černý, Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt (UCL 1947) pp. 21-22.

in addition, there appears a set of verbal formations which are specific to the literary texts and do not occur in the non-literary texts. Moreover, some "errors" are characteristic of literary texts alone, such as the insertion of the preposition *ḥr* between the subject and the infinitive of the conjunctive.

Therefore these three variables :

1) level of occurrence of prepositions,

2) a specific set of verbal formations,

3) typical "errors,"

allow us to distinguish between literary and non-literary Late Egyptian as two different specific languages.

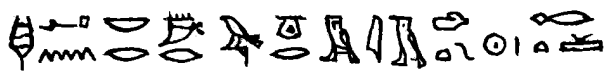
Amongst texts which were written at the middle and at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, those texts which display a high level of occurrence of prepositions will also display the specific literary verbal formations, whereas texts which display almost zero occurrence of prepositions lack the literary set of verbal formations; therefore, it is possible to state that we are dealing with two different language systems. Moreover, a predictable model can be established; the occurrence of one of the variables mentioned above is sufficient grounds to predict the other two variables.

Comparing the text of Horus and Seth, written during the reign of Ramses V (LES p.X), with a text from the later years of Ramses III written in the non-literary language, the Turin Strike Papyrus, one can say that the following formations are specific to literary Late Egyptian :

1. Middle Egyptian narrative tenses

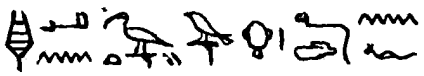
1.1 *ꜥḥꜥ.n* + a first present pattern

1.1.1 *ꜥḥꜥ.n.A* + stative (GG§482.2)



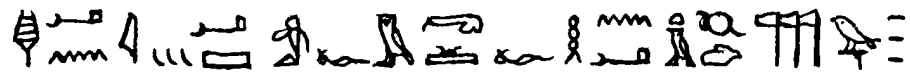
ꜥḥꜥ.n.nb r-dr gr m i3d.t ꜥ3.t (LES 38,1-2) "Then the Lord of the entire land was silent for a long while."

1.1.2 *ꜥḥꜥ.n.A ḥr* + infinitive (GG§482.1)



ꜥḥꜥ.n.Ḏḥwty ḥr dd n.f (LES 38,5-6) "Then Thoth said to him..."

1.1.3 *ꜥḥꜥ.n* + circumstantial first present (*iw.f (ḥr) stp.f*)



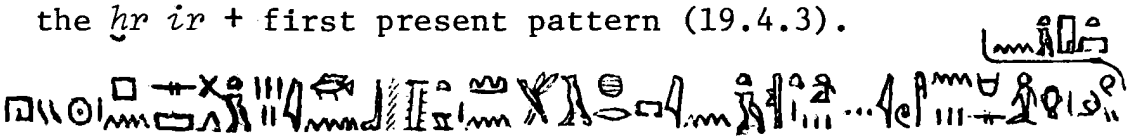
ꜥḥꜥ.n iw.tw (ḥr) ꜥš.f m b3ḥ.f ḥnꜥ t3-psḏ.t (LES 57,10-11) "Then one read it (the letter) out before him and the

Ennead."

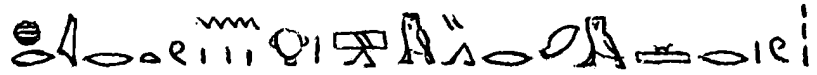
1.2 *wn.in* + a first present pattern (GG§470)

wn.in Sth s3 Nw.t ḥr ḏd (LES 38,2-3) "Then Seth son of Nut said..."

These formations do not appear in non-literary Late Egyptian; their presence identifies the text as literary. The syntactic equivalents of these formations in the non-literary language are the narrative infinitive (11.5.3. iii), the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past pattern (Ch.38) and the *ḥr ir* + first present pattern (19.4.3).



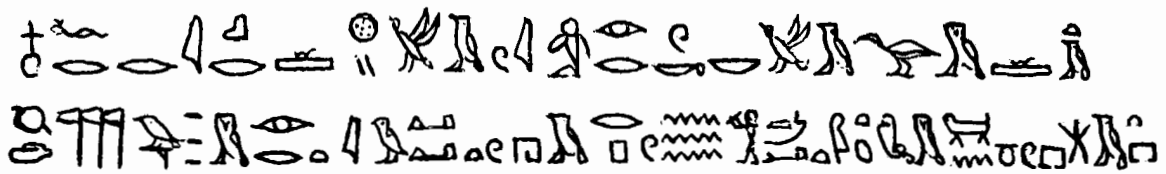
ḥrw pn sš t3-5 inb.w n p3-ḥr in t3-is.t ... iw.sn (ḥr) ḥms [ḥr] pḥwy n t3-ḥw.t (RAD 52,14-16) "That day of passing the five walls of the Tomb by the crew ... They sat down at the rear of the temple."



ḥr ir tw.n ḥr šm r sḏm r.w (RAD 55,13) "So we went to hear their opinions."

2. Emphatic formations

2.1 The geminated emphatic *mrr.f* (GG§439-46)



nfr r iqr (zp sn) p3-i.ir.k nb p3 gm t3-psḏ.t m ir.t iw dd.tw hrp mꜣꜥ.t m ḥnw dw3.t (LES 57,16-58,1) "Well and good, well and good is everything you do and which the Ennead has found to do, when maat has been caused to sink into the netherworld."

The geminated emphatic *stp.f* of the verb *rdi* is preceded by the converter *iw* (10.10.2.1).

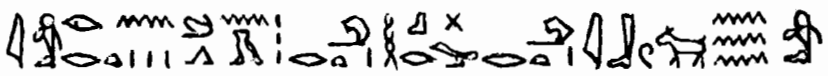
2.2 The non-geminated emphatic *mri.f* (i.e. the emphatic *stp.f* which is unmarked by gemination or the element *i.iri.f*)

in.iw mri.ṯ p3-z ḏrḏr r-sn n mw.t.ṯ Sṯḫ (LES 49,9) "Do you love the strange man more than your maternal brother Seth?"

Although the second radical of the verb *mri* is not geminated, the time-reference is present and the element *r-sn n mw.t.ṯ* is clearly an emphasised adverbial predicate, so that this verb-form must be emphatic.

In the Turin Strike Papyrus, however, the only emphatic formation used is the marked formation *i.iri.f*

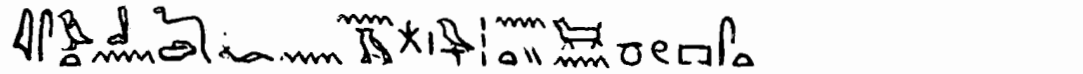
stp.f.



i.ir.n ph n3 r-ḫ3.t ḥqr r-ḫ3.t ib (RAD 53,15-16) "It is because of hunger and because of thirst that we come out here."

2.3 Particles as indicators of the emphatic *stp.f*

2.3.1 *is bn* as an indicator of the unmarked emphatic *stp.f*



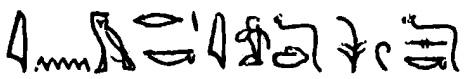
is bn dd.f n n3-sb3.w nty [m] ḫnw.s (LES 58,9) "Was it not to the stars which are within it that he said..."

i.e. When the negative marker *bn* precedes verbal formations which belong to the suffix conjugation category and indicate the past tense, it can be used as an indicator of the unmarked emphatic *stp.f* formations.

2.3.2 *ḥr mk* as an indicator of the emphatic *stp.f*

ḥr mk dd.tw Ḥrw r s.t n iti(.f) Wsir (LES 59,15-16) "Now look, it is on the throne of his father Osiris that one will set Horus."

3. The Participial Statement



in-m r.k i-dd sw ḏs.k (LES 45,11-12) "It is your own mouth which says it."

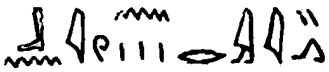
In non-literary Late Egyptian, the initial preposition of the participial statement is written as *m*, *n*, or *in* (57,12,12ff), and never as *in-m*.

4. Negation

4.1 The negation of the third future by *nn*

nn iw.n r rḫ p3-grg (LES 38,6) "We will not know what is false."

In the Turin Strike Papyrus, the third future is negated by *bn* (see also 18.1.1-4).

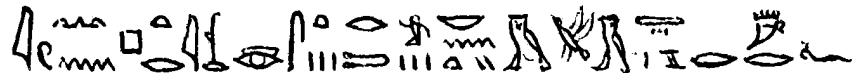


bn iw.n r ii(t) (RAD 55,9-10) "We shall not go."

Nn occurs in non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty only as a phonetic spelling of the interrogative particle *in*.

4.2 *iw nn stp.f*

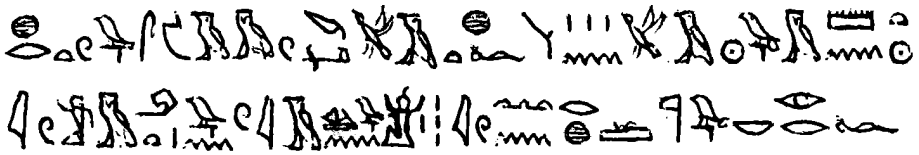
4.2.1 *iw nn stp.f*



iw nn ptr st rmṯ nb nty m p3-t3 r-dr.f (LES 55,2)

"Without anybody who was in the entire land seeing it."

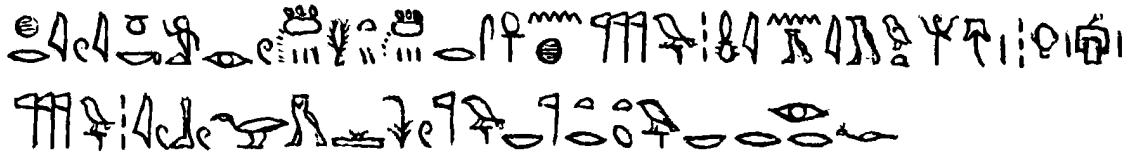
4.2.2 *iw nn rḫ.f* + infinitive, denoting inability



ḥr tw.i (ḥr) sm3 p3-ḥf.tyw n P3-R^{c} m-mn.t iw.i m-ḫ3.t n wi3 n ḫḫ.w iw nn rḫ nṯr nb ir.t.f (LES 41,12-14) "Now I kill the enemy of Pre^{c} daily when I am at the prow of the bark of millions, when no other god can do it."

The non-literary equivalent (although it does not appear in the Turin Strike Papyrus) is *iw bw rḫ nṯr nb ir.t.f* (20.5.6).

4.3 *iw bw stp.f* negates the circumstantial *stp.n.f*

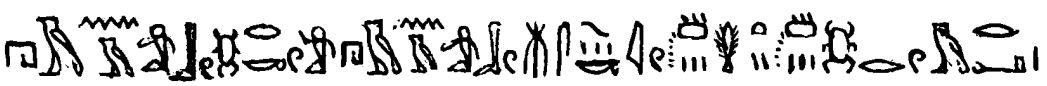


ḥr iw ink ir i.t bd.t r-s^{c}nḫ nṯr.w mi n3-i3.wt ḥr-s3 nṯr.w iw bw gm sw nṯr nb nṯr.t nb r ir.t.f (LES 57,6-8) "Now I was the one who made barley and emmer to nourish the gods, and likewise the cattle after the gods, when no god and no goddess was able to do it."

The non-literary equivalent is *iw bwpw.f gm.f*

(15.7.1); *bw stp.f* occurs sporadically, mostly in the formations *bw rḫ.f* (20.5.4) and *bw ini.f*.

4.4 *ḥn bw stp.f* negates the unreal conditional formation

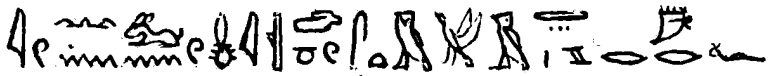


ḥn bw ḫpr.k ḥn bw msi.k iw i.t bd.t ḫpr.w m r^{c} (LES 57, 13-14) "If you had not existed and if you had not been born, barley and emmer would still exist."

No equivalent to this formation occurs in the non-literary language; usually the protasis of the unreal conditional form is affirmative.

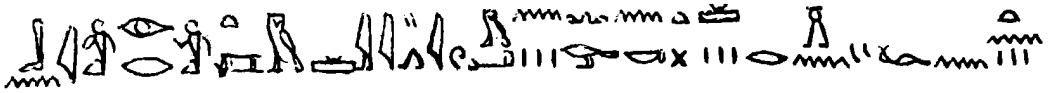
4.5 *nn wn* negating the existence of a noun preceded by the dependant converter *iw*

4.5.1 *iw nn wn Ø-A* adverb



iw nn wn mi-qd.s m p3-t3 r-dr.f (LES 44,10-11) "Without there being anyone like her in the entire land."

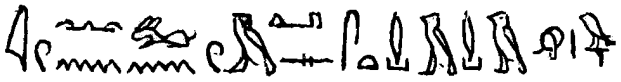
The equivalent in the Turin Strike Papyrus is *iw mn*:



bn i.ir.i tm ii(.t) iw mn nk.t r in.tw.f n.tn (RAD 56, 2-3) "It was not because there was nothing to bring to you

that I did not come."

4.5.2 *iw nn wn m-di.f A*

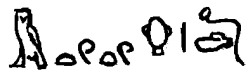


iw nn wn m-di.s ḏ3ḏ3 (LES 50,1) "When it does not have a head."

The non-literary equivalent (which does not appear in the Turin Strike Papyrus) is *iw mn m-di.f A* (29.5.1).

5. "Errors"

5.1 The insertion of *ḥr* between the subject and the infinitive of the conjunctive



mtw.tw ḥr ḏd (LES 40,3) "One said."

This phenomenon does not occur in the Turin Strike Papyrus; it may be a form of over-compensation for the tendency to omit prepositions before infinitives in the non-literary language (7.2.4).

Summary

In the non-literary language of the Twentieth Dynasty, five groups of negative particles occur:

I. The *bn* group:

1. *bn ... iwn3* (13.5.2)

2. *bn sw* (Groll, Non-verbal, Ex.290)

3. *bn iw.f r stp.f* (18.1.4)

II. The *mn* group:

1. *mn Ø-A* (29.3)

2. *mn m-di.f Ø-A* (29.4)

III. The *bw* group :

1. *bw iri.f stp.f* (20.7)

2. *bwpw.f stp.f* (Ch.15)

3. *bw i.iri.t.f stp.f* (20.8)

4. *bw rḫ.f* (+ infinitive)(20.5)

IV. The *tm* group:

1. *tm.f stp.f* (Ch.46)

2. *iw.f (ḫr) tm stp.f* of the past (Ch.39)

3. *iw.f (ḫr) tm stp.f* of the future (Ch.41)

4. *tm stp.f* (11.5.2)

5. *mtw.f tm stp.f* (Ch.43)

6. *i.iri.f tm stp.f* (Ch.27)

V. The *m* group (Ch.25)

In the literary language, however, although all five groups of the non-literary negative markers indeed occur, there is an additional group :

VI. The *nn* group

1. *nn iw.f (r) stp.f* (see 4.1 above)

2. *nn stp.f* (see 4.2.1 above)

3. *nn wn Ø-A* (see 4.5 above)

4. *nn rḫ.f* (+ infinitive)(see 4.2.2 above)

As far as historical grammar is concerned, one may suggest that *nn*, in the literary language of the Twentieth Dynasty, represents both Middle Egyptian *n* ( ) and Middle Egyptian *nn* ( ). However, since we are trying to establish a synchronic grammar, we have to deal with every verbal formation on its own merits within the framework of the language with which we are concerned. In this context it is sufficient to note that the negative marker *nn* does not occur in non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty, and that its presence in a text identifies that text as written in the literary language.

Moreover, the form *bw stp.f* is restricted, in the non-literary language, to the verbs *rḫ* (to know) and *ini* (to bring). However, in the literary language it occurs frequently and is compatible with many different verbs (see 4.4 above).

The group VI formations and *bw stp.f* can therefore serve as marked indicators of the literary language.

Note

1. The negative marker *bw* as the element *M* in Coptic ⲙⲡⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ, ⲙⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ, ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ and ⲙⲉⲱⲁⲕ is not a free morpheme; it is rather a constituent of the conjugation base of the verbal formation involved.

2. The negative marker *bn* which is followed by *iwn3* (Coptic ⲛ ... ⲁⲛ) is a free morpheme whereas the negative marker *bn* which precedes the third future is a bound morpheme (Coptic ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ). Thus, if a verbal formation is negated by *bn* ... *(iwn3)*, the negated verbal formation is morphologically identical with the affirmative verbal formation. It is merely negated by the addition of *bn* ... *(iwn3)*.

Therefore, when dealing with the *bn* ... *iwn3* group of negative formations, the corresponding affirmative sentence pattern is immediately distinguishable, while when dealing with the *bw* group, it is much more difficult to single out the affirmative counterpart of a given verbal formation.

I would like to thank my pupils Frances Hollander and Deborah Sweeney for their great help and their readiness to aid me to compile and type the third edition of the Late Egyptian Grammar, and also my daughter Judith who helped me to prepare and compile the indexes. It was most gratifying to be helped by them all.

Jerusalem, 28 August, 1983

CORRECTIONS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS

p.27 (2.3.6) For "*swt sw*" read "*swt ø*."

p.35 (2.7.1.d) Instead of "See below, ex.1599,1600," read "See above, ex.49, and see below, exx.1300,1508 and 1599."

p.56 (4.2.7) Ex.141. For "*ø-w.wt*" read "*ø-wt.w.*"

p.68 (4.3.2.b): Ex.195. For "*it3.t*" read "*itw.*"

p.69 (4.4.1.a) Ex.202 should read, "While 18 days (of the month) are past."

p.74 (4.4.8) For "a predicate of a nominal sentence," read "the predicate of a nominal sentence."

p.80 (5.2) "Pharoah" should be spelt "Pharaoh." This error occurs at several other points.

(5.3) Ex.249. Instead of "*(i)n kṯ.w*" read "*m kṯ.w.*"

p.83 (5.5) Instead of "the prepositon *r*" read "the preposition *r*."

p.86 (6.2) Change second paragraph to read: "This rule is valid up to 299 (see Černý, *JEA* 23, 59; BM 10383, 2, 3: *p3-222 n dbn n ḥmt* 'The 222 *dbn* of copper'); from 300 onwards the defining word is in the feminine."

pp.92-3 (7.1.1.a.ii) Ex.291 should be translated "It was in order to reach the place where I am that craftmanship went out from there."

pp.97-8 (7.1.3.b.i) Instead of "the dative can take various syntactic positions" read "the dative and suffix pronoun can take various syntactic positions" throughout 7.1.3.b.i.

p.136 (8.8.2) Instead of "Ex.1602" read "Ex.1601."

p.137 (8.9.1.iv) For "*(m) dw3* 'early'" read "*(m) dw3w* 'tomorrow'."

(8.9.2.i) Ex.420 should be numbered Ex.470.

p.142 (9.2.2.a) Instead of "Ex.1234" read "Ex.1233" (the number 1234 was inadvertently omitted in numbering the examples) and, instead of "Ex. 1451," "Ex.1457."

(9.2.2.c) Add Ex.829.

(9.2.2.d) Delete Ex.1201. The reference to Ex.1612 is correct; however, on page 563 it has been numbered 1614, giving two of this number.

(9.2.2.f) Delete Ex.1208.

p.143 (9.2.3.a) Delete Ex.493.

p.145 (9.3.2.d) Add Ex.1608.

p.146 (9.3.4.a) Instead of "a noun in extraposition" read "a noun or independent pronoun in extraposition."

The reference to Ex.573 is correct, although the example was incorrectly numbered 572 on p.217.

(9.3.4.c) Instead of "Ex.809" read "Ex.1164."

p.148 (9.5.2.b) Instead of "initial prospective *stp.f*" read "initial prospective *stp.f* of the verb *iy*".

(9.6.1) Add Ex.829 to list of examples of *hr ptr*. Substitute Ex.991 for Ex.1188.

p.149 (9.7.3) On p.563, Ex.1612 has been incorrectly numbered 1614.

(9.7.4.e) Delete Ex.1615.

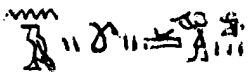
p.150 (9.7.4.g) *mn*... (See Ex.1615).

(9.8.3.c) Add Ex.1621.

p.158 (10.3.3.b) Instead of "Ex.786" read "Ex.847."

p.170 (10.12.1.I.a.3a) Add, "The extension of the immediate present is the 1st future. (See Ch.23)."

p.171 (10.12.1.I.a.6c) Delete reference to section 20.9.

p.194 (12.2.2) Ex.536. Transcribe  *n3y rwd.w*, and translate "these inspectors."

p.196 (12.3.2.c) Ex.545. Translate, "While I am sitting here alone."

p.198 (12.5) *tw.i ḥmsi.k*. Add Ex.783.

p.215 (14.7) Ex.570. For "innundation" read "inundation."

p.217 The number 572 has been used twice for examples; the second should read 573.

p.222 (14.11.2) Ex.590. Instead of "I wrote a letter," read "I wrote the letter."

p.231 (15.5.5.b.4) Instead of "see above Ex.639," read "see above, Ex.605."

p.238 (15.10.1) Ex.635. Instead of "*ir p3y.k-dd t3-md.t*" read "*ir p3y.k-dd (r) t3-md.t*."

p.239 (15.11.3) Instead of "See above, Ex.1610," read "See below, Ex.1610."

p.243 (16.1.4) Delete Ex.657. *dd.tw* is followed by a non-initial prospective *stp.f* form (see 45.1) and must therefore be a past active *stp.f* form.

p.251 (17.4.1.b) Instead of "indicating future perfect tense" read "indicating the future perfect tense."

p.258 (17.9.1) Ex.701. Transliterate *ir iw.k (ḥr) tm gm.t.f*, and translate, "If you do not find him..."

p.259 (17.9.2) Instead of "Ex.705, LRL 40,4" read "Ex. 705, LRL 42,4."

p.277 (19.3.1) Ex.751 has been incorrectly numbered 757.

p.286 (19.10.1.2.c) Ex.778. Translate "Now as we stood sharing them out, the messenger A arrived."

p.313 (20.6.2) Ex.859. Transliterate *r-dd Ø-rmt*, and translate "Saying, he is a man who..."

p.322 (20.8.2) Instead of "the *bw iri.t.f stp.f* form indicates" read "the *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation, and its passive counterpart *bw stpy.f A* (20.9) indicate."

To the sentence "...first present patterns which express the connotation 'already' are negated by *bw iri.t.f stp.f*" add, "and *bw stpy.t A*."

p.326 (20.9.4) Instead of "An.VI,42" read "P.Anastasi VI,42."

p.330 (21.4.2) Ex.905. Translate "Let us go so that you may eat it with them."

p.342 (24.1) First paragraph, line 8: For read .

p.347 (23.3.5) Ex.969. Translate, "Let me see what you (pl.) will do to them."

p.353 (24.10.3) Ex.1000 should be placed under a separate heading, 24.10.7. The non-initial prospective *stp.f* form.

p.371 (26.6.3) Ex.1049. Translate, "He spent the night having cursed the tomb," (See 63.2.8).

p.374 (26.11) Ex.1054. Instead of "*r-kkwy*" read "*r-p3-kkwy*."

p.375 (26.11) Ex.1055. Translate, "so that the *br*-boat which I found can leave."

p.383 (26.19) Ex.1075. Translate, "this main treasure."

p.384 (26.20.2) Ex.1076. Translate, "Now, I have come and stayed in your house. It is in order that you may have a full household that I have entered it."

p.385 (26.21.5) Instead of "Ex.1052" read "Ex.1058."

p.388 (27.2) Ex.1081. *sš* should be read *sni* because of the confusion in hieratic between and .

Ex.1082. P.DM 7.6. Instead of "Černý MSS, Notebook 113" read "Černý, P.DM pl.23 VII v.6."

p.395 (28.6) Insert after "the formation *wn p3-A m-di.f* (see Ex.1096) and *wn.f m-di.f* express past time," "because the element *wn* in these formations is not the *wn* of existence, which is incompatible with defined nouns (see 28.1,28.4 above) but the past converter *wn* (see 10.10.2.2)."

p.426 (38.2.10) Instead of "particle" read "participle."

p.433 (39.3.8) Ex.1182, and p.484 (51.3.6) Ex.1370. For "*pr-ḫnr*" read "*pr-ḫnr*."

p.441 (42.3.3) Ex.1197. Translate, "Do not go to do them any mischief..."

p.443 (42.6) Ex.1209. Add to hieroglyphics.

p.450 (43.2.12) Ex.1225. Translate, "Indeed, what is the use..."

p.455 Note that there is no Ex.1234.

p.470 (48.5.2.3) Instead of "Ex.1223" read "Ex.1303 or Ex.1224."

p.481 (51.3.1) Ex.1354. Translate, "I cannot tell who all the people whom I saw were."

p.483 (51.3.5) Ex.1365. Instead of "captial" read "capital."

Ex.1366. Instead of "*i-ḏd.k*" transcribe "*i-ḏd(.k)*."

p.487 (51.6.4) Add Ex.1379.

p.488 (51.6.7) In 1.3, instead of "*wn* + *ḥr* + an infinitive" read "*wn* + a suffix pronoun + *ḥr* + an infinitive."

(51.6.8) Ex.1382. Translate, "This transport boat which I have had brought to you."

p.493 (51.9.3) Ex.1397. Transcribe *p3-dd i.iri.k (r) t3-md.t.*

p.499 (53.8.2) To "*nty* preceded by an antecedent without a definite article" add "in the headings of lists."

p.505 (53.13.1.f) Ex.1426. Translate, "Please cause the men of 'The Tomb' who are there in Thebes to be gathered."

(53.13.1.h) Ex.1428. For "*pr-ḫnr*" read "*pr-ḫnr*."

p.517 (57.1) First paragraph, line 13. Read "One tends to assume that in the former pattern the two nouns have equal stress."

p.524 (57.8) Ex.1483. Instead of "to go" read "their going."

p.526 (57.12.3.2) Ex.1489. Translate, "But it was you who saw the piece of copper."

p.533 Exx.1512 and 1513 have been incorrectly numbered as 1572 and 1573.

p.555 (61.3) Ex.1590. Translate, "Will you become bad-tempered or will you become good-tempered?"

p.560 (62.2) Ex.1603. Instead of "innundation" read "inundation."

p.563 Ex.1612 has been numbered Ex.1614, making two of the latter number.

(62.5.4) Ex.1613. Instead of "becuase" read "because," and translate "If I am to be put to death it is on account of the tombs of Gebelen, because those are the ones in which I was."

p.567 (62.8.iii) Instead of "Ex.1614".read "Ex.1612."

(62.9.ii) Instead of "initial prospective *stp.f*" read "non-initial prospective *stp.f*" (but retain reference to Ex.1624).

(62.9.iii) Instead of "bimembral nominal sentence" read "past converter *wn* + emphatic *stp.f*" (and retain reference to Ex.1625).

p.572 Delete "P. Abbott 4, 17; 216."
Instead of "P. Abbott 5, 17; 225" read "224."

p.578 Instead of "P. BM 10054 vs. 2, 26; 227" read "226."

p.579 Instead of "Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25536 rt. 2-3, 1141" read "1140."

p.580 Instead of Ostr. Edgerton 1, 2-3; 1614" read "1612."

p.582 For "*LES* 64, 4" read "*LES* 64, 14."

p.583 Add "*LES* 69, 7-8; 1542."

p.584 Instead of "*LES* 75, 5; 221" read "220."
Instead of "*LES* 75, 7" read "*LES* 75, 7-9."
Instead of "*LRL* 7, 14; 219" read "218."

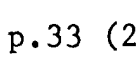
p.588 Delete "*LRL* 69,7-8."
Instead of "*LRL* 69, 11; 570" read "571."

p.589 Instead of "P. Le Am 2, 18; 223" read "222."
Instead of "P. Mayer A, 2, 5; 220" read "219."

p.591 Instead of "*RAD* 57, 9; 218" read "217."
Delete "*RAD* 64, 2."

p.592 Instead of "P. Jud. Turin 5, 6; 1161" read "1162."

ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPHS TO THE THIRD EDITION

p.33 (2.6.1) Add  as the pronominal preformative of the third person plural (P.Turin 1887,r.2,11).

p.40 (3.1.1) See F. Daumas, "Note sur l'expression égyptienne du démonstratif de l'identité," BIFAO 48 (1949), pp.81-106.

p.46 (3.6.3) P.Vernus (Orientalia 50, 1981, pp.435-437) suggests a systematic division of the *p(3)n*, *t(3)n* and *n(3)n* paradigm, as follows :

3.6.3.i Non-person to non-person.

a) Names of months.

Ex.111a (J.Černý, Ann.Serv. 43 (1943), p.174)

p(3)-n-p3-mḫyr "The one of the feast of *Mḫyr*."

b) Ex.111b (A.Gardiner, JEA 42 (1956), p.14)

p(3)n ḫry ḥ3.t sqb.i sw m ḥḥ.w "What belonged to former times, I multiplied it by millions."

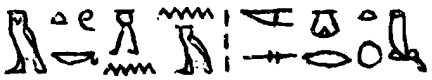
3.6.3.ii Non-person to person.

a) *p3-n*, "the share of, portion of"

See Ex.107.

b) *n3(n)*, "the property of"

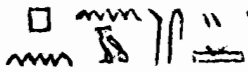
Ex.111c (HO XVIII, 1, 2)



mtw.k in n3(n) Mr.sgr.t "And bring the property of Meresgeret."

3.6.3.iii Forming geographical names.

Ex.111d (Wilbour IV,83)



p(3)n-n3-nḥsy.w "The place of the Nubians."

3.6.3.iv Person to non-person.

a) Persons mentioned in a document.
See Ex.108.

b) Persons attached to an institution.
See Ex.111.

c) Persons attached to a geographical unit.
See Ex.119, and H.Grapow, "Ägyptische Personenbezeichnungen zur Angabe der Herkunft aus einem Ort," ÄZ 73 (1937), pp.49-50.

3.6.3.v Person to person.

a) Employment of one person by another.
See Ex.727.

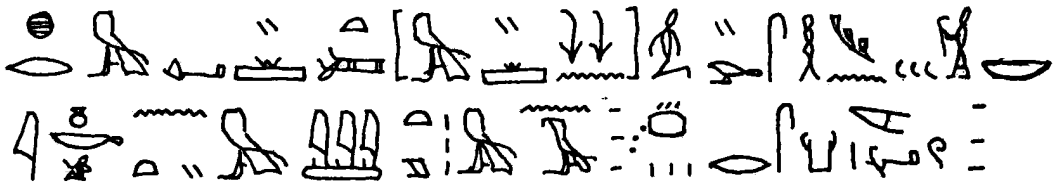
b) Filiation, both of daughters and sons.
See Ex.109, R.Caminos, JEA 49 (1963), p.31, and E.Wente, JNES 32 (1973), p.228, note 34.

c) *p3-n* and *t3-n* indicating relationship to, or protection received from, a deity.
(See H.Ranke, Personennamen II, p.238)
Note that the noun governed is apparently incompatible with the definite article. Possibly this peculiarity was retained from Middle Egyptian (Ranke, Personennamen II, p.238, note 1) or possibly the definite article was present in the spoken language, but not written down (Gardiner, JEA 31 (1945), p.110).

p.95 (7.1.1.b) Add xiii). Partitive *m*, particularly following the verb *šsp*.

xiv). Explicitive *m*:

Ex.303a, *LRL*, 5, 15-16 (see Wente, *LRL*, p.23 note g):



ḫr m-di tm nn sḫn nb ink nty m sḫ.wt m n3 i.t r sk3
"Moreover, do not neglect any commission of mine which is in the fields, namely, to cultivate the grain."

p.111 (7.2.5) Omission of prepositions as a dating criterion.

The appearance or omission of prepositions may be used as a dating criterion for non-literary texts of the 19th and 20th dynasties.

	R I - Sethnakhte	end of R III
Total frequency of prepositions	100% - 90%	50% - 11%
Frequency of *ḫr* in *iw.f ḫr stp.f*	100% - 50%	1% - 0%
Frequency of *ḫr* in 1st present	100% - 50%	1% - 0%

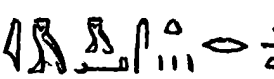
(See S.Groll, "Diachronic Grammar as a means of dating undated texts," SH XXVIII, pp.11-104, esp. p.19.)
The frequency of occurence of prepositions varies according to the individual scribe, but is constant enough to differentiate between texts of the 19th and texts of the 20th dynasty. (See S.Groll, in L'Egyptologie en 1979, pp.35-36.)

p.112 (7.3.1) *m-di* can be confused with the Middle Egyptian compound preposition *m-ᶜ*. See R.Caminos, A Tale of Woe, p.58, note 1.

p.112-114 (7.3.1) Compare now Borghouts, SAK 8 (1980) 65-78.

p.117 (7.3.8.iii) "in the charge of".

Ex.405 a, LRL 23,16-24,2.

ABCDEF  G

ABCDEF imi st r ḫ3.t ss G "ABCDEF, put them in the charge of the scribe G."

p.121 (7.3.21.ii) "instead of".

See P.Vernus, Orientalia 50 (1981), p.438.

p.123 (7.3.26.ii) "since", showing period of time elapsed.

Ex.434 a, Černý, P.IM p.124, no.VIII r.9.

i.ir.i h3b n.k iw 20 n hrw r iwd.f "It is 20 days since I wrote to you."

p.143 (9.2.5.i) *ḫr iw* generally denotes "although" (Gardiner, RdE 6, p.120) although not invariably so. (See E.Wente, LRL, p.58, note b.)

p.146 (9.3.5) Satzinger, NÄS, pp.36ff, notes that the combination of formations *ḫr ir* + 1st present + *iw.f ḫr stp* may mean:

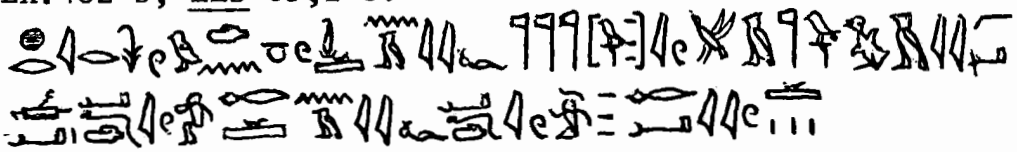
i) When A, B...

Ex.482 a, HO XXVIII,3,r.5-6

ḫr ir tw.tw(ḫr) pḥ pr n sš A iw.f (ḫr) hn r-dd.s "When one reached the house of the scribe A, he agreed, saying..."

ii) Whilst A, B...

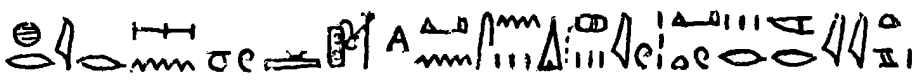
Ex.482 b, LES 65,2-3.



ḫr ir sw (ḫr) wdn (n) n3y.f-ntr.w iw p3-ntr (ḫr) it3y w^{c}-^{c}dd ^{c}3 (n) n3y.f ^{c}dd.w ^{c}3y.w "Now whilst he was sacrificing to his gods, the god took possession of a stripling of his striplings."

iii) After A, B.

Ex.482 c, RAD 56,11-12.

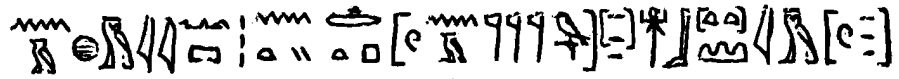


ḫr ir qn šs A di.t n.sn di.w iw.w (ḫr) di.t.w r mry.t

"Now after the scribe A had finished giving them their rations, they walked out (lit.went to the riverbank)."

p.211 (14.2.Obs) For instances of the formation *nty ḫmsi.f*, see Wente, LRL, p.35, note d.

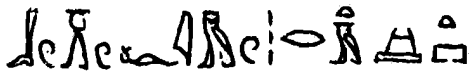
cf. Ex.558 a, Černý, Valley, p.28.



n3-ḫmy.w nty ḥtp [n3-ntr].w j3bt im.w "The sanctuaries in which the gods of the east rest."

p.227 (15.1) Vernus (Orientalia 50 (1981), p.434) points out that the past active *stp.f* is sometimes, albeit very rarely, negated by the negative marker *bw* in non-literary texts. However, to my opinion, it is restricted to the verbs *rḫ* and *ini*.

Ex.603 a, RAD 80,2-3.

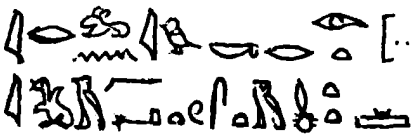


bw in.f im.w r t3-šn.wt "He did not bring any of them to the granary."

See also A.Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus II, p.95.

p.258 (17.9.1) Note, however, this rare example of *ir* + *wn* + 3rd future.

Ex.701 a, P.Cairo 58059,5 ff.



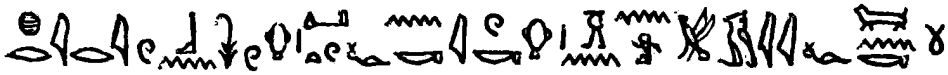
ir wn iw.f k ir.t ... i-dd.k imi in.tw.s di.i it3.t.s m mitt "If you should have done anything with (whatever) you said, 'Let it be brought,' I will cause that it should be brought likewise."

p.275 (19.2.2.iii) *m p3-hrw* as an adverbial extension of *tw.i ii.kwi.*

Ex.746 a, P.Turin 2021, quoted by P.Vernus, Orientalia 50 (1981), p.439, note 56.
ḥr ptr tw.i ii.kwi m b3ḥ t3ty (n3) sr.w n t3 qnb.t m p3-hrw "Now look, I have come into the presence of the vizier and the officials of the court today."

p.306 (20.2.2.f) May act as protasis.

Ex.831 a, HO XLV, 3, vs. 1-3.



ḥr ir iw bn sw ḥr di.t.f n.k iw.k ḥr in.t n.i p3y.f-ḥnk "Now if he does not give it to you, you will bring me his *ḥnk*-garment."

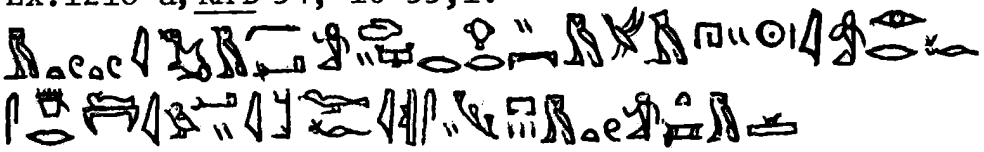
p.382 (26.18.6) For additional bibliography, see P.Vernus, Orientalia 50 (1981), p.440, note 59.

p.402 (29.8) Both *bn* and *mn* may govern an undefined noun + adverbial extension when expressing possession (see Groll, Non-verbal, pp.21ff).

p.403 Renumber 29.8 as 29.9.

p.444 (42.7) The conjunctive need not follow the clause it continues in direct juxtaposition.

Ex.1210 a, RAD 54, 10-55,1.



mtw.tw it3.i dy r ḥry m p3-hrw i.ir.f sdr iw ʿf.f is mtw.i tm "If one takes me away here today - he spent the night having cursed the tomb - then I won't!"

(42.8, renumbered from 42.7) The *mtw.ø ḫpr* construc-

tion can be followed by :

42.8.2 A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

Ex.1210 b, LES 73,2-3.

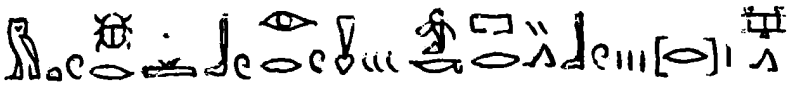
mtw.Ø ḫpr ir m-s3 ky-hrw "Now it happened after another day..."

42.8.3 A first present formation (see Ex.1210).

42.8.4 An emphatic formation (see Ex.1069).

42.8.5 A *bw iri.f stp.f* formation.

Ex.1210 c, P. Nevill, vs. 5-6.



mtw.Ø ḫpr bw ir ḫrw.k pr (r) b[l] "It happens that your voice does not come forth."

42.8.6 The second tense of the future (see Ex.1069).

p.445 Renumber 42.8 as 42.9.

p.485 (51.4) The *stp.n.f* relative form of Middle Egyptian is retained in non-literary Late Egyptian, but is mostly restricted to the verb *dd*.

Ex.1373 a, RAD 54,7-8.

dd.t.n ḫry md3.yw "What the chief of police said."

p.503 (53.12.6) See, however, p.211, for an obscure form of the past active *stp.f* of the verb *ḫmsi* which is compatible with *nty*.

p.528 (57.12.9) See J. Borghouts, Bib. Or. 29 (1972), pp. 271-276.

p.565 (62.6.1) Add Satzinger, NÄS, pp.109ff to bibliography.

p.566 (62.6.2) Add Satzinger, NÄS, p.115 to bibliography.

p.573 Ann. Serv. 43 (1943) p.174; Ex.111a.

p.579 P. Cairo 58059, 5; Ex.701a.

p.580 P. DM 8, rt. 9; Ex.434a.

HO pl. XVIII, 1, 2; Ex.111c.

HO pl. XXVIII, 3, 5-6; Ex.482a.

p.581 HO pl. XLV, 3, vs. 1-3; Ex.831a.

JEA 42 (1956) p.14; Ex.111b.

p.582 LES 38, 1-2; p. LVII.

2-3; p. LVIII.

5-6; p. LVII.

6; p. LXI.

40, 3; p. LXIV.

41, 12-14; p. LXII.

44, 10-11; p. LXIII.

45, 11-12; p. LXI.

49, 9; p. LIX.

50, 1; p. LXIV.

55, 2; p. LXII.

57, 6-8; p. LXII.

10-11; p. LVII.

13-14; p. LXIII.

16 - 58, 1; p. LIX.

58, 9; p. LX.

59, 15-16; p. LX.

65, 2-3; Ex.482b.

p.583 LES 73, 2-3; Ex. 1210b.

p.584 LRL 5, 15-16; Ex.303a.

p.585 LRL 23, 16 - 24, 2; Ex.405a.

p.590 P. Nevill, JEA 35 (1949) p. 70; vs. 5-6; Ex.1210c.

p.591 RAD 52, 14-16; p. LVIII.

53, 15-16; p. LX.

54, 7-8; Ex.1373a.

54, 10 - 55, 1; Ex.1210a.

55, 9-10; p. LXI.

55, 13; p. LVIII.

56, 2-3; p. LXIII.

56, 11-12; Ex.482c.

80, 2-3; Ex.603a.

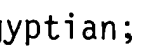
P. Turin 2021, 2, 8-9; Ex.746a.

p.592 Černý, Valley, p. 28; Ex.558a.

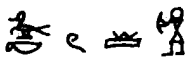
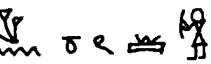
Wilbour IV, 83; Ex.111d.

CHAPTER 1. ORTHOGRAPHY

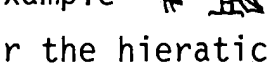
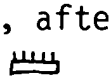
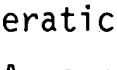
1.1.1.

In Late Egyptian many words display exactly the same orthography as in Middle Egyptian; for example  , *'nḫ*, and , *'ḥ'*.

1.1.2.

Certain words show changes from Middle Egyptian. In particular there is an ending , *w*, the meaning and origin of which escape us entirely; for example , *ḫpr*;[1.]  , *b3k*;[2.]  , *sḫn*.[3.] Note that when this is preceded by , *n*, the two are written together as , *nw*.

1.1.3.

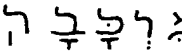
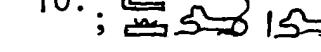
Biliteral signs are nearly always accompanied by the second consonant; for example , *p3*[4.] (always written with the wings up, after the hieratic form);  , *š3*;[5.]  , *šm*;[6.] , *mn*.[7.] An exception is  , *rw*,[8.] which has a stroke instead of , *w*.

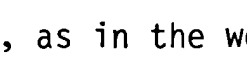
1.2. The so-called 'Syllabic Orthography'.

1.2.1. Writing.

The weak consonants *3*, *i*, and *w* are often written to accompany another consonant, for no apparent reason.

1.2.2. Usage.

The syllabic writings occur mostly in foreign words; for example , *mrkb.t*, 'chariot'[9.] (Hebrew  , Akkadian *narkabtu*). However, they are also found in purely Egyptian words; for example , *r-bl* =Coptic ЄBOλ [10.];  , *ḫrr* = Coptic

[11]. Sometimes the syllabic orthography is used only partially, as in the word  , *sgnn*,[12]. 'unguent'. The Egyptian words in which the syllabic writing occurs are especially those of which the etymology and origin have been forgotten. However, they also include new words which occur for the first time in Late Egyptian, and had not been written down before.

1.2.3. Vocalization.

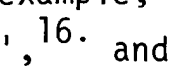
It seems that these spellings imitate cuneiform syllabaries, and it is for this reason that the system is called 'syllabic orthography'. However, it remains obscure whether any vocalic value is to be attributed to the *3*, *i*, or *w* contained in these spellings; in other words, whether, for example, , , and were intended to represent *ra*, *ri*, and *ru* respectively. Albright[13]. thought that this was so, at least for the earlier period, but according to Burchardt[14]. they all stand only for *r*.[15].

1.3. Hieratic abbreviations.

Hieratic writing uses cursive abbreviations of signs and groups of signs, in the middle or at the end of words, where the full writing was thought unnecessary. Thus the scribe adds a stroke, , instead of or , for , or instead of for , or instead of for . The dot is very often used for , and the sign is sometimes used for something which can be or . Certain small signs, especially determinatives, have a space-filling dot (*Füllpunkt*) or stroke written above them; thus, . As it is uncertain which sign is really to be understood, we keep as close as we can to the original hieratic when transcribing by using the stroke, , or the dot for such ambiguous writings. In other cases the dot forms an essential part of the sign, so distin-

guishing it from similar signs: compare for , with for . It is not then represented in transcription. Transcriptions aim to represent exactly what can be seen in the hieratic original. It should not be argued that the ancient Egyptian would have acted differently if he had to transcribe the hieratic into hieroglyphs. For the Egyptian, hieroglyphs served an ornamental as well as a practical purpose. In many instances, therefore, he would have chosen a different grouping of signs to satisfy his artistic feeling.

1.4. Group writing.

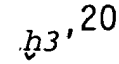
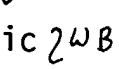
The scribes were so accustomed to writing certain groups of signs that they would sometimes write them in the wrong place. For example, there are two different words , *sim*, 'fodder',[16.] and  , *w3ḏ*, 'vegetables';[17.] but sometimes a scribe who meant to write *w3ḏ* wrote ,[18.] half one word and half the other.

1.5. Assimilation of signs.

In many cases two or more hieroglyphs combine ultimately in one hieratic sign. In our transcriptions we use the originally correct sign, provided that it still exists in the contemporary hieroglyphs. Thus we transcribe , in , *ḥsb.t(?)*,[19.] as , but we transcribe the same hieratic sign as in the word , *ḥrw*. Similarly we transcribe , *ḥr* , only when the additional is quite clear in the hieratic, and has been intentionally written by the scribe. Everywhere else we transcribe , *ḥr*, although the New Kingdom form for , , goes back ultimately to The ligature is always to be transcribed ; is written . A hieroglyphic sign , *ꜥn*, is used for cases in which it is not certain whether the hieratic sign means ,

šn, or , *sn*. When we find for *b*, instead of or , it is to be explained by the similarity of hieratic to . *b* is always meant in such cases.

1.6. Redundant signs.

, *3*, is still written in many words from which it had very likely disappeared in pronunciation; for example in  , *ḫ3*',[20] (Coptic ϨΩ), 'to abandon', and  , *h3b*[21] (Coptic ϩΩΒ), 'to send'. There are also cases in which the writing does not allow us to see whether the , *3*, was present in pronunciation or not; for example , *w3ḥ* (Coptic ⲟⲩⲱϩ), 'to place'. How early the disappearance of , *3*, took place in some words can be seen from the fact that it is written erroneously in , *ḫf*',[22] 'to seize', as early as the 18th. Dynasty.

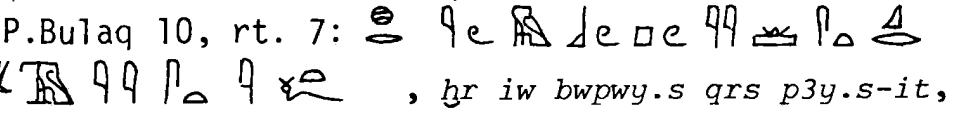
What has been said of , *3*, is also to a great extent true of , *i*, and , *w*, which are sometimes omitted, sometimes kept, and sometimes supplied where they had never belonged. , ', however, is regularly written, and not added erroneously.[23]

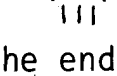
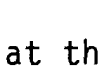
1.7. Peculiarities of , *b*, , *m*, and , *n*.

The Middle Egyptian negative particle , *n*, is written , *bw*, corresponding to Coptic ⲙ̄ . Perhaps for reasons of uniformity, the other Middle Egyptian negative particle, , *nn*, is written , *bn*, in Late Egyptian, although the Coptic parallel suggests that it was probably pronounced either as ⲛ̄ in the combination ⲛ̄....ⲁⲛ or as ⲛ̄ⲛ in the ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ formation.

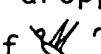
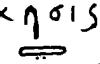
Occasional confusion between the prepositions , *m*, and , *n*, indicates that in some cases, and particularly before the sound *t*, , *m*, has passed into , *n*. This

is confirmed by Coptic, where the preposition becomes ⲙ̄ , and both of the prepositional phrases , *m-dr*, and , *m-di*, become ⲙ̄ⲧⲉ . Elsewhere , *m*, is written instead of original , *n*. Thus, in the conjunctive , *mtw.k* (= Coptic ⲙ̄ⲧⲕ), the , *m*, is unetymological because this form is nothing more than the unaccented form of the independent pronoun , *ntk*. However, in the framework of the nominal sentence pattern, both the unaccented and the accented independent pronouns take the form , *ntk*;[24] that is, both the unetymological , *m*, and the etymological , *n*, are written together. Rarely both , *m*, and , *b*, are written together to represent , *m*.

Ex. 1, P.Bulaq 10, rt. 7:  , *ḥr iw bwpwy.s qrs p3y.s-it*, Although she did not bury her father. (*bwpw.f stp* = Coptic ⲙ̄ⲡⲧ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .)

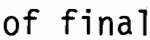
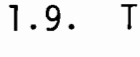
, *nn*, is often written instead of simple , *n*, at the end of words. Thus the pronominal suffixes , *.n*, and  , *.tn*, are sometimes written respectively and  , and the demonstrative , *pn*, is also found as . This strange habit results in confusion between the verbal forms , *wn*, and , *wnn*.

1.8. A possible loss of the genitival , *n*.

The frequency of the writing , *nn*, instead of , *n*, suggests that in some cases where it is written only once the , *n*, was actually dropped from pronunciation. This is confirmed by the case of  , *p3-n*, + noun, 'that (masc.) of', which is usually written , *pn*, in Late Egyptian. The Greek and Coptic transcriptions of the name , *p3-n-3s.t*, (ⲡⲁⲛⲥⲓⲥ and ⲡⲁϩⲥⲉ) - and similarly of the feminine name  , *t3-n.t-t3.wy*,

(ΤΑΤΟΥΣ) - show that the *p3-n* and *t3-n.t* in these names were pronounced respectively ⲡⲁ and ⲧⲁ .[25.] It should be noted that the genitival *n* is always written , never or .

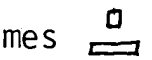
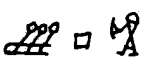
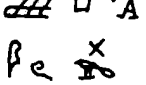
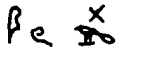
1.9. The loss of final , *r*, and , *t*.

At the end of words , *r*, has disappeared or passed into , *i*, as evidenced by the spelling  ; for example  , *tr*,[26.] 'time' becomes , *ti*.[27.] , *ptr*,[28.] 'see' becomes , *pti*.[29.] Sometimes also , *r*, disappears from the middle of a word; for example , *hrw*,[30.] 'day' becomes , *hyw*[31.] (often confused subsequently with , *h3w*, 'time'[32.]).

 , *t*, at the end of words has, as a rule, disappeared, and is often not written; for example , *nh.t*,[33.] 'sycamore' becomes , *nh3*,[34.] and , *bd.t*,[35.] 'emmer' becomes , *bty*.[36.] Some feminine words never display the feminine ending , *.t*, and are only known to be feminine by their occurrence with the feminine definite article , *t3*, the demonstrative adjective , *t3y*, or the possessive article , *t3y.f*. The definite articles and demonstratives are, in Late Egyptian, the only safe guide to the gender of nouns. Note that , *d3d3*, 'pot';[37.] , *ḫt*, 'seal'[38.] and , *3''*, 'pot'[39.] are feminine. Before pronominal suffixes the feminine ending is preserved, and is then written or . Compare , *ḏr.t*, 'hand'[40.] with , *ḏr.t.k*, 'your hand'.[41.]

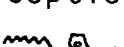
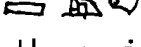
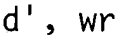
1.10. The Coalescence of , *z*, and , *ś*.

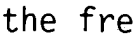
The distinction between , *z*, and , *ś*, was already lost in Middle Egyptian. In proximity to , *š*, they eventually coalesced with it; for example , *psš*,[42.] 'divide'

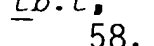
becomes , *pš*;[43]  , *šsp*,[44] 'receive' becomes  , *šp*;[45]  , *sšw*,[46] 'lose by theft,' becomes  , *šw*.[47]

1.11. Variant writings of consonants.

To , *n*, and , *r*, as writings for *l*, Late Egyptian added *nr* (only at the end of a syllable).

The replacement of , *ḥ*, by , *š*, best observed in Sahidic Coptic,[48] can be found already in Late Egyptian. We find  , *ḥt-n-šm*,[49] or  , *ḥt-šmm*,[50] 'firewood', written with  , *ḥm*.[51]

The beginning of the coalescence of , *q*, and , *g*, is seen in the frequent writings  , *sgn*,[52] and , *sgnn*,[53] instead of the etymologically correct , *sgnn*,[54] 'fat unguent.'

, *t*, has become , *ṯ*, almost everywhere in Middle Egyptian, and in Late Egyptian the hieratic sign is often indistinguishable from that for , *t*, except that the latter is a little smaller. Sometimes , *t*, is correctly written, as in , *rmt*, 'people'.[55] In other cases it is replaced by a quite clear , *t*, or , *ti* = *t*; for example , *tb.t*,[56] 'sandals' becomes , *tib.ty*;[57] , *tnw*,[58] 'number' becomes , *tnw*;[59] , *rmt*,[60] becomes , *rmt*.[61] If the hieratic sign is short it is transcribed as , *t*; if long, as , *t*; if a tick is written in the hieratic it is also represented in transcription, , *t*. , *d*, has in many cases become , *t*. , *ḏ*, has also sometimes changed to , *t* (written , *d*); for example  , *ḏb.t*,[62] 'brick' becomes , *db.t*[63] (Coptic ⲦⲰⲂⲈ).

1.12. Bibliography and references.

1. *LRL*, 56, 1.
2. *HO*, 1, CXV, 4, rt. 5.
3. *LRL*, 34, 13.
4. *LRL*, 34, 16.
5. *LRL*, 3, 10.
6. *LRL*, 15, 10.
7. *LRL*, 7, 15.
8. *LRL*, 4, 3.
9. *LRL*, 50, 9.
10. *LRL*, 18, 15.
11. *LRL*, 51, 1.
12. *HO*, pl. LXVIII, 2, rt. 2.
13. *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven, 1934.
14. *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, I & II, Leipzig, 1909 & 1910.
15. See also Albright & Lambdin, *JSS* 2, (1957), 113-127; Calice, *AZ* 44 (1907), 102; Edel, *JNES* 8 (1949), 44-47; Edgerton, *JAOS* 60 (1940), 473-506; W.M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893; W.A. Ward, *JNES* 16 (1957), 198-203.
16. *HO*, pl. LXVI, 1, rt. 14; pl. LXXII, 1, rt. 11.
17. Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.*, 25677, rt. 2.
18. *LRL*, 14, 13.
19. See Mattha, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo Univ.*, XX (1958, publ. 1962), 17-20; von Beckerath, *AZ* 95 (1969), 88-91; Edel, *JNES* 8 (1949), 35-39.
20. *LRL*, 54, 13.
21. *LRL*, 37, 7.
22. *WB*, III, 272.

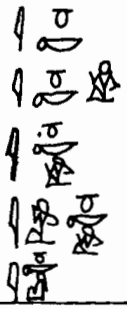
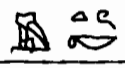
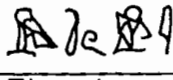
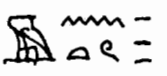
23. Till, *WZKM* 36 (1929), 186-196.
24. Polotsky, *Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen, (Collected Papers*, pp. 418-435 =*Or.* 31 (1962), 413-430); Groll, *Non-Verbal*, 28-33.
25. Stern, *Grammatik*, 250.
26. *DME*, 300.
27. *HO*, pl. LXV, 3, 6.
28. BM 10052, 4, 24.
29. *LRL*, 64, 10.
30. *DME*, 159.
31. *LRL*, 69, 10.
32. Ostr. Turin 5664, I, 1. (Unpublished)
33. *DME*, 135.
34. BM 10403, 3, 6.
35. *DME*, 86.
36. *LRL*, 57, 8.
37. *HO*, pl. LXXXVIII, rt. 6.
38. Mayer A, 6, 16.
39. *HO*, pl. LXXVII, rt. 2.
40. *LRL*, 17, 10.
41. Mayer A, 8, 6.
42. *HO*, pl. LI, 2, vs. 7.
43. *HO*, pl. LII, 2, vs. 2.
44. *DME*, 271.
45. *RAD*, 38, 12.
46. *DME*, 247; *HO*, pl. XLIII, 1, rt. 9.
47. *HO*, pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 7.
48. Till, *Grammatik*, 41.
49. Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.*, 25588 rt. 5.
50. Pleyte Rossi, *P. Turin*, pl. 6, V, 4.
51. Černý, *Ostr. D M*, 69, 6.
52. P. Berlin, 10637, 11.

53. Naunakhte, I, Col. 3, 11.
54. *HO*, Pl. LXVIII, 2, rt. 2.
55. Abbott, 4, 13.
56. *DME*, 304.
57. *HO*, pl. LVI, 2, 6.
58. *DME*, 305.
59. *Ancient Egypt*, 1 (1914), 106, no. 1, 3.
60. Černý, *Ostr. D M*, 126, 3.
61. Černý, *Ostr. D M*, 36, 2.
62. *DME*, 321.
63. Ostr. Berlin 12406, vs. 11 (unpublished).

CHAPTER 2. PRONOUNS

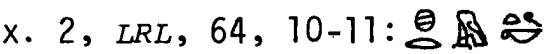
2.1. Independent Personal Pronouns (see below 57.2-57.4).

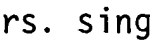
2.1.1. Forms.[1.]

		Late Egyptian		Coptic	
		Accented	Distinctive Unaccented	Accented	Unaccented
1st pers. sing.	*ink*	 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	No distinctive form	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ	ⲁⲛⲉ
2nd pers. sing.masc.	*ntk*	7.	 8.	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ
2nd pers. sing. fem.	*ntt*	9.	 10.	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
3rd pers. sing. masc. and neuter	*ntf*	11.	The demonstrative stands in complementary relationship	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ	ⲡⲉ
3rd pers. sing. fem.	*nts*	12. 13.	The demonstrative stands in complementary relationship	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ	ⲧⲉ
1st pers. pl.	*inn*	14. 15.	No distinctive form	ⲁⲛⲟⲛ	ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲛ̄
2nd pers. pl.	*nttn*	16.	No distinctive form	ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄	ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄
3rd pers. pl.	*ntw*	 17.	The demonstrative stands in complementary relationship	ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ	ⲛⲉ

Obs. The forms given in the above table represent both the

accented and unaccented forms. The unusual form in the following example represents the unaccented form.[18]

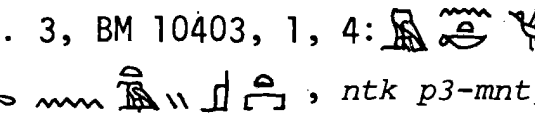
Ex. 2, *LRL*, 64, 10-11:  , *ḫr ntk p3y.f-rmṯ*, You are his father (lit. 'man'), (Coptic ⲛⲧⲕ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ).

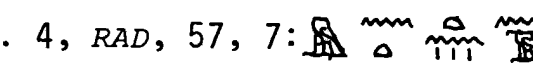
Perhaps a similar distinction could be made for the quoted 2nd. pers. sing. fem. form  , *nty*, (i.e. it is perhaps equivalent to Coptic ⲛⲧⲉ).

2.1.2. The independent pronoun as the first member of a nominal sentence pattern[19]. (see below Chapter 57).

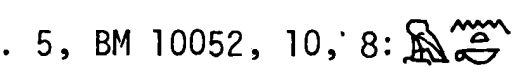
This is found in the following cases:

a). When the second member is a defined noun:

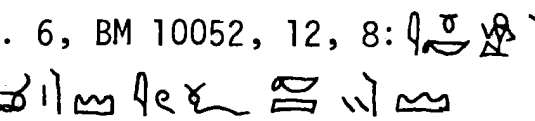
Ex. 3, BM 10403, 1, 4:  , *ntk p3-mnty n t3y-s.t*, You are the doorkeeper of this place.

Ex. 4, *RAD*, 57, 7:  , *nttn n3y.i-ḫry.w*, You are my chiefs.

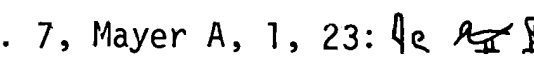
b). When the second member is a bare noun:

Ex. 5, BM 10052, 10, 8:  , *ntk ø-i3w šȝšȝ*, You are a silly old man.

c). When the second member is a defined participle:

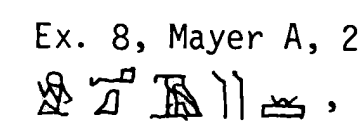
Ex. 6, BM 10052, 12, 8:  , *ink p3-iy (m) ḫ3rw iw.f (r) kš*, Am I the man who came from Syria, (just) to be sent to Ethiopia?

d). When the second member is a bare participle:

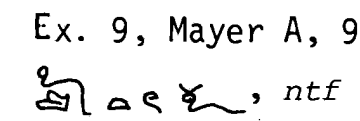
Ex. 7, Mayer A, 1, 23: 

, *iw(.i) (ḥr) gm.t p3y-5 rmṯ ink mḫ 6*, I found these five people. I was the sixth. (Lit.'It was I who filled the number of six!)

e). When the second member is a defined relative form:

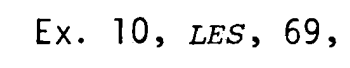
Ex. 8, Mayer A, 2, 14-15:  , *ntw n3-ptr.i 'q3*, They are precisely the ones whom I saw.

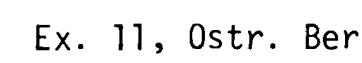
f). When the second member is a defined relative sentence:

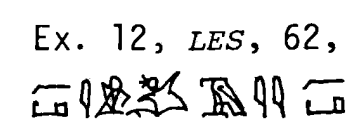
Ex. 9, Mayer A, 9, 15-16:  , *ntf p3-nty iw.i (r) dd.f*, That is what I shall say.

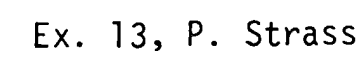
2.1.3. The independent pronoun expressing possession.

The independent pronoun can be followed either by a noun or by a dependent pronoun, the former being the 'owner' expression, while the noun or dependent pronoun expresses the object owned (see below Ex. 43 and 62).

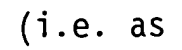
Ex. 10, *LES*, 69, 7:  , *ntf p3-ym*, The sea belongs to him. (Beginning of Dynasty 21.)

Ex. 11, Ostr. Berlin P, 12343, vs. 4:  , *ink sw m ø-ḫt*, It belongs to me, namely the wood.

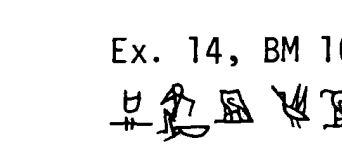
Ex. 12, *LES*, 62, 16-63, 1:  , *y3 ir p3-it3y i.t3y tw ntk sw*, But as for the thief who has robbed you, he belongs to you.

Ex. 13, P. Strassburg, 39, 9:  , *ø-šmsw iw ntk sw*, A retainer who belongs to you. (Dynasty 21.)

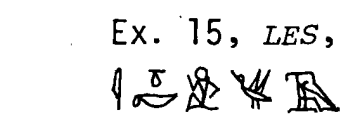
2.1.4. , *ink*, as a frontal extraposition.

The first person , *ink*, introduced by , *ir*, or  , *mk ptr*, is placed before a sentence (i.e. as a frontal extraposition[20.]), anticipating pronominal elements:

a). The subject of the following sentence:

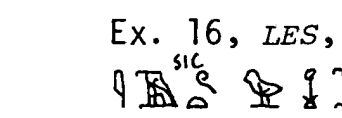
Ex. 14, BM 10052, 3, 24-5:  , *dd.f ir ink wn.i ḥmsi.k(wi) m p3-pr n A*, He said, "As for me, I was staying in the house of A."

The *ink* anticipates the *.i* in *wn.i*.

Ex. 15, *LES*, 68, 7:  , *ir ink gr ink in ink p3y.k-b3k*, As for me, then (lit. 'also I'), am I your servant?

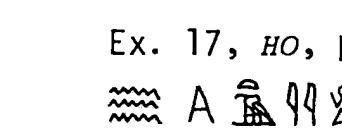
The *ir ink gr ink* anticipates the *ink* which follows *in*.

b). The direct object:

Ex. 16, *LES*, 75, 12-13:  , *mk ptr ink iw.tw (r) wḫ3.i š3'(-r) hrw nb*, Look, now one will look for me for ever.

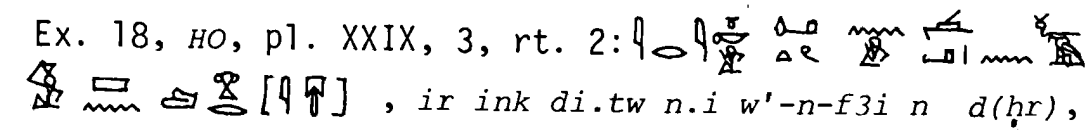
The *ink* anticipates *.i* in *wḫ3.i*.

c). The possessive element of the direct object of the following sentence:

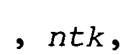
Ex. 17, *HO*, pl. XLIX, 1, rt. 3-4:  , *ir ink it3 inw-mw A t3y.i-'3.t*, As for me, the water carrier A took my donkey.

Here the *ink* anticipates *.i* in *t3y.i-'3.t*.

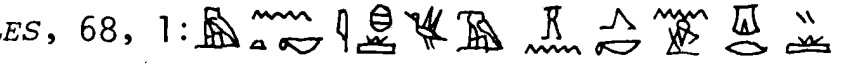
d). The dative of the following sentence:

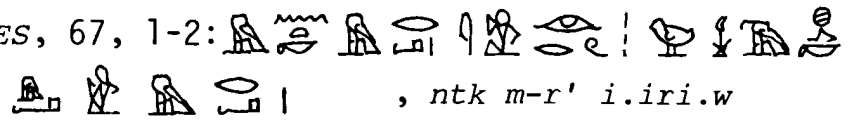
Ex. 18, *HO*, pl. XXIX, 3, rt. 2:  , *ir ink di.tw n.i w'-n-f3i n d(ḥr)*, As for me, I was given a leather weight.

The *ink* anticipates *.i* in *n.i*.

2.1.5.  , *ntk*, as a frontal extraposition.

The second person masculine singular , *ntk*, is placed before a sentence, anticipating the subject or direct object of that following sentence.

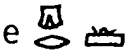
Ex. 19, *LES*, 68, 1:  , *ntk iḫ p3-ini.k n.i gr ink*, You, what is it that you have brought to me, yes me (lit. 'also me')?

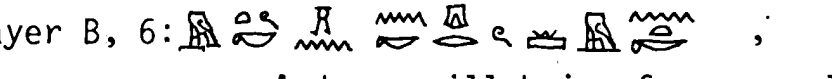
Ex. 20, *LES*, 67, 1-2:  , *ntk m-r' i.iri.w wḫ3.k m-di nim m-r'*, And you too, from whom would they seek you too?

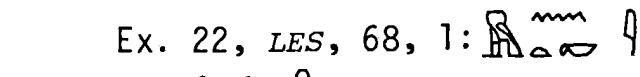
ntk, in Ex. 19, anticipates *.k* in *ini.k* (i.e. the subject), whereas *ntk* in Ex. 20 anticipates *.k* in *wḫ3.k* (i.e. the direct object).

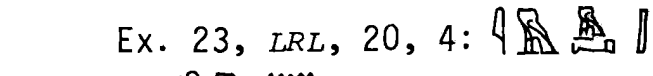
Obs. It seems that when *ink* fills the position of a frontal extraposition, it must be preceded by *ir*, or some other particle[21], whereas *ntk* can fill the same position with no introductory particle.

2.1.6. The independent pronoun as a rear extraposition.

To resume pronouns the independent pronouns, introduced by the particle  , *gr*, are placed in end positions.

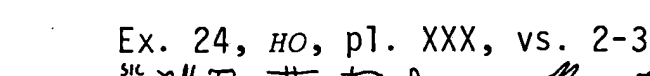
Ex. 21, Mayer B, 6:  , *mtw.k in.t n.k gr ntk*, And you will bring for yourself, you too.

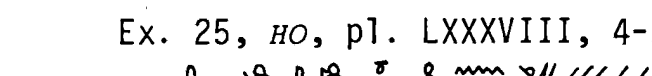
Ex. 22, *LES*, 68, 1:  , *ntk iḫ p3-ini.k n.i gr ink*, You, what is it that you have brought to me, yes me (lit. 'also me')?

Ex. 23, *LRL*, 20, 4:  , *imi mdw.f m-di.k gr ntf*, Let him, himself, talk with you. (Lit. 'Let him....him too.')

2.1.7. The independent pronoun , *ink*, as a 'strengthener'.[22.]

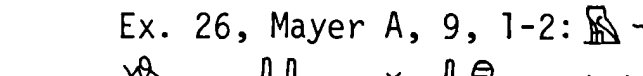
The independent pronoun is used to strengthen a preceding pronominal suffix (i.e. is a 'strengthener'[23.]).

Ex. 24, *HO*, pl. XXX, vs. 2-3:  , ...*iw.i ḥmsi ink ḥn' p3-s '3 iw nn wn w'*...; ...while I myself stayed with the rich man, while no-one ..... (Dynasty 19.)

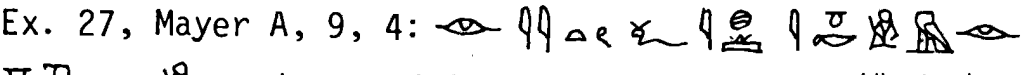
Ex. 25, *HO*, pl. LXXXVIII, 4-5:  , *iw.i ḥr ir.t m mitt iw.i ink ḥn' p3-////*, I did likewise, while I myself was with .... . (Dynasty 19.)

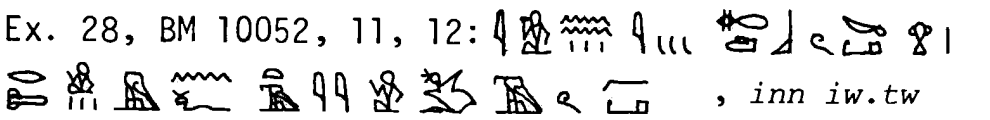
Note that in contradistinction to the independent pronoun *ink* functioning as a rear extraposition (see Ex. 22), *ink* functioning as a 'strengthener' (see Exx. 24-25) is not preceded by any particle, and is enclitic. *ink*, in Ex. 25, even precedes the adverbial predicate *(ḥn' p3-...)* of the verbal formation itself.

2.1.8. Obscure cases.

Ex. 26, Mayer A, 9, 1-2:  , *m iri dd n.i wn.k im ink iry.tw.f iḫ*, Don't tell me (that) I was there, I? What does

it mean? (lit. 'Don't tell me, "You were there." I? What does it mean?')

Ex. 27, Mayer A, 9, 4:  , *iry.tw.f ih ink m iri g3.t.i*, What does it mean (that) it was I? (Lit. 'What is the meaning(of saying) that it was I?') Don't speak ill of me.

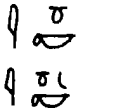
Ex. 28, BM 10052, 11, 12:  , *inn iw.tw (r) hdb (.i) hr ø-rmt ntf t3y.i-t3w.t*, Are they going to kill me because of what someone else did? He deserves my punishment. (Lit. 'If they are going to kill me because of someone, to him belongs my penalty[24].).

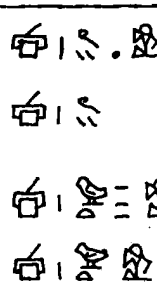
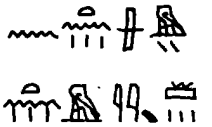
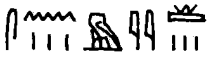
Note that since *ink*, in Ex. 26, is , on the one hand, not introduced by *gr* (compare Exx. 21-23), and, on the other hand, does not directly follow *n.i* (compare Exx. 24-25), it can be classified neither as a rear extraposition nor as a 'strengthener'. Therefore, it should perhaps be classified as a one-membral nominal sentence.[25.]

Note that *ntf*, in Ex. 28, must be classified as expressing the possessive sense (compare Exx. 10-13).

2.2. The Possessive Independent Pronouns.

2.2.1. Forms.

1st.pers. sing.	*ink*		*LRL*, 15, 4. *LRL*, 41,2. Mayer A, 8, 7.
2nd.pers. sing.masc.	*twt*		Mayer A, 2, 3. BM 10052, 15, 20.

3rd.pers. sing.masc.	*swt*		*LRL*, 46, 14. *HO*, pl. XLVII, 1, vs. 3. Adoption, rt. 4. P. Salt 124, rt.1, 17.
1st.pers. pl.	*inn*		*LRL*, 11, 2. Anast. VIII, 1, 15.
2nd.pers. pl.	*(n).tn imy*		*LRL*, 50, 13. Naunakhte I, Col. II, 2.
3rd.pers. pl.	*(n).sn imy*		Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 14, 9.

Obs. An early 19th. Dynasty spelling of the first person plural is .[26]

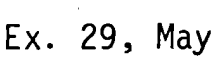
Note that *ink* and *inn* form part of both the *twt,swt* paradigm and the *ntk*, *ntf* paradigm (see above 2.1.1.).

2.2.2. Attributive use (i.e. when in a non-initial position).[27]

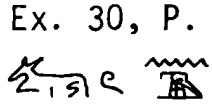
The pronoun is used in the possesive sense, 'of mine' etc:

I. *ink*, *twt*, *swt*, *inn*:

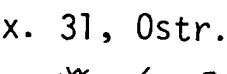
a) After an undefined noun:

Ex. 29, Mayer A, 8, 7:  , *w'-pr ink*, A house of mine.

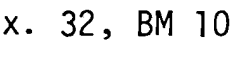
b). After a bare noun:

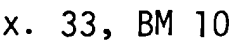
Ex. 30, P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 4:  , *iw bn ø-s.t swt iwn3*, It is no place of his

c). After a defined noun:

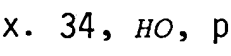
Ex. 31, Ostr. Berlin, P 11239, 8:  , *n3-wḏ3.w qnw swt*, The many amulets of his.

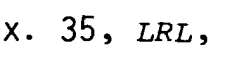
d). After a noun with the demonstrative adjective 'this':

Ex. 32, BM 10052, 6, 1:  , *p3y-sn ink*, This brother of mine.

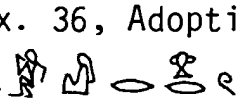
Ex. 33, BM 10052, 15, 20:  , *p3y-šri twt*, This son of yours.

e). After a noun with the adjective *nb*:

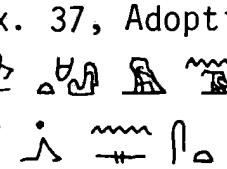
Ex. 34, *HO*, pl. LXX, 1, rt. 8:  *3ḫ.t nb ink*, All my property. (Lit. 'All things of mine!)

Ex. 35, *LRL*, 46, 14:  , *sḫn nb swt*, Every commission of his.

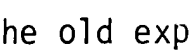
f). After prepositions, acting as an equivalent of a suffix:

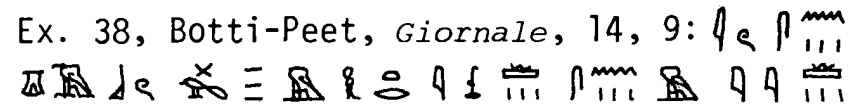
Ex. 36, Adoption, rt. 4-5:  , *iw bn n.f šri šri.t r-ḥrw-r ink*, He having no son or daughter apart from me.

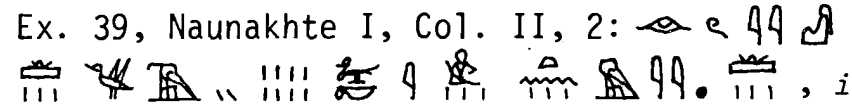
Compare Coptic ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ , 'apart from him'.[28.]

Ex. 37, Adoption, rt. 5-6:  , *iw.i (r) swḏ.w (n) A t3y.i-ḥm.t m n3y-sn.w r ink (ḥr) 'ḥ' r-q3(r)-n.s....*, I will bequeath them to A, my wife; if my own brothers shall claim against her.... .

II. *(n).tn imy, (n).sn imy*:

The old expression  , *n imy*, 'belonging to',[29] with varying pronominal suffixes after *n*, is rare in Late Egyptian, and is written in various ways:

Ex. 38, Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 14, 9:  , *iw.sn ḥqr g3b m ḥtr.w sn (i)my*, They being hungry and lacking the payments due to them.

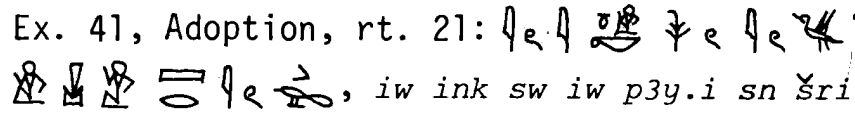
Ex. 39, Naunakhte I, Col. II, 2:  , *iry.i sḫpr p3y-8 b3k tn (i)my*, I have brought up these eight servants of yours.

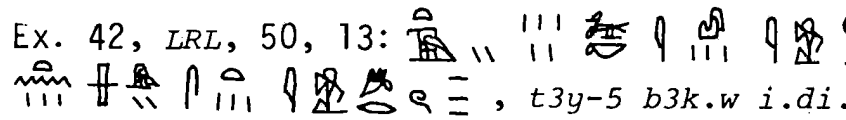
Note that since in Late Egyptian the *(n) imy* formation is almost always found in the second and third persons plural, and since there are no plural forms comparable with *twt* and *swt*, it is only reasonable to classify *(n).tn imy* and *(n).sn imy* as belonging to the *twt*, *swt* paradigm.

2.2.3. Predicative use (i.e. when occupying an initial position).[30]

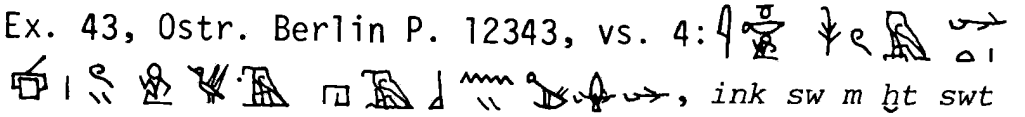
a). Preceding a dependent pronoun:

Ex. 40, P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 17: , *iw bn swt sw*, Although they(?) were not his.

Ex. 41, Adoption, rt. 21:  , *iw ink sw iw p3y.i sn šri*, He being related to me, being my younger brother.

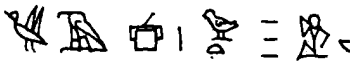
Ex. 42, *LRL*, 50, 13:  , *t3y-5 b3k.w i.di.i n.tn imy st r-ḏr.w*, These five maid-servants whom I gave, all of them belong to you.

b). Preceding a noun:

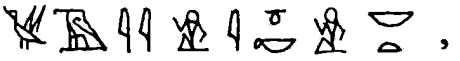
Ex. 43, Ostr. Berlin P. 12343, vs. 4:  , *ink sw m ḫt swt p3-hbny*, The (other) wood belongs to me (lit. 'It is my property as far as wood is concerned'), but the ebony belongs to him.

2.2.4. The possessive independent pronoun following an article.

The possessive independent pronoun can follow the definite article *p3*:

Ex. 44, Adoption, rt. 4:  , *p3-swt nb*, All his property (lit. 'All he had').

Or it may follow the possessive article, *p3y* + pronominal suffix:

Ex. 45, *LES*, 65, 7-8:  , *p3y.i-ink nb*, All my belongings.

Or it may precede the *n* of the indirect genitive (see below Ex. 61).

2.2.5. The relationship between the personal and possessive independent pronouns.

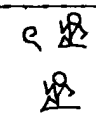
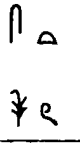
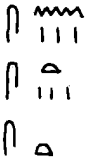
Note that from the 21st Dynasty onwards *ntk* and *ntf* replace *twt* and *swt* in the predicative possession usage (cf. Exx. 10, 12, with Exx. 40, 43). The following reasons may account for this:

ink and *inn* are shared by both the *ntk*, *ntf* and the *twt*, *swt* paradigms, and this similarity may have led to the two paradigms being classed together in the category of independent pronouns. But the formation *(n).tn imy*, *(n).sn imy*, if it

loses its initial *n*, is incapable of fulfilling the predicative function (see Ex. 38) - for a pronominal suffix cannot occupy an initial position - and thus cannot be classified as independent. We may then suppose that by analogy with *tn imy* and *sn imy*, *twt* and *swt* gradually lost their ability to occupy initial positions, and so were replaced by *ntk* and *ntf*.

2.3. The Dependent Pronouns.

2.3.1. Forms.

1st. pers. sing.	*wi*	 omitted	Mayer A, 9, 19. Mayer A, 2,3. *LRL*, 5, 15.
2nd. pers. sing. masc.	*tw*		*LES*, 63, 1.
2nd. pers. sing. fem.	*ti*		P. Leiden I, 366, rt.6.
3rd. pers. sing. masc.	*sw* *st*		*HO*, pl. LXXXIV, 7a. *LES*, 62, 9: Ostr. Turin 9767, vs.7. (Unpublished).
3rd. pers. sing. fem.	*st* *sw*		Ostr. *IFAO*, 331, 3. (Unpublished). BM 10052, 15, 8.
1st. pers. pl.	*n*		
2nd. pers. pl.	*twtn*		P. Jud. Turin, 2, 8.
3rd. pers. pl.	*sn* *st*		BM 10068, 6, 21. P. Boulaq, 10, rt. 5. BM 10403, 3, 20.

2.3.2. Use as direct object.

The dependent pronouns are used as the direct object

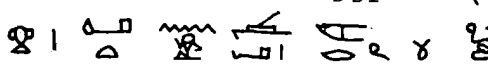
of a verbal formation, except when the verb is in the infinitive, in which case it takes a pronominal suffix as direct object.

a). After the perfect active *stp.f*:

Ex. 46, *HO*, pl. LXXXIV, 7a: ,

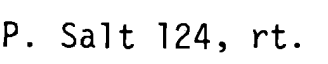
psḥ sw t3-wḥ'.t, The scorpion has stung him.

b). After an imperative:

Ex. 47, *Ancient Egypt* I (1914) 106, no. 1, rt. 4:  ,

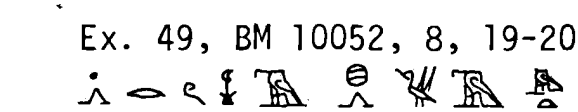
iw.s ḥr di.t n.i w'-mrw r-dd imi sw...., She gave me a garment, saying, "Give it....!" (Dynasty 19.)

c). After a participle:

Ex. 48, P. Salt 124, rt. 2, 14:  ,

iw ntf i.sḫpr sw, Although it was he who reared him.

d). After the stative of the verb *rḫ*:

Ex. 49, BM 10052, 8, 19-20:  , *iḫ p3y.i-šm r wḫ3 p3-mwt iw.i rḫ sw*, What would be the point in my going to seek death, when I know what it is like? (Lit. 'What would be my going to seek the death, when I know it?')

2.3.3. Use as subject.

a). The third person is used as the subject of negative sentences, if the negation is expressed by .

Ex. 50, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, pl. 92, col. 1, 4: , *A s3 B p3-nty bn sw*,

It is A, the son of B, who is not present.

b). For the *swt sw* construction see above Ex. 40.

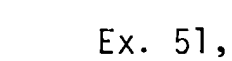
c). For the *(n).sn imy sw* construction see above Ex. 42.

2.3.4. Use as the subject of the *ny-sw A* construction.

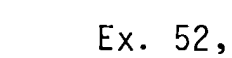
The construction *ny-sw A* is restricted to the third person, and is written irrespective of gender or number, , , , , *ny-sw*.

Note that the form still exists in Late Egyptian (see Exx. 55 and 61).

Note the interchange of and in the following example, where both refer back to *p3-ḥd*.

Ex. 51, *LES*, 62, 6-10:  A, *y3 ir p3-ḥd ny-sw imn-r'.... ny-sw A*, Now,as for the silver, it belongs to Amon-re, ... (and) it belongs to A.

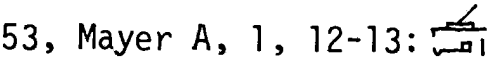
One should bear in mind that the construction *ny-sw A* is built up from four elements; it is not a self-sufficient entity. *ny* (probably the adjectival form of the genitival *n*[31].) refers to the thing owned, *sw* resumes a previously mentioned element, and *A* expresses the owner of the thing referred to by *sw*. Thus the *ny-sw A* construction perhaps ought to be described as an *X .... ny-sw A* construction.

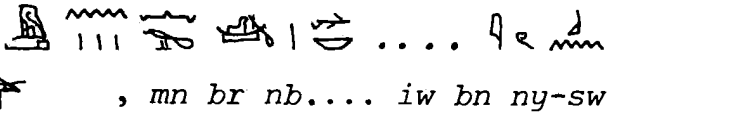
Ex. 52, Ostr. Berlin 11239, 3-4:  , *ir n3y-ḥmt ny-sw stm bn ny-sw p3-ḥr*, As for the pieces of copper, they belong to the *setem*-priest: they do not belong to 'The Tomb'.

2.3.5. The semantic range of the *ny-sw A* construction.

Since 'belonging' covers a wide range of meaning, it is worthwhile to mention that *X .... ny-sw A* can express:

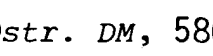
a). Ownership of animate and inanimate objects:

Ex. 53, Mayer A, 1, 12-13:  , *w'-rmt iw ny-sw A*, A man who belongs to A.

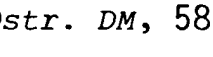
Ex. 54, *LES*, 69, 6-7:  , *mn br nb.... iw bn ny-sw imn*, There is no boat .... that does not belong to Amun.

The following examples suggest that *ny-sw* and the *n* of the dative were felt to belong to the same category, and that *ny-sw A* indicates an owner-property relationship.

Compare

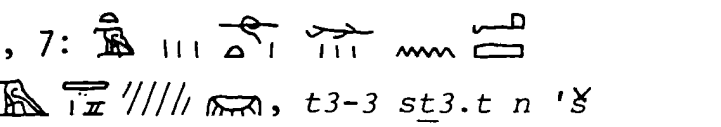
Ex. 55, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 586, 1:  , *gs.f ny-sw A*, Half of it belongs to A;

with

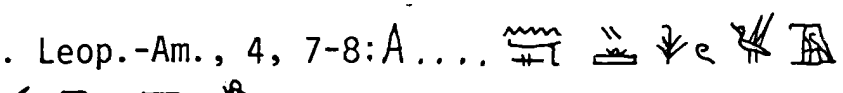
Ex. 56, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 586, 2:  , *nty n B*, That which belongs to B;

Here we can see that the relative clause corresponding to *ny-sw A* is not **nty ny-sw A*, but *nty n A*, i.e. the *n* of the dative and the *ny* of *ny-sw* express the same notion. (Classifying the element *n* in Ex. 56 as the *n* of the dative is due to the fact that *nty* cannot be followed by the genitival *n*.)

b) The notion of being a part of the inanimate object itself:

Ex. 57, BM 10053, vs. 4, 7:  , *t3-3 st3.t n 'ꜣ .... ny-sw p3-t3 (ḥd)*, The three boards of pine .... were part of the (silver) floor.

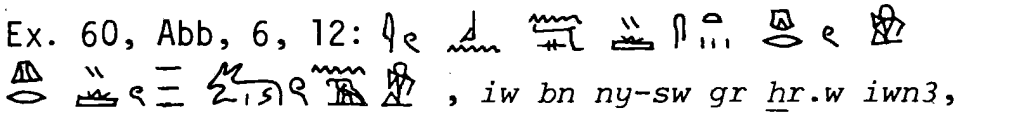
c). The notion of being one of a group of people:

Ex. 58, P. Leop.-Am., 4, 7-8: A ....  , *A .... ny-sw p3-17 n it3.w*, A .... he was one of (lit. 'belonged to') the 17 thieves.

d). The notion of belonging to a place:

Ex. 59, *LES*, 62, 13: , *hn ø-it3y iw ny-sw p3y.i-t3....*, Had it been a thief from (lit. 'belonging to') my country .... .

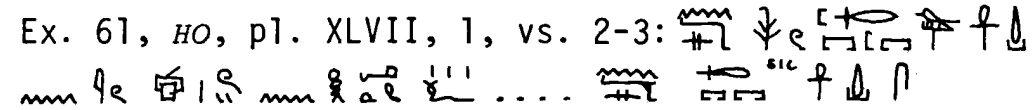
e). The notion of being part of an abstract category:

Ex. 60, Abb, 6, 12:  , *iw bn ny-sw gr hr.w iwn3*, Because they are not the sort that can be passed over in silence (lit. 'do not belong to being silent about them').

Note that here *A* (i.e. *gr*) is a bare infinitive.

2.3.6. The relationship between *ny-sw A*, *swt ø*, and *ntf sw*.

The *ny-sw A* construction is in complementary relationship with both the *swt ø* and *ntf sw* constructions. The latter two patterns are used when the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, the former when it is expressed by a noun.

Ex. 61, *HO*, pl. XLVII, 1, vs. 2-3:  , *ny-sw pr-'3 '.w.s. (i)n iw swt n ḥ'.f, ... ny-sw pr-'3 '.w.s.*, Did they belong to Pharoah (l.p.h.) or did they belong to the man himself? .... They belonged

to Pharoah (l.p.h.). (19th Dynasty.)

Note that *ny-sw pr-'3* and *swt n ḥ'.f* express the same relationship and share the same subject. Ex. 61 dates to the 19th. Dynasty, whereas the following example dates to the end of the 20th. Dynasty:

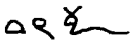
Ex. 62, *LES*, 69, 6-7: ,

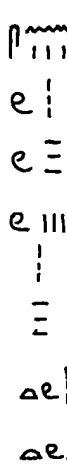
mn br nb .... iw bn ny-sw imn ntf p3-ym, There is no boat.... which does not belong to Amun; (for) the sea (itself) belongs to him.

Thus *swt sw* is replaced by *ntf sw*.

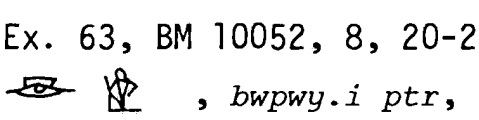
2.4. Suffix Pronouns, (i.e. the fused pronouns).[32.]

2.4.1. Forms.

1st. pers. sing.	*.i* (masc.) (fem.)	33. 34. Omitted 35. Omitted 36.
2nd. pers. sing. masc.	*.k*	37.
2nd. pers. sing. fem.	*.t*	38.
3rd. pers. sing. masc.	*.f*	39.  40.
3rd. pers. sing. fem.	*.s*	41. 42. 43. 44.
1st. pers. pl.	*.n*	45. 46. 47. Omitted 48.

2nd. pers. pl.	*.tn*	49. 50.
3rd. pers. pl.	*.sn* *.w*	 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58.
Impersonal	*.tw*	59.

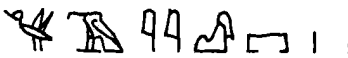
Obs. 1. The first person singular suffix is often added in the wrong place:

Ex. 63, BM 10052, 8, 20-21:  , *bwpwy.i ptr*, I did not see. (Not to be read *ptr.i*.)

Ex. 64, *LRL*, 1, 11: .... , *bw iri w'-nfr di.t* ...., Does not one good (deed) cause .... . (Not to be read *bw iri.i*.)

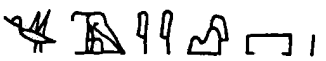
Obs. 2. The first and second person singular feminine are both written .

Compare

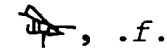
Ex. 65, BM 10052, 13, 16:  ,

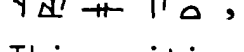
p3y.t-pr, Your house;

with

Ex. 66, BM 10052, 15, 6-7:  ,

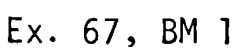
p3y.i-pr, My house.

Obs. 3. The divine determinative can be used after suffixes; e.g.  , *.f*.[60].

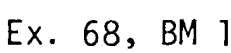
Obs. 4. The third person singular feminine, in the construction  , *i.n.s*, 'Thus she said', is always written . This writing occurs elsewhere, but only in an end position. Thus it never follows the element , *iw*.

Obs. 5. The first person plural, when written , is often indistinguishable from the dative expression containing the pronominal suffix , *.n*.

Compare

Ex. 67, BM 10053, vs. 2, 12:  , *iw.n (ḥr) pš̈.f n.n*, We divided it among us (lit. 'for ourselves');

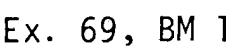
with

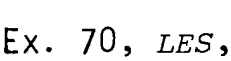
Ex. 68, BM 10052, 1, 9:  , *ḥn.n*, Let's go!

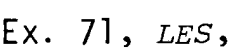
It is worthwhile to mention that the suffix is never written , whereas the dative is very often thus written.

Obs. 6. After a feminine noun the first person plural is often written in the same way as the second person plural.

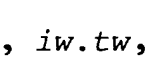
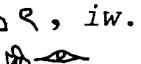
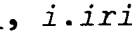
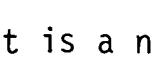
Obs. 7. A new impersonal suffix, , *.tw*, 'one', appears in Late Egyptian. Its origins go back to Middle Egyptian, but its development only culminates in Late Egyptian, when it is appended to grammatical elements which, by origin, are not verbal at all. The cases with a pronominal subject expressed by a suffix become rare.

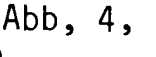
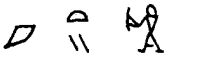
Ex. 69, BM 10068, rt. 1, 4:  ,
(m)-ḫt gm.tw.w, After they had been found.

Ex. 70, *LES*, 61, 6:  , *iw.w (ḥr) di.t ḫ.tw.w*, They had them read out.

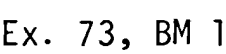
Ex. 71, *LES*, 64, 14: 

, *imi t3y.tw(.i) r ḫm.t 'n* , Have me taken back to Egypt.

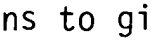
However, the strongest proof that *.tw* has become a pronominal suffix is its appearance with active meaning in  , *tw.tw*,[61]  , *iw.tw*,[62] , *mtw.tw*,[63]  , *bwpw.tw*,[64] , *i.iri.tw*,[65] and , *i.ir.t.tw*.[66] When it refers to Pharoah it is sometimes written  , *tw*.[67] When the subject is a noun there may still be some doubt whether the construction was felt to be active or passive.

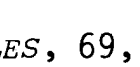
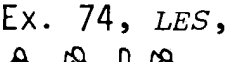
Ex. 72, Abb, 4, 17: 
 , *ḫr ir A B (ḫr) di.t it3.tw p3-ḥmty*, Then A and B caused the coppersmith to be taken (or 'caused one to take the coppersmith').

That *.tw* is the pronominal suffix meaning 'one' is clear from constructions where the verb is intransitive, or where there is no direct object.

Ex. 73, BM 10052, 16, 4:  , *di p3y.i-ḥry pri.tw m-s3.i*, My superior caused one to come out after me.

However, *.tw* has not developed into a complete pronominal suffix, since it cannot follow a noun or the possessive article.

Towards the end of the 20th. Dynasty the pronominal suffix *.tw*, 'one' begins to give way to the third person plural,  , *.w*, 'they'. (The third person plural is used in Demotic and Coptic to express the passive.[68])

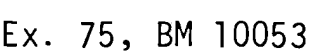
Ex. 74, *LES*, 69, 4-5: 
 , *iḫ n3-mš' swg3 i.di.w iry.k*, What are these foolish journeys on which they have sent you (or 'on which you have been sent')?

Thus passive verbal formations are not dealt with in this book as separate units if their marked elements are the

pronominal suffixes *.tw* or *.w* + a direct object. Only verbal formations with specific passive forms are dealt with independently of the active voice.

2.4.2. Uses.

a). As a genitival expression after nouns.

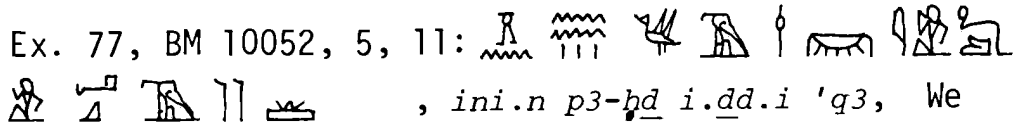
Ex. 75, BM 10053, vs. 3, 13:  , *iw A (ḥr) sḏm r.f*, A heard his speech.

This construction occurs less often than in Middle Egyptian, because most nouns cannot take a pronominal suffix. Those which can are, in Late Egyptian, as in Coptic, mainly words for parts of the body (see below 4.2.9.).

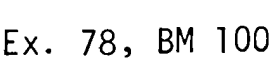
b). After prepositions.

Ex. 76, *LRL*, 36, 15: , *wnn t3y(.i)-š'.t (ḥr) spr r.k*, When my letter reaches you.

c). As the subject of verbal formations.

Ex. 77, BM 10052, 5, 11:  , *ini.n p3-ḫḏ i.ḏd.i 'q3*, We brought away precisely the same (amount of) silver as I had mentioned.

d). As the direct object of infinitives.

Ex. 78, BM 10053, vs. 2, 8:  , *iw.f (ḥr) w3ḥ.s*, He put it down (see below 11.2.3. and 11.5.3.).

2.5. The 'Direct Object' Pronoun.[69.]

A new, partial set of fused pronominal suffixes acting only as direct object occurs already in the 20th. Dynasty.

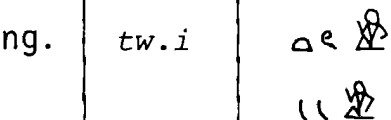
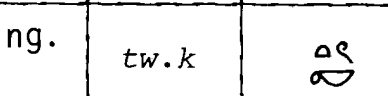
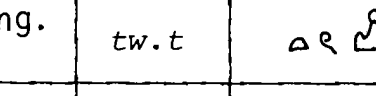
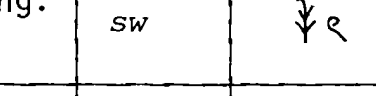
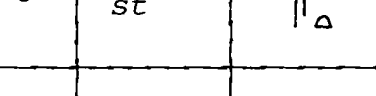
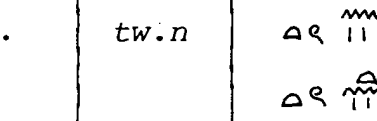
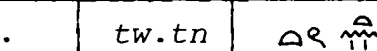
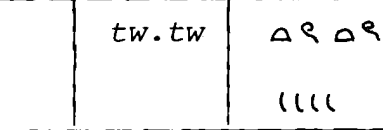
1st. pers. sing.	*tw(.i)*		*LES*, 75, 1-2.
2nd. pers. sing. masc.	*tw.k*		*LES*, 65, 12.
2nd. pers. sing. fem.	*tw.t*		(?)
3rd. pers. sing. masc.	*tw.f*		*LRL*, 20, 5; Adoption rt. 21.
3rd. pers. sing. fem.	*tw.s*		(?)

1st. pers. pl.	*tw.n*		(?)
2nd. pers. pl.	*tw.tn*		(?)
3rd. pers. pl.	*tw.w*		*LRL*, 10, 3.

Since the third persons singular and plural take the forms *tw.f* and *tw.w* after verbs which do not contain final weak radicals, they cannot be classified as pronominal suffixes preceded by feminine infinitives, nor can one identify the *tw.f*, *tw.w* paradigm with the pronominal preformatives of the first present (see below 2.6.), in which the same persons take the form , *sw* and , *st*. (see below page 184).

2.6. The Pronominal Preformatives of the First Present (see below Chapter 19).

2.6.1. Forms.

1st. pers. sing.	*tw.i*		*LRL*, 1, 4. *LRL*, 21, 7.
2nd. pers. sing. masc.	*tw.k*		*LRL*, 46, 10.
2nd. pers. sing. fem.	*tw.t*		*LES*, 75, 11.
3rd. pers. sing. masc.	*sw*		Mayer B, 8.
3rd. pers. sing. fem.	*st*		*Ostr. Cairo Cat.*, Černý, 25725, 2.
1st. pers. pl.	*tw.n*		*LRL*, 45, 10. *LRL*, 23, 6; 12.
2nd. pers. pl.	*tw.tn*		*LRL*, 45, 11.
3rd. pers. pl.	*st*		P. Boulaq 10, rt. 8.
Impersonal.	*tw.tw*		Abb, 4, 4. Mayer A, 6, 9.

Note that the pronominal preformatives of the first present interchange with

1). *p3-A* (a defined noun).

2). *ø-A* (a bare noun).

3). *w'-A* (an undefined noun).

Obs. When *sw* and *st* function as the pronominal preformatives of the first present, they should not be indentified with the dependent pronoun. The latter is enclitic, the former proclitic.

2.6.2. Use. (see below Chapter 19).

The pronominal preformatives are used as the subject of adverbial predicates, and of the equivalent verbal formations

with either the stative or *ḥr* or *m* + infinitive.

a). With an adverb.

See also Ex. 760.

b). With an adverbial phrase.

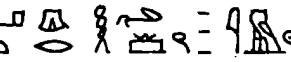
See also Ex. 752.

c). With the stative.

See also Ex. 769.

d). With *ḥr* + infinitive.

Ex. 79, P. Boulaq 10, rt. 8-9: , *3ḫt.s p3-nty st ḥr wḫ3.f m p3-hrw*, They are seeking her possessions today. (Lit. 'It is her possessions that they are seeking today.') (Dynasty 19.)

Ex. 80, *LRL*, 9, 8-9:  *tw.i (ḥr) di.t grḥ.w im.w*, I am compelling them to finish with them. (Dynasty 20.)

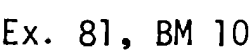
Note that although the *ḥr* which precedes the infinitive is almost always omitted in the 20th Dynasty, we still transliterate it. The reasons for this are, firstly that there are still cases, even in the 20th. Dynasty, where the *ḥr* is actually written,[70.] and secondly, that *(ḥr)* conventionally indicates that the following verb is an infinitive and not a stative.

2.7. Interrogative Pronouns.[71.]

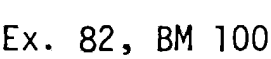
2.7.1. , *iḫ*, 'Who?', 'What?' (See below 61.7.).

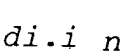
The following examples show that *iḫ* is to be classified as the equivalent of a bare noun.

a). Preceding the genitival , *n*:

Ex. 81, BM 10052, 5, 9:  , *iḫ n ḥn.w*, What kind of vessels? (Lit. 'What of vessels?')

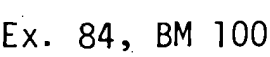
b). After a preposition:

Ex. 82, BM 10052, 8, 13:  , *iw.w m-di.i n iḫ*, Why were they in my possession? (Lit. 'They were in my possession for what?').

Ex. 83, BM 10052, 1, 16:  , *mi iḫ*, How?

Since *iḫ* is a noun equivalent, its syntactic position within the verbal system corresponds to that of a noun.

c). *iḫ* as direct object:

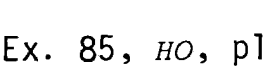
Ex. 84, BM 10052, 6, 4:  , *iw.i (r) wnm iḫ m-di.tn*, What shall I eat with you? (Lit. 'I shall eat what with you?').

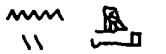
Thus the following examples must be classified as nominal and adjectival sentences (see below Chapters 57-60).

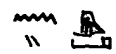
d). *iḫ* as a member of a nominal sentence pattern.

See below Exx. 1599,1600.

e). *iḫ* as subject of a *ny-sw* construction.

Ex. 85, *HO*, pl. XXXIV, 4, rt. 5:  , *ny-sw iḫ t3-ip.t*, To whom does it - the box - belong? (Dynasty 19.)

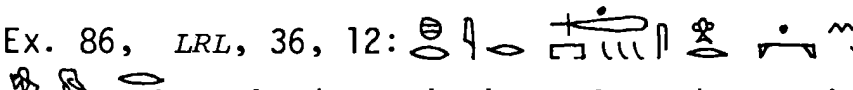
2.7.2.  , *nim*, 'Who '[72].

 , *nim*, is a combination of the particle , *in*, and the interrogative pronoun , *m*. Therefore, whenever it fills the first position the sentence is either a participal sentence or a nominal sentence.

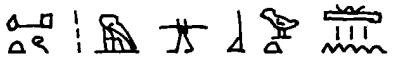
a). *nim* as the predicate of a participial statement.

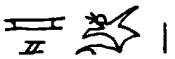
See below Ex. 1593.

b). , *nim*, can stand in a direct or indirect genitive relationship'.

Ex. 86, *LRL*, 36, 12:  , *ḫr ir pr-'3 '.w.s.ḥry nim m r-'*, As for Pharoah, l.p.h., whose lord (lit. 'a lord of whom') is he still?

Ex. 87, *LES*, 67, 1: , *m-di nim*, From whom?

Ex. 88, Anast. VIII, 1, 10-11:  , *di.tw.w m sb.t n nim*, In whose load were they put? (Lit. 'They were put in the load of whom?'). (Dynasty 19.)

2.7.3.  , *it*, 'Which?'

it as the predicate of a cleft sentence.

See below Ex. 1506.

2.8. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 98-110.
2. BM 10052, 1, 8.
3. BM 10052, 1, 8.
4. BM 10054, rt. 2, 13.
5. *HO*, pl. XXIII, 4, vs. 1.
6. Naunakhte 1, col II, 1.
7. BM 10052, 8, 11; 10, 8.
8. *LRL*, 64, 10.
9. BM 10403, 3, 26.
10. *HO*, pl. XXIII, 4, rt. 3.
11. BM 10052, 11, 12; Mayer A, 9, 15.
12. *HO*, pl. LXVI, 2, vs. 6.
13. P. Boulaq 10, rt. 8.
14. *Rec. Trav.* 26 (1904), 153, 4.
15. *LRL*, 11, 2; BM 10052, 10, 6.
16. *RAD*, 57, 7.
17. BM 10052, 8, 5.
18. Erman, *NAG*, 455; Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 29; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 220-221; Polotsky, *Papers*, pp. 418-421 (=*Or.* 31 (1962), 413-416); Groll, *Non-verbal*, pp. 28-33.
19. Erman, *NAG*, 104-106.
20. Groll, *Non-verbal*, p. 17, note 54.
21. *LES*, 75, 12-13.
22. Groll,*Negative*,Exx. 353-354.
23. Polotsky, *Papers*, pp. 398-417 (=*Or.* 30 (1961), 294-313).
24. Compare with *HO* LXX, 1, rt. 6, where *ink* is a one-membral adjectival sentence.
25. Erman, *NAG*, 705, *Anm.*1; Gunn, *JEA*, 41 (1955), 94, IX, 3; Groll, *Non-verbal*, Exx. 37-69.

26. Černý, *JEA* 27 (1941), 107, (7).
27. Gardiner, *AZ* 50 (1912), 114-117.
28. Till, *Grammatik*, 197.
29. *GG*, 113, 3.
30. Groll, *Non-verbal*, pp. 43-46.
31. *GG*, 114, 2.
32. Erman, *NAG*, 59-86.
33. BM 10052, 13, 25.
34. BM 10403, 3, 31.
35. *LRL*, 36, 5. (Common)
36. After *t*. *LRL*, 19, 5.
37. Mayer A, 2, 11.
38. *HO*, pl. XXIII, 4, vs. 3.
39. BM 10052, 1, 7.
40. After *t*. *LES*, 66, 3.
41. BM 10052, 1, 16.
42. BM 10052, 2A, 13.
43. BM 10052, 1, 10.
44. *HO*, pl. LXX, 1, rt. 5.
45. BM 10052, 5, 13.
46. Less common, but not rare; read *.n*, not *.nn*. BM 10052, 5, 19.
47. *LRL*, 44, 15.
48. As often after preceding *n*. BM 10052, 5, 13.
49. Abb, 5, 15.
50. *LRL*, 7, 9.
51. Until Dynasty 19. *HO*, pl. XXX, vs. 5.
52. In Dynasty 20. *LES*, 69, 16.
53. *LES*, 61, 6.
54. *LES*, 64, 8.
55. After *w*. *LES*, 61, 6.
56. After *w*. *LES*, 69, 16.

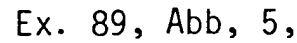
57. After *t.* *LES*, 70, 16.
58. After *t.* *LRL*, 9, 13.
59. *LRL*, 3, 13.
60. P. Strassburg 21, 5; 6; 7; 8; etc..
61. BM 10052, 10, 19.
62. BM 10052, 11, 8.
63. BM 10052, 2, 15.
64. Abb. 5,5.
65. Mayer A, 6, 8.
66. BM 10052, 15, 8.
67. Abb. 6, 14.
68. Spiegelberg,*Grammatik* , 248; Till, *Grammatik*, 326.
69. Spiegelberg, *AZ* 53 (1917), p. 126-8, Steindorff, *Grammatik*, 193.
70. *RAD*, 54, 8.
71. Till, *Grammatik*, 213; 214.
72. Till, *Grammatik*, 210.

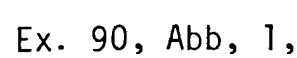
CHAPTER 3. DEMONSTRATIVES AND ARTICLES

3.1. The Demonstrative Adjective.

3.1.1. The *pn*, *tn* paradigm.[1.]

The demonstrative adjectives , *pn*, and , *tn* are used, following the noun, in only a few fixed phrases.

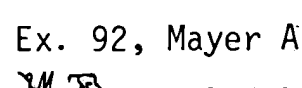
Ex. 89, Abb, 5, 12:  , *hrw pn*, This day.

Ex. 90, Abb, 1, 15:  , *pr pn*, This temple.

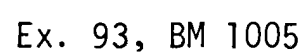
Ex. 91, Abb, 5, 4: , *s.t tn*, This place.

Obs. It is uncertain whether *hrw pn*, *pr pn*, and *s.t tn* should be regarded as archaisms surviving from Middle Egyptian or whether they are living constructions in Late Egyptian itself.

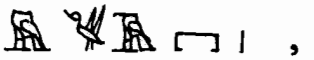
1). *hrw pn* refers to the , *sw*, element of a previously mentioned regnal date. It means 'the above mentioned *sw*'[2.], whereas *m p3-hrw* regularly refer to present time.[3.] Usually a somewhat similar distinction can be traced in the Coptic contrast between ⲡⲓϩⲟⲟⲩ and ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ . Furthermore, when *hrw* refers back to a *sw*, it is never defined.[4.] Note that when *hrw* indicates past time in the narrative, it is often preceded by *p3y*:

Ex. 92, Mayer A, 1, 16:  , *iw.i (ḥr) ir.t n.w mtr.t m p3y-hrw*,
And I gave evidence against them on that day.

2). *pr pn* refers to a previously mentioned temple.[5.] Moreover, when *pr* indicates a 'temple' and not a 'house' it is not usually preceded by the definite article.
Compare

Ex. 93, BM 10052, 8, 9:  , *n p3y.w-pr*,

Of their house;

Ex. 94, BM 10403, 1, 26:  , *m p3-pr*, In the house;

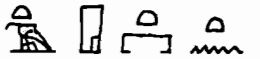
with

Ex. 95, BM 10052, 15, 16: [sic], *n pr imn*, Of (the) temple of Amon.

Thus *pr*, in identical syntactical conditions, when indicating a 'house' is defined, but when indicating a 'temple' is bare.

3). *s.t tn* indicates a previously mentioned royal place (see Ex. 91).

Note the following combination.

Ex. 96, P. Leop.-Am., 3, 9:  , *t3-ḥw.t tn*, The above-mentioned 'Temple'.

'The Temple' is an abbreviated name for the temple of Medinet Habu.[6] Thus *pn* is the anaphoric demonstrative, normally used in constructions incompatible with the definite article.

3.1.2. The *p3y*, *t3y*, *n3y* paradigm.[7]

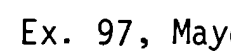
i). Forms.

	Late Egyptian		Coptic		
			Accented	Unaccented	Subject of Nominal Sentence
Masc. sing.	*p3y*	[8]	ⲡⲁⲓ	ⲡⲉⲓ-	ⲡⲉ
Fem. sing.	*t3y*	[9]	ⲧⲁⲓ	ⲧⲉⲓ-	ⲧⲉ

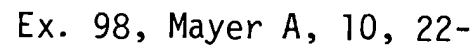
Plur.	*n3y* *n3*	10. 11.	NAÏ	NEÏ-	NE

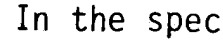
ii). Uses.

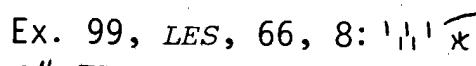
a). Before a noun (equivalent to Coptic ΠΕΪ-):

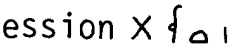
Ex. 97, Mayer A, 4, 4:  , *p3y-ḥd*, This silver.

b). Absolutely (i.e., *p3y* usually means 'this man'; equivalent to Coptic ΠΑΪ):

Ex. 98, Mayer A, 10, 22-23: ....  , ...*iw bwpwy p3y šm iw.f m šri*, ...But this (person) did not go, being a child.

In the special construction X ....  , *X .... r p3y*, 'X .... to this (....),' *p3y* and *t3y* are used in place of a preceding noun expressing time.

Ex. 99, *LES*, 66, 8:  , *5 3bd (n) hrw r p3y*, Five full months to this(day). (Lit. 'Five months of days to this (day).')

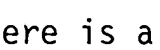
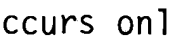
p3y here refers to *3bd* and not to *hrw*. Also in the expression X  ,[12.] *X rnp.t r t3y*, 'X years to this (year)', *t3y* stands for *t3y-rnp.t*.

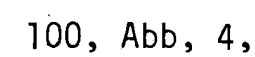
c). In a nominal sentence: *p3y*(equivalent to Coptic ΠΕ), as the subject of a bimembral nominal sentence (see below 57.4.-57.7).

Conclusion: Late Egyptian *p3y* fulfills three different functions:

1. It is an adjectival equivalent when qualifying a following noun;
2. It is a noun equivalent after a preposition;
3. It is a noun equivalent in a nominal sentence.

3.1.3. , *p3w*.[13].

There is a demonstrative adjective written  , *p3w*, which occurs only in the masculine, and which may be another form of  , *p3y*.

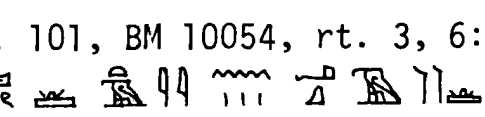
Ex. 100, Abb, 4, 10:  ; *p3w-ḫpr*, What happened. (Lit. 'That which happened.')

3.2. The Possessive Article.[14].

The demonstrative adjective with pronominal suffix gave rise to the possessive article, used instead of the pronominal suffix, and written , *p3y.f* (masc.), , *t3y.f* (fem.), and , *n3y.f* (pl.). Note the following:

1. It precedes the noun(which is possessed);
2. It agrees in gender and number with its following noun;
3. The suffix is the owner expression of its following noun.

Note the absolute use of the possessive article (equivalent to Coptic ⲡⲱ, ⲧⲱ, ⲛⲱ).[15].

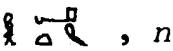
Ex. 101, BM 10054, rt. 3, 6: ....  , ... *iw t3y.f-pš mi-qd t3y.n 'q3 'q3*, ...And his share was exactly like ours.

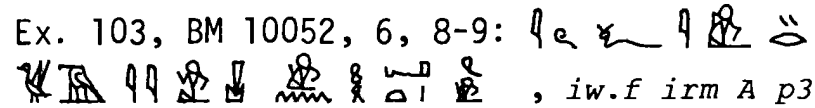
3.3. Expressions for 'self'.

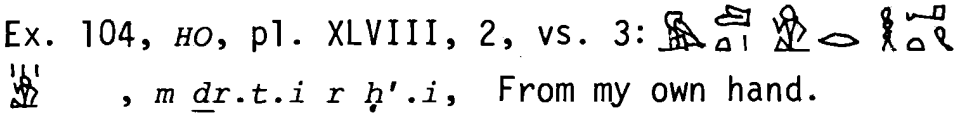
'Self' is expressed:

a). By , *ds*, with a following pronominal suffix.

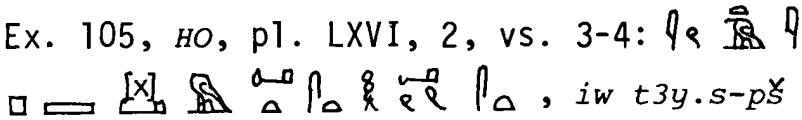
Ex. 102, *RAD*, 56, 7: , *ḫr iw.i r dn.t.f n.tn ds.i*, And I shall distribute it to you myself.

b). By , *n ḥ'*, or  , *r ḥ'*, plus pronominal suffix.[16]

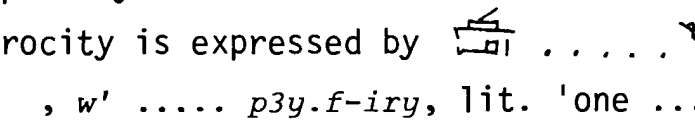
Ex. 103, BM 10052, 6, 8-9:  , *iw.f irm A p3y.i-sn n ḥ'.i*, He being with A, my own brother.

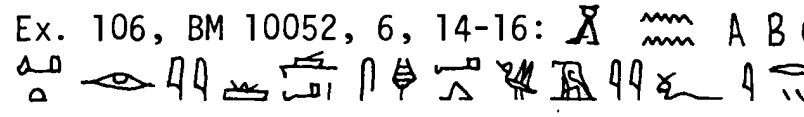
Ex. 104, *HO*, pl. XLVIII, 2, vs. 3:  , *m dr.t.i r ḥ'.i*, From my own hand.

The *n* or *r* can be omitted.

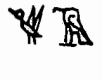
Ex. 105, *HO*, pl. LXVI, 2, vs. 3-4:  , *iw t3y.s-pš m-di.s ḥ'.s*, Her share being in her personal possession (lit. 'with her herself').

3.4. Reciprocity.

Reciprocity is expressed by  , *w' ..... p3y.f-iry*, lit. 'one .....(and) his fellow'.

Ex. 106, BM 10052, 6, 14-16:  , *ini A B C D E F r di.t iry w' s'ḥ' p3y.f-iry*, A, B, C, D, E, and F were brought so that they would accuse each other (lit. 'in order to cause one to accuse his fellow').

3.5. The Definite Article (see below 4.2.).

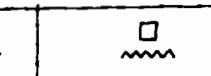
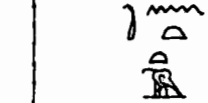
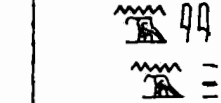
	Late Egyptian		Coptic
Masc.	 17. 18.	*p3*	ⲡⲉ, ⲡⲉϩ
Fem.	19.	*t3*	ⲧⲉ, ⲧⲉϩ
Plur.	20. 21. 22. 23.	*n3*	ⲛⲉ, ⲛⲉϩ

Obs. Note also the writing for , *p3*.[24] In this group is the phonetic complement of . The writing is perhaps an attempt to express the definite article equivalent to Coptic ⲡⲉ (used before words beginning with two consonants).[25]

3.6. The *p(3)-n*, *t(3)-n*, and *n(3)-n* paradigm.[26]

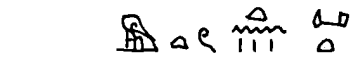
3.6.1. Forms.

The Coptic prefixes ⲡⲁ, ⲧⲁ, ⲛⲁ, 'he, she, they of' gradually developed from the coalescence of the elements *p3*, *t3*, and *n3* with the genitival *n*, used before nouns. (For the disappearance of the genitival *n* from pronounciation see above 1.8..)

Masc.		*p(3)-n* *p3*	*LRL*, 33, 11. Mayer A, 8, 15.
Fem.		*t3-nt* *t3*	See Ex. 108. See Ex. 109.
Pl.		*n3y* *n3*	See Ex. 110. Mayer A, 6, 10.

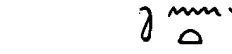
3.6.2. Use.[27.]

a). As a direct object.

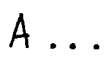
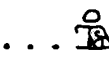
Ex. 107, Fragmentary letter found at Deir el Medineh in 1940 (unpublished):
 , *mtw.tn di.t p(3)-n s nb n.f*, And you shall give him his due (lit. 'the thing which belongs to every man').

Note the unusual position of the dative *n.f*.

b). Preceding a defined noun.

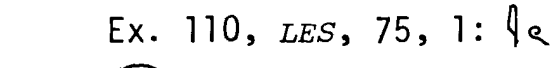
Ex. 108, Fragmentary letter found at Deir el Medineh in 1940 (unpublished):
 , *t3-n.t-p3-ipw*, She of the register.

Ex. 109, Fragmentary letter found at Deir el Medineh in 1940 (unpublished):

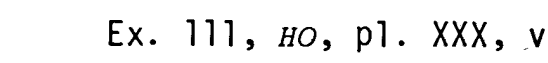
A ....  B  C , *A .... t3-B mw.t.s C*, A .... the daughter of B, her mother being C.

Note that *t3* means 'daughter of'.

c). As part of the subject of a verbal formation.

Ex. 110, *LES*, 75, 1:  , *iw n3y-t3-dmi (ḥr) pr.t r.i*, The inhabitants of (lit. 'those belonging to') the city went out towards me.

d). As indirect object of a verbal formation.

Ex. 111, *HO*, pl. XXX, vs. 6:  , *iw.i (ḥr) h3b (n) n3y-ḥw.t nsw*, I sent

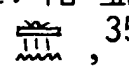
to the authorities of the Mansion of the King.

Note that since in Ex. 107, *s* is followed by the adjective *nb*, and since in Exx. 108 and 110, *ipw* and *dmi* are preceded by the definite article, the construction *pn-A*, as an entity, can not be classified as a defined noun. In other words *p(3)* and *t(3)* in the constructions *p(3)-n*, *t(3)-n* can not be regarded as defining elements. They are rather auxiliary elements which enable the *n* of the genitive (a non-initial element) to fill a second position. A somewhat similar grammatical phenomenon can be found in the Coptic construction ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ , in which the element ⲡ 'nominalizes' the relative sentence but does not define it.[28.]

Since both the *p(3)-n-A* construction and the *ny-sw A* construction (see above 2.3.4.-2.3.6.) convey the sense of 'belonging', one is bound to inquire into their mutual relationship. It is obvious that the *p(3)-n-A* construction must be classified syntactically as a noun, whereas the *ny-sw A* construction is a full sentence. Indeed, the *ny-sw A* construction could have functioned as a noun if preceded by a , *nty*, but, for an unknown reason, the pattern **nty ny-sw A* does not exist. It is here that the *p(3)-n-A* construction complements *ny-sw A*. In other words, since the pattern **nty ny-sw t3-dmi* does not exist, the pattern *n3y-t3-dmi* (Ex. 110) is used in its place.

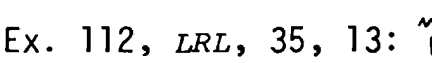
3.7. The Indefinite Article.[29.]

The indefinite article, *w'*, makes no distinction in regard to gender. The forms are: ,[30.] ,[31.] and .[32.] For the uses of *w'* see below 4.3..

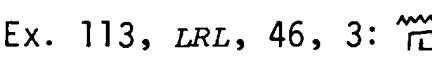
The plural of the indefinite article is *nh3y (n)*. The forms are: ,[33.] ,[34.]  ,[35.] ,[36.] and .[37.]

Note that only a bare noun is preceded by *n*.

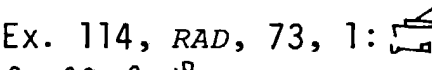
Compare

Ex. 112, *LRL*, 35, 13:  , *nh3y n ø-ḥbs*, Some cloth.

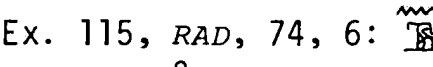
with

Ex. 113, *LRL*, 46, 3:  , *nh3y n3-ḥbs.w*, Some (lit. 'a few') of the cloths.

When *nh3y* precedes a defined noun its use must be considered as absolute, 'some (ones),' 'a few', and has partitive meaning, 'some (a few) (ones) of the ....'. Note that a bare noun can immediately follow *nh3y*, without being preceded by *n*.

Ex. 114, *RAD*, 73, 1:  , *w'-3ḥ.t n nh3y ø-nḥmy.w*, A field of some citizens.

nh3y can itself be preceded by *n3*, in which case it has to be translated as 'those who belong to a group'.

Ex. 115, *RAD*, 74, 6:  , *n3-nh3y n ø-mḏ3y.w*, Those who belong to a group of policemen.

3.8. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 114-117; *GG*, 110-111. It seems that the plural, *nn*, is not used in non-literary texts.
2. Abb, 5, 12; 7, 1; BM 10068, vs. 1, 1; BM 10052, 1, 1; Mayer A, 1, 1; P. Leop.-Am., 4, 3.
3. Abb, 5, 15; 6, 4; BM 10052, 3, 9; Ex. 79. See also Till, *Grammatik*, 181.
4. *LES*, 61, 1, where *hrw n wḏ* refers to *sw 16*. See also Polotsky, *Papers*, 231 (= *OLZ* 52 (1957), 229-230).
5. Mayer A, 1, 11; BM 10053, vs. 4, 23; Abb, 1, 10; 12; 13; 15; P. Leop.-Am., 1, 17: BM 10052, 10, 6.
6. Černý, *JEA* 26 (1940), 127-130.
7. Erman, *NAG*, 122-126; Till, *Grammatik*, 201-202.
8. *LRL*, 35, 15.
9. *LES*, 73, 6.
10. BM 10403, 1, 29.
11. BM 10403, 1, 7.
12. BM 10054, vs. 1, 6.
13. Erman, *NAG*, 120-121.
14. Erman, *NAG*, 179-182; Till, *Grammatik*, 205; *GG*, 113.
15. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 8; Till, *Grammatik*, 204.
16. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 7a (p.255); Till, *Grammatik*, 195.
17. *LES*, 66, 5.
18. *LRL*, 45, 5; 13; 46, 5.
19. *RAD*, 57, 16.
20. Abb, 3, 1.
21. *LES*, 69, 6.
22. *LRL*, 23, 12.
23. *LES*, 69, 4.
24. *LRL*, 39, 13. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 41.
25. Till, *Grammatik*, 88.

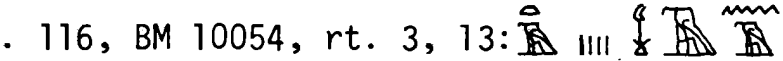
26. Till, *Grammatik*, 203; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 11.
27. Spiegelberg, *AZ* 54 (1918), 104-110.
28. Till, *Grammatik*, 476-481.
29. Till, *Grammatik*, 92.
30. *RAD*, 57, 12; *LRL*, 4, 6.
31. *LRL*, 29, 16; 47, 16.
32. *RAD*, 56, 13.
33. *LRL*, 35, 13.
34. Abb, 4, 16-17.
35. P. Lee, 1, 5.
36, *RAD*, 73, 1.
37. *LRL*, 46, 3.

CHAPTER 4. NOUNS

4.1. Forms.

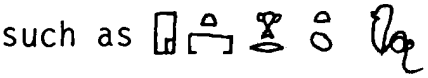
4.1.1. Gender.[1.]

Late Egyptian nouns are masculine or feminine. Masculine nouns have no ending. Feminine nouns have an ending *.t*, which is often omitted (see 1.9.), and in some words never attested at all, although they are shown by context to be feminine.

Ex. 116, BM 10054, rt. 3, 13:  , *t3-4 ḫns*, The four *ḫns* (ox-amulets?).

is usually the ending *.t* of feminine words taken over from Semitic languages, where, in contrast to Egyptian practice, it was still pronounced at the time of the New Kingdom. See, for example, *mrkb.t*, 'chariot', quoted in Ex. 140.

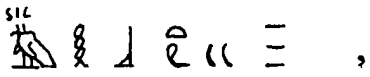
The feminine ending, *.t*, survives

a). in compounds such as  *ḥw.t-ḥr*,

b). before suffixes.

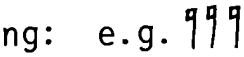
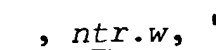
It is then often written or .

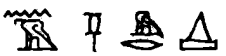
Ex. 117, *LRL*, 44, 10: , *psḏ.t.f*, His Ennead.

Ex. 118, BM 10052, 14, 18:  , *nḫb.wt.w*, Their backs. (Lit. 'Their necks')

4.1.2. Number.[2.]

a). Plural.

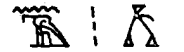
In many words the plural keeps its traditional form in writing: e.g.  , *nṯr.w*, 'gods';  , *s.wt*, 'places'; , *ḥry.w*, 'superiors'. The determinative of a plural word is sometimes unexpectedly written twice.

Ex. 119, Abb, 2, 1:  , *n3-mr.w*, The pyramids.

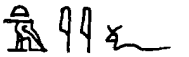
However,the ending *.w* was, in general, lost in pronunciation and the ending *.wt* reduced to *.we*. In most cases, therefore, no ending is written, and the plural form is only recognisable by the plural determinative. Even this may be omitted, since there are other means, such as the use of the appropriate article, of showing that a word is plural. Compare

Ex. 120, BM 10054, rt. 2, 8: , *n3-(mi)ḥ'.wt*, The tombs;

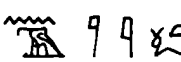
with

Ex. 121, BM 10054, rt. 2, 10:  , *n3-ḏb3.wt*, The coffins.

Plural strokes are sometimes added by mistake.

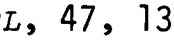
Ex. 122, BM 10054, rt. 1, 5:  , *t3y.f-(mi)ḥ'.t*, His tomb.

Certain words sometimes show a new plural ending , *.y*, which they never had before.

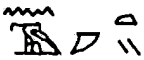
Ex. 123, BM 10383, 1, 7:  , *n3-it.y-nṯr*, The Divine Fathers.

Ex. 124, BM 10054, rt. 2, 11: , *n3-(mi)ḥ'.yt*, The tombs.

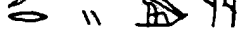
Nouns ending in *ty* have, in the plural, either *ty*, with no ending, or , *ty.w*, as in

Ex. 125, *LRL*, 47, 13:  , *ḥ3wty.w*, Ancient;

or , *ty.w*, as in

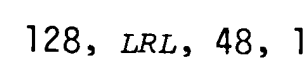
Ex. 126, Ostr. Berlin 11239, 3:  , *n3-ḥmty.w*, The coppersmiths;

or , *ty*, as in

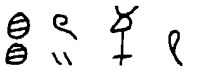
Ex. 127, Abb, 4, 1:  , *ḏrty.w*, Ancestors.

b). Dual.

The dual is indicated either by doubling the determinative, as in

Ex. 128, *LRL*, 48, 1:  , *rd.wy.n*, Our legs;

or by adding . This is sometimes added, even if the word is not a dual.

Ex. 129, BM 10054, rt. 1, 9:  , *ḥḥ*, Throat.

4.1.3. Syntax.

Late Egyptian nouns can stand with a definite article (defined nouns), with an indefinite article (undefined nouns), or with no article (bare nouns, i.e. *ø-A*).

4.2. The defined noun.

4.2.1. Definition.[3.]

Defined nouns are nouns which are preceded by either the definite article (see 3.5.), the possessive article (see 3.2.), or the demonstrative adjective (see 3.1.), or are followed by either the pronominal suffix (see 2.4.) or the adjective *nb* (see 5.4. and Ex. 1117). They occur under the following circumstances.

4.2.2. Defined nouns designating things and people already mentioned.

Ex. 130, BM 10054, rt. 3, 5: , *iw.n m šm w' p3-6*, While we were on our way (lit. 'went together'), the six of us ....

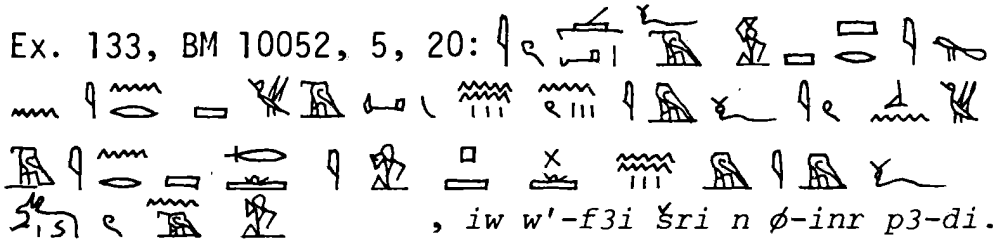
The names of the six men were mentioned in lines 2-3 of the same page.

4.2.3. Defined nouns designating things or people known generally.

Ex. 131, Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 19, 15: , *t3-ḥw.t*, 'The Temple' (i.e. the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, see above, 3.1.1.3.).

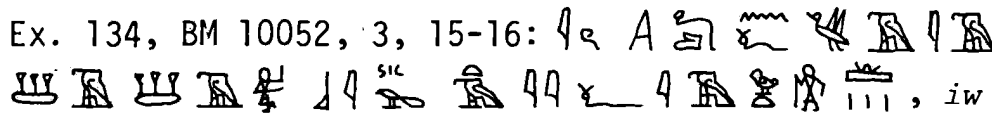
Ex. 132, Abb, 1, 3: , *p3-ḫr*, 'The Tomb.'

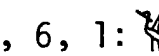
4.2.4. Defined nouns designating things or people known to the speaker or narrator.

Ex. 133, BM 10052, 5, 20:  , *iw w'-f3i šri n ø-inr p3-di.n n.w im.f iw bn p3-inr '3 i.pš.n im.f iwn3*, But it was a small stone weight with which we gave them (their share), it not being the large stone weight with which we had made the division.

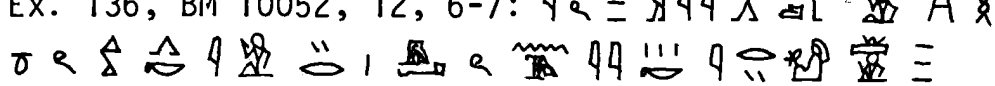
Note that the 'stone weight' that they did not usually use is preceded by *w'*, but the usual one is preceded by *p3*.

A special case of this type is the use with the vocative.

Ex. 134, BM 10052, 3, 15-16:  , *iw A (ḫr) dd n.f p3-i3w š3š3 bi(n) t3y.f-i3w.t*, A said to him, "You silly old man, whose old age is miserable."

Ex. 135, *HO*, pl. XL, 6, 1:  , *p3-grḥ*, O night!

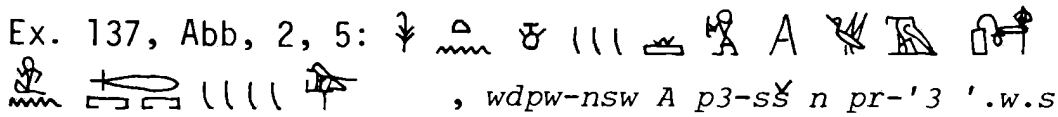
However, when the vocative is a proper name no article is used.

Ex. 136, BM 10052, 12, 6-7:  ,

iw.w (ḫr) iy r ḏd n.i A ḥn.k irm n3y.k-iry.w, They came and said to me, "A, run with your fellows!"

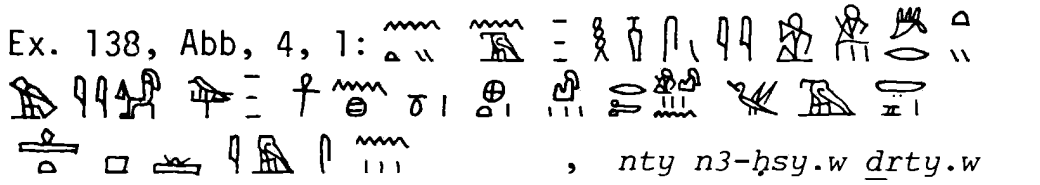
4.2.5. The defined noun in titles.

If a noun indicating a title follows a proper name, in apposition, it may be preceded either by the definite article or by the indefinite article (see below 4.3.3.), but it never stands without an article.

Ex. 137, Abb, 2, 5:  , *wdpw-nsw A p3-sš n pr-'3 '.w.s.*, The Royal-butler, A, the scribe of Pharoah (l.p.h.).

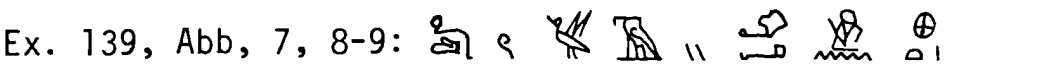
4.2.6. Co-ordination of nouns.[4.]

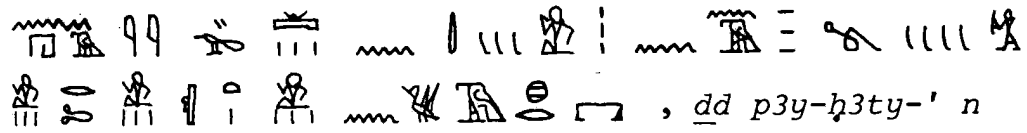
Note that co-ordination of nouns is often effected by the use of the definite article with only the first of a succession of nouns.

Ex. 138, Abb, 4, 1:  , *nty n3-ḥsy.w ḏrty.w ø-'nḫ-n-niw.t ø-rmṯ-n-p3-t3 ḥtp im.sn*, In which the blessed ones of old, (the) citizenesses, and (the) citizens rest.

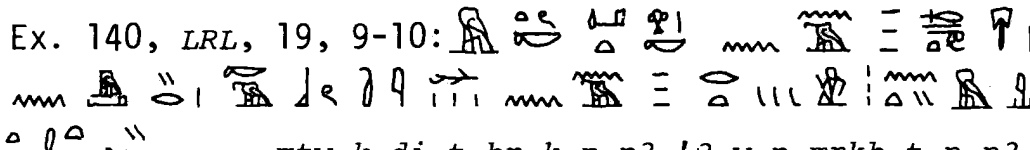
Note that *n3-ḥsy.w ḏrty.w ø-'nḫ-n-niw.t ø-rmṯ-n-p3-t3* is all the subject of the predicate *ḥtp*. It is a relative first present pattern, consisting of three nominal subjects and a single predicate. That *n3* is shared by all three is indicated by the fact that it stands only before *ḥsy.w* (the noun occupying the first position), whereas *'nḫ-n-niw.t* and *rmṯ-n-p3-t3* (the nouns occupying the second and third positions) are bare, although their morpho-syntactic functions are one and the same.

Compare further

Ex. 139, Abb, 7, 8-9: 


, *dd p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t nh3y n md.t n n3-rwd.w ø-rmṯ-is.t n p3-ḫr*, This Mayor of Thebes made some charges to the inspectors and workmen of 'The Tomb'.

with

Ex. 140, *LRL*, 19, 9-10: 
, *mtw.k di.t ḥr.k n n3-'3.w n mrkb.t n n3-rmṯ nty m sḫ.t (m) mit.t*, And give your attention to the chariot donkeys, and to the men who are in the field as well.

Note that in Ex. 139 the dative expression occurs only once, preceding *n3-rwd.w*, and that whereas *rwd.w* is defined, *ø-rmṯ-is.t* is bare. In contrast to this the dative expression in Ex. 140 is written not only before *n3-'3.w* but also before *n3-rmt* and both these nouns are defined. Hence one can conclude that very often the single appearance of a dative expression and the inequality of definition of two co-ordinated nouns are related. Thus co-ordination of nouns can be expressed by inequality in definition and by the single occurrence of an element common to both.

4.2.7. Constructions with *ḥn'*.

Ex. 141, P. Leop-Am, 2, 15-16:
, *iw.n (ḥr) nw.t p3-nbw i.gmi.n m p3y-s'ḥ Špsy n p3y-nṯr ḥn' n3y.f-wd3.w ø-'pr.w wn r ḫḫ.f ø-w.wt wn.f ḥtp im.sn*, We made off with the gold we found on this noble mummy of this god, together

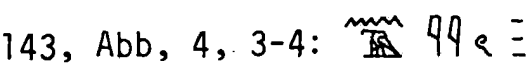
with (that on) his amulets and jewels, which were on his neck, and (that on) the coffins in which he was resting.

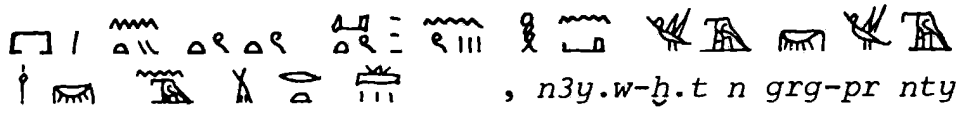
The above quoted passage indicates very strongly that inequality of definition is expressive of the co-ordination of nouns constituting a grammatical unit. Further, since *wn* in *wn.f ḥtp* 'is a relative form, *w.wt*, which functions as its antecedent, must be a defined noun (see below 51.3.), and must therefore borrow its definition from *n3y.f*, in *n3y.f-wḏ3.w*. Thus, in a succession of nouns following *ḥn'*, only the first noun appears to take a definite article, and the subsequent nouns are bare.

Ex. 142, Abb, 6, 5-6:
, ir nsw nb ḥn' n3y.w-ḥm .wt-nsw ø-mw.wt-nsw ø-ms.w-nsw nty ḥtp .... ḥn' n3-nty ḥtp m t3y-s.t-nfr.w st wḏ3, As for all the Kings, with their Royal Wives, Royal Mothers, and Royal Children, who are at rest .... and those who are at rest in this Place of Beauty, they are intact.

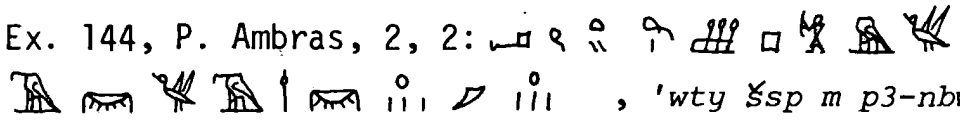
Again, a relative sentence introduced by *nty* can follow only a defined antecedent. Therefore the *n3y.w* of *n3y.w-ḥm.wt-nsw* is shared by the *mw.wt-nsw* and *ms.w-nsw*.

It is worth mentioning that *ḥn'* occurs twice in this example, once preceding *n3y.w-ḥm.wt-nsw ø-mw.wt-nsw ø-ms.w-nsw*, and the second time preceding the group *n3-nty ḥtp m t3y-s.t-nfr.w*. Since *n3* preceding *nty* is not only a definer, but also a nominalizer the definition cannot be carried on beyond *ḥn'*. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule, for example the group comprising , *nbw*, and , *ḥḏ*.

Ex. 143, Abb, 4, 3-4: 


, *n3y.w-ḫ.t n grg-pr nty tw.tw (ḥr) di.t.w n.w ḥn' p3-nbw p3-ḥḏ n3-'pr.w*,
Their funerary outfit, such as is given to them, together with the gold, silver (lit. 'the silver') and jewels (lit. 'the jewels').

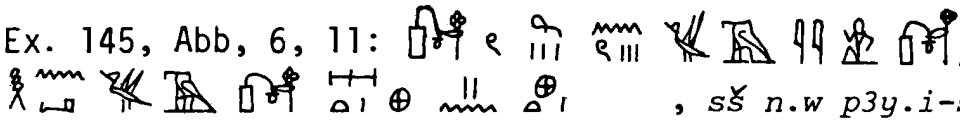
Note that here *n3-'pr.w* is also defined. One can assume that this is due to its being defined by *n3*, whereas *nbw* and *ḥḏ* are defined by *p3*.

Ex. 144, P. Ambras, 2, 2: 
, *'wty šsp m p3-nbw p3-ḥḏ ø-ḥmt*, Record of the receipt of the gold, silver (lit. 'the silver'), and copper.

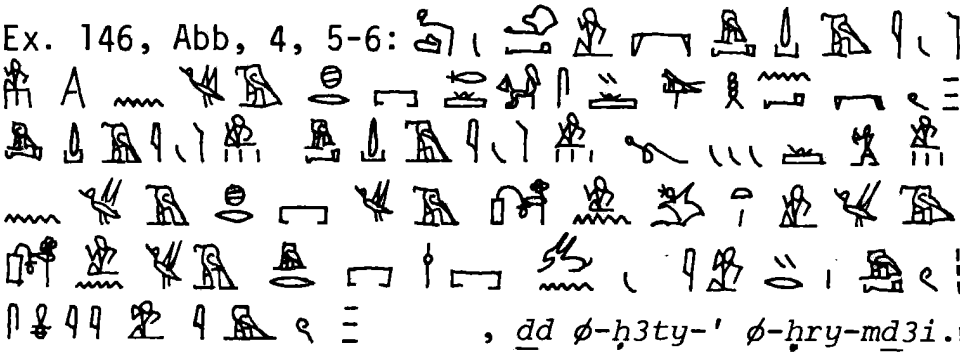
Note that when *nbw* and *ḥḏ* share a preposition with a noun which is also masculine singular, the noun is generally bare.

The nouns immediately preceding or following *ḥn'* are either both defined or both undefined.

Compare

Ex. 145, Abb, 6, 11: 
, *sš n.w p3y.i-sš ḥn' p3-sš-ḏ3t.t 2 n niw.t*, My scribe and the two scribes of the quarter of No made a record about them (lit. 'wrote it down for them');

with

Ex. 146, Abb, 4, 5-6: 
, *ḏd ø-ḥ3ty-' ø-ḥry-md3i.w A n p3-ḫr '3 špsy ḥn' ø-ḥry.w-md3i.w ø-md3i.w ø-rwd.w*

n p3-ḫr p3-sš n t3ty p3-sš n p3-imy-r-pr-ḥd wn irm.w smy im.w, (The) mayor and chief of police, A, of the Great and Noble 'Tomb', together with (the) chiefs of police, (the) police (themselves), and (the) inspectors, of 'The Tomb', the scribe of (the) vizier, and the scribe of the overseer of the Treasury, who happened to be with them made a report on them (i.e. the thieves).

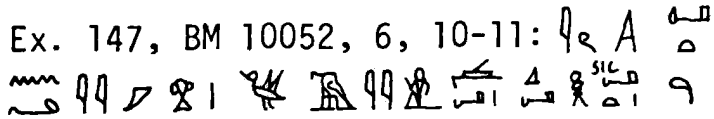
Note that since *ḥ3ty-'* and *ḥry-md3i.w* are bare nouns, *ḥry.w-md3i.w*, which immediately follows *ḫn'*, is also bare. Since *md3i.w* and *rwd.w*, following *ḥry.w-md3i.w*, share the same genitive expression *(n p3-ḫr)*, they are likewise bare, whereas *p3-sš n t3ty* and *p3-sš n p3-imy-r-pr-ḥd* do not share that same genitive expression and are defined. Thus inequality of definition can make clear which of a long succession of nouns form distinct groups.

4.2.8. Definition as a time indicator.

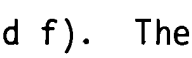
See below 4.4.1.

4.2.9. Definition by the pronominal suffixes.[5.]

The fact that the indefinite article , *w'*, is incompatible with a noun followed by a pronominal suffix, and also with a noun preceded by *p3y.f*, indicates that a noun is defined by the addition of a pronominal suffix.

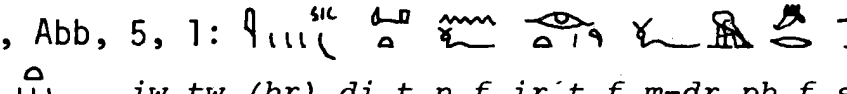
Ex. 147, BM 10052, 6, 10-11:  , *iw A (ḫr) di.t n.i w'-sḏ ny ḥr p3y.i-w'-q'ḥ*, A stabbed me in my arm with a spear. (Lit. 'A gave me a stroke of (the) spear on one of my arms.')

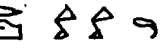
Note that it is *w'* that is defined, not *q'ḥ*.

Only a limited number of nouns may take the pronominal suffixes in Late Egyptian. These can be considered under six main headings: a). Parts of the body; b). Words for certain things intimately connected with a person, without being constituent parts (e.g., name or state of health); c). Words of place; d). Words of property and price; e). Family relationships; and f). The word  , *bt3*, 'crime'.

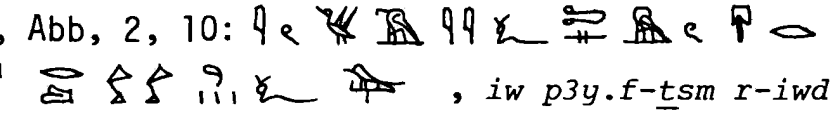
a). Parts of the body.

i). , *ir.t*, 'Eye'.

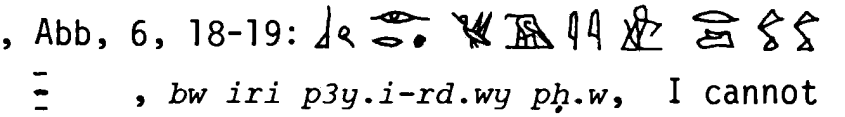
Ex. 148, Abb, 5, 1:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) di.t n.f ir.t.f m-dr ph.f st*, He was given his sight (lit. 'eye) when he reached them.

ii).  , *rd.wy*, 'Legs' 'Feet'.

Compare

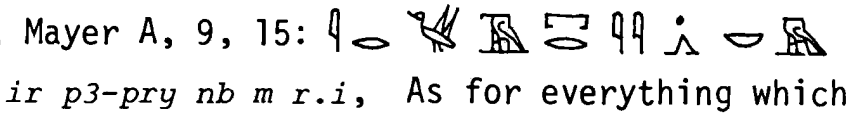
Ex. 149, Abb, 2, 10:  , *iw p3y.f-tsm r-iwd rd.wy.f*, And his dog is between his feet.

with

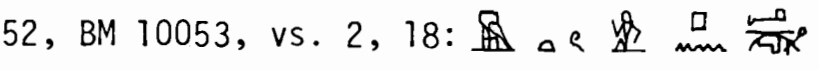
Ex. 150, Abb, 6, 18-19:  , *bw iri p3y.i-rd.wy ph.w*, I cannot fathom them. (Lit. 'My feet can not reach them.')

We may conclude that when 'feet' is used figuratively it takes the possessive article *p3y.f*, and not the pronominal suffix.

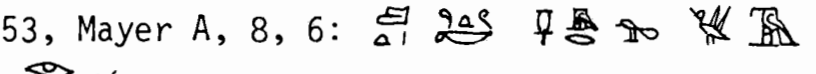
iii). , *r*, 'Mouth'.

Ex. 151, Mayer A, 9, 15:  , *ir p3-pry nb m r.i*, As for everything which I said (lit. 'came out of my mouth').

Note that even when *r* indicates 'speech' it takes a pronominal suffix:

Ex. 152, BM 10053, vs. 2, 18:  , *mtw.i pn' r.i*, If I go back on my word (lit. 'If I put my word upside down') ....

iv). , *dr.t*, 'Hand'.

Ex. 153, Mayer A, 8, 6:  , *dr.t.k mr p3-nty iw.k (r) ir.t.f*, All you will achieve is a sore hand. (Lit. 'Your-hand-will-be-painful is that which you will achieve.')

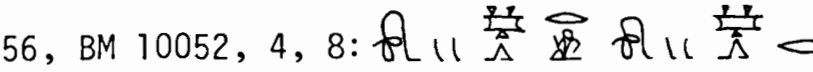
v.) , *ḥ3ty*, 'Heart'.

Ex. 154, BM 10052, 14, 8: , *m iri ḥn md.t nb i.mḥ tw m ḥ3ty.i*, Do not confess anything! Fill yourself with my courage (lit. 'heart')!

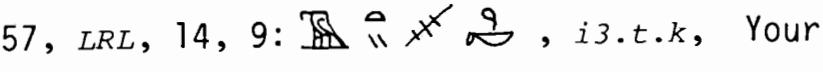
vi). , *ib*, 'Heart'.

Ex. 155, *LRL*, 12, 7: , *ib.i*, My desire (lit. 'heart').

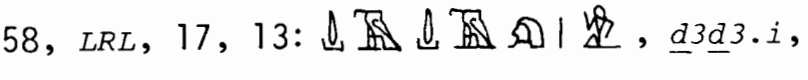
vii). , *ḥ'*, 'Body'.

Ex. 156, BM 10052, 4, 8:  , *w3i r.i w3i r ḥ'.i*, May it be far from me. May it be far from my body.

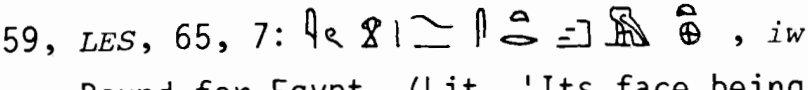
viii). , *i3.t*, 'Back.'

Ex. 157, *LRL*, 14, 9:  , *i3.t.k*, Your back.

ix). , *d3d3*, 'Head'.

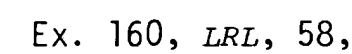
Ex. 158, *LRL*, 17, 13:  , *d3d3.i*, My head.

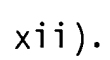
x). , *ḥr*, 'Face'.

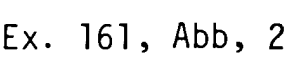
Ex. 159, *LES*, 65, 7:  , *iw ḥr.s r km.t*, Bound for Egypt. (Lit. 'Its face being

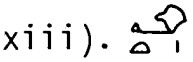
towards Egypt.')

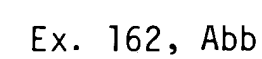
xi). , *'*, 'Arm' (see below 7.3.2.).

Ex. 160, *LRL*, 58, 11:  , *ḥr-'.i*, Under my supervision. (Lit. 'Upon my arm.')

xii).  , *b3ḥ*, 'Front' (see below 7.3.3.).

Ex. 161, Abb, 2, 9:  , *m-b3ḥ.f*, In front of him.

xiii).  , *ḥ3t*, 'Front' (see below 7.3.8.).

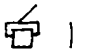
Ex. 162, Abb, 4, 17:  , *r-ḥ3t.w*, In front of them.

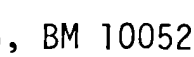
xiv). , *gs*, 'Side'.

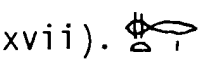
Ex. 163, *HO*, pl. LXXX, rt. 3: , *iw.t (ḥr)-gs.s*, While you are at her side.

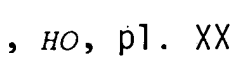
xv). , *pḥ.wy*, 'Hind-quarters'.

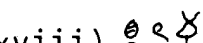
Ex. 164, Abb, 6, 24: , *r di.t ini.tw pḥ.wy.w*, In order to get to the bottom of it. (Lit. In order to cause that one should reach their hind-quarters.')

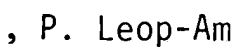
xvi).  , *s3*, 'Back' (see below 7.3.13.).

Ex. 165, BM 10052, 1, 20:  , *(m)-s3.i*, After me. (Lit. '(At) my back.')

xvii).  , *ḥ.t*, 'Belly'.

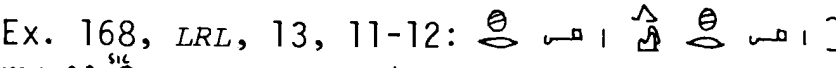
Ex. 166, *HO*, pl. XXXI, 1, rt. 4:  , *iw ky ḥr ḥ.t.f*, With another one on its flat side (lit. 'Belly').

xviii).  , *ḫḫ*, 'Neck'.

Ex. 167, P. Leop-Am, 2, 16:  , *ḫḫ.f*, His neck.

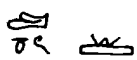
b). Words for certain things intimately connected with a person, without being constituent parts.

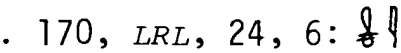
i). , *ḥr*, 'Condition'.

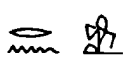
Ex. 168, *LRL*, 13, 11-12:  , *ḥr '.t ḥr' n n3y.i-rmṯ*, How are you? How are my people? (Lit. 'How is your condition? How is the condition of my people?')

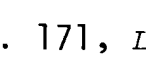
ii). , *ḏs*, 'Self' (see above 3.3.).

Ex. 169, *RAD*, 56, 7: , *ḥr iw.i r dn.t.f n.tn ḏs.i*, And I will divide it for you, myself.

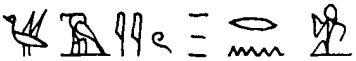
iii).  , *qd*, 'Form' (see below 7.3.15.).

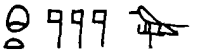
Ex. 170, *LRL*, 24, 6:  , *mi-qd.f*, Like him. (Lit. 'Like his form.')

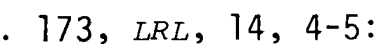
iv).  , *rn*, 'Name'.

Ex. 171, *LRL*, 68, 6:  , *rn.k*, Your name.

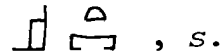
Note that when *rn* denotes a list of names it takes the possessive article:

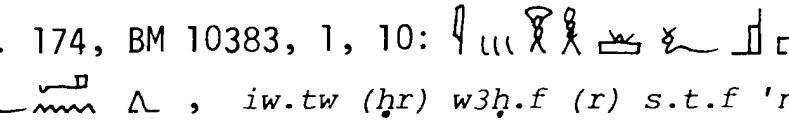
Ex. 172, BM 10052, 5, 12:  , *p3y.w-rn-rn*, The list of their names.

v).  , *psḏ.t*, 'Ennead'.

Ex. 173, *LRL*, 14, 4-5:  , *ḥn' psḏ.t.f*, And his Ennead.

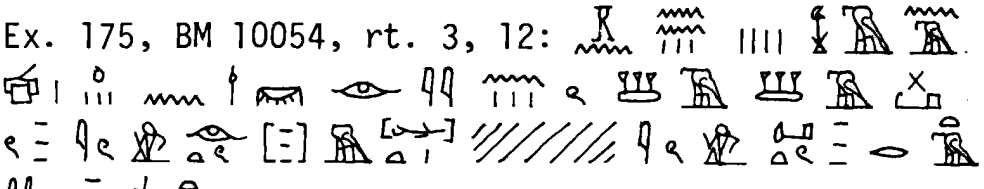
c). Words of place.

i).  , *s.t*, 'Place'.

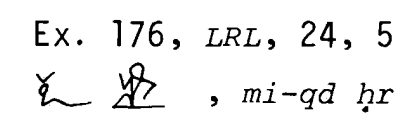
Ex. 174, BM 10383, 1, 10:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) w3ḥ.f (r) s.t.f 'n*, It

was put (in) its place again.

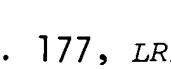
Note that in the above mentioned example *s.t* indicates a place where a thing should stay, its proper place. However, when it forms part of the expression *r-s.t*, 'in the place of' it is defined by the possessive article.

Ex. 175, BM 10054, rt. 3, 12:  , *ini.n 4 ḫns n ḥḏ iry.n wš3š3.w iw.i (ḥr) ir.t.w m(h)t... iw.i (ḥr) di.t.w r t3y.w-s.t*, We brought away 4 *ḫns* (ox-amulets?) of silver. We smashed them and I made (replicas) in wood and put these (lit. 'them') in their place.

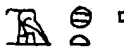
ii). , *niw.t* 'Town'.

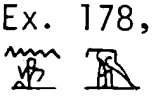
Ex. 176, *LRL*, 24, 5-6:  , *mi-qd ḥr.f-r-niw.t.f*, Like Hereferniwetef (Lit. 'His-face-is-towards-his-town').

iii). , *pr*, 'House'.

Ex. 177, *LRL*, 54, 12:  , *r pr.i*, To my house.

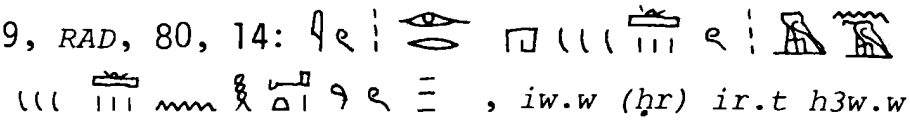
d). Words of property and price.

i).  , *3ḫ.t*, 'Things'.

Ex. 178, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 592, 5:  , *imi tw n.i 3ḫ.t.f*, Hand over to me his property.

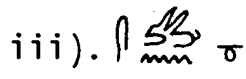
See also Ex. 79.

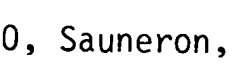
ii). , *h3w*, 'Possessions'.

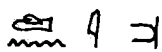
Ex. 179, *RAD*, 80, 14:  , *iw.w (ḥr) ir.t h3w.w m n3y.w-h3w n ḥ'.w*, They made use of them as if they

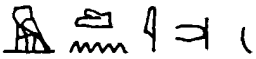
had been their own property.

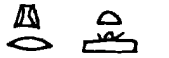
Note that *h3w* is followed by a suffix only when used in the phrase *ir.t h3w*.

iii).  , *swn.t*, 'Price'.

Ex. 180, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 593, 3:  , *swn.t.f*, Its price.

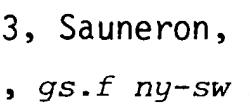
iv).  , *dni.t*, 'Share'.

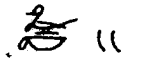
Ex. 181, BM 10068, rt. 1, 11:  , *m dni.t.f*, As his share.

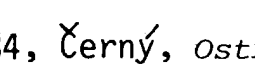
v).  , *hr.t*, 'Share'.

Ex. 182, BM 10052, 6, 19: , *mtw.k di.t hr.t.i*, And you shall give (me) my share.

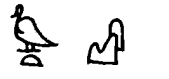
vi). , *gs*, 'Half'.

Ex. 183, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 586, 1:  , *gs.f ny-sw A*, Half of it belongs to A.

vii).  , *b3k.w*, 'Payments (in work)'.

Ex. 184, Černý, *Ostr. DM*, 245, 2:  , *di.f n.i b3k.w.f*, He made me his payments (in work).

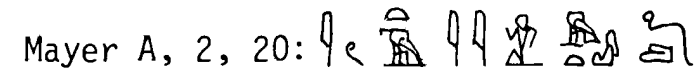
e). Family relationships, but usually only when the word expressing the relationship is followed by a proper name in apposition.

i).  , *mw.t*, 'Mother'.

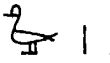
Compare

Ex. 185, Abb, 4, 13: , *mw.t.f A*, His mother A;

with

Ex. 186, Mayer A, 2, 20:  ,

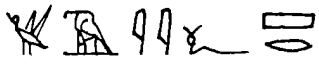
iw t3y.i-mw.t (ḥr) dd n.i, My mother said to me .....

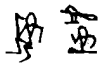
ii).  , *s3*, 'Son'.

Ex. 187, *HO*, pl. X, 1, vs. 5: ,

s3.f sš A, His son the scribe A.

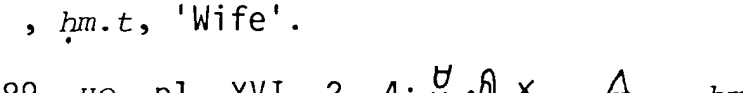
But compare this with

Ex. 188, BM 10053, vs. 2, 6: 

 , *p3y.f-šri*,- His son.

Since *šri* belongs to a younger stratum of the language it can not take a pronominal suffix.

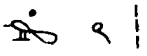
iii). , *ḥm.t*, 'Wife'.

Ex. 189, *HO*, pl. XVI, 2, 4:  , *ḥm.t.f A*,

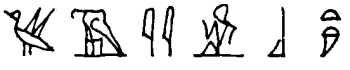
His wife A.

f). The word *bt3*, 'crime'.

Ex. 190, *RAD*, 6, 9:

 , *n3-rmṯ inw ḥr bt3.w*, The people who were brought because of their crimes.

But when the speaker denies his crimes, *bt3* takes the possessive article.

Ex. 191, BM 10052, 12, 9: 

 , *p3y.i-bt3*, My crime.

Thus a close association is expressed by *bt3.w*, whereas a strong dissociation is expressed by *p3y.i-bt3*.

4.3. The Undefined Noun.[6.]

4.3.1. Origin.

The indefinite article *w'* was originally the number

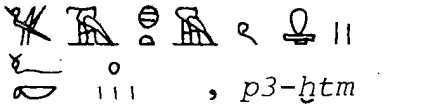
'one'. Since in Coptic ⲟⲩ functions as the indefinite article, it may be assumed that in Late Egyptian *w'* has the same function; but since in Late Egyptian *w'*, the number 'one', and *w'*, the indefinite article, share the same spelling (unlike Coptic, which distinguishes between ⲟⲩ and ⲟⲩⲁ or ⲟⲩⲓ) the chances of recognising whether *w'* is 'one' or 'a' are slight. Indeed it might well be that Late Egyptian is still at the stage of using the number 'one' as the indefinite article: it can be stated that almost every case of *w'* in Late Egyptian may be translated as 'one'.

4.3.2. *w'* as 'one'.

In the following cases *w'* is certainly 'one'.

a). In certain fixed combinations:

i). In the combination *w'* .... *w'*:

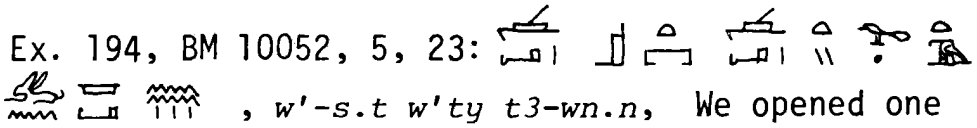
Ex. 192, BM 10052, 6, 12-13:  , *p3-ḫtm 2 w' n ḫsbd m3' w' mfk.t*, The two seals, one of real lapis lazuli, and one of turquoise.

ii). In the combination *w'* ....*ky*:

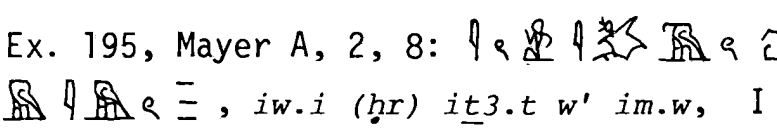
Ex. 193, BM 10052, 5, 14-15: , *w'-s.t t3-ini.f n3-tb.w n ḥd (n3)-ip.wt im k.t t3-ini.f t3ỉ-swḥ.t im r mḥ s.t 2.t*, He brought away the *tjeb*-vases of silver and (the) fittings(?) from one tomb, but he brought away this shroud from another one, making two tombs. (Lit. 'It was one tomb from which he brought away the *tjeb*-vases .... and it was a different one from which he brought away this shroud, making two tombs.')

iii). In the combination *w' .... p3y.f-iry*. (See above 3.4.)

iv). In the combination *w' .... w'ty*.

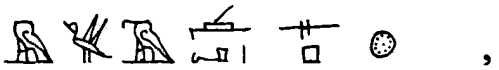
Ex. 194, BM 10052, 5, 23:  , *w'-s.t w'ty t3-wn.n*, We opened one tomb, and one only. (Lit. 'It was one tomb only that we opened.')

b). When used absolutely.

Ex. 195, Mayer A, 2, 8:  , *iw.i (ḥr) it̲3.t w' im.w*, I took one of them away.

In such a case *w'* can sometimes convey the meaning 'something'.

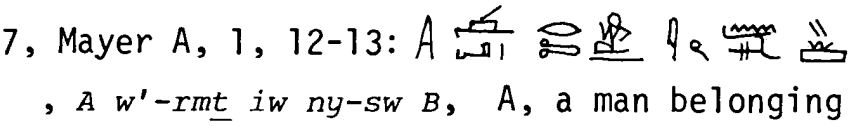
c). When it is itself defined.

Ex. 196, BM 10052, 14, 20:  , *m p3-w' sp*, In this (lit. 'the') one case.

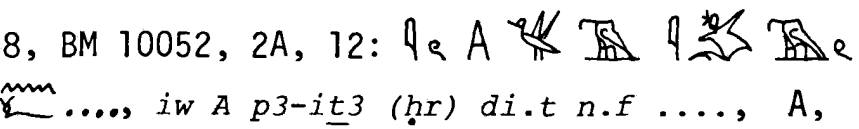
4.3.3. *w'* versus *p3* versus *ø*.

w', 'a', and *p3*, 'the', are in complementary distribution with a bare noun in the following construction.

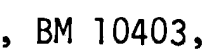
Compare

Ex. 197, Mayer A, 1, 12-13:  , *A w'-rmt̲ iw ny-sw B*, A, a man belonging to B;

with

Ex. 198, BM 10052, 2A, 12:  ...., *iw A p3-it̲3 (ḥr) di.t n.f ....*, A, the thief, gave him ....;

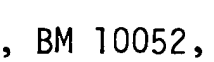
and with

Ex. 199, BM 10403, 1, 14:  , *iw.i (ḥr) gm.t ø-sḫty A*, I found (the) weaver A.

Thus, when a personal name comes first, the noun expressing status is preceded either by *w'* or by *p3*, but when the personal name comes second, the noun expressing status is bare.

4.3.4. *w'* as 'a'.

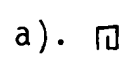
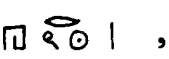
The transition from 'one' to 'a' is most easily distinguishable when *w'* precedes a noun denoting a material. It then means 'a certain quantity', or 'some'.

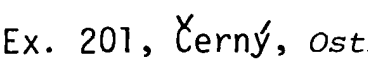
Ex. 200, BM 10052, 6, 5:  ,
iw.w (ḥr) pš w'-ḥd, They divided a (piece of) silver.

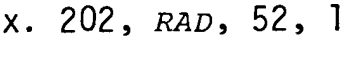
4.4. The Bare Noun.[7.]

The types of noun which are used without either the definite or the indefinite article fall under eight main headings.

4.4.1. General indications of time.

a).  , *hrw*, 'Day', and  , *dw3w*, 'Tomorrow'.

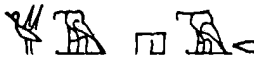
Ex. 201, Černý, *Ostr. DM*, 250, 3:  , *ø-hrw n ḫsp*, Day of receiving.

Ex. 202, *RAD*, 52, 15:  ,
iw ø-hrw 18 'q, The 18th. day came.

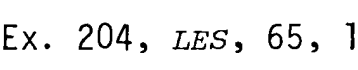
When *hrw* is preceded by *p3*, it means 'today', where in the same construction *dw3w*, 'tomorrow', is not.

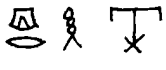
Compare

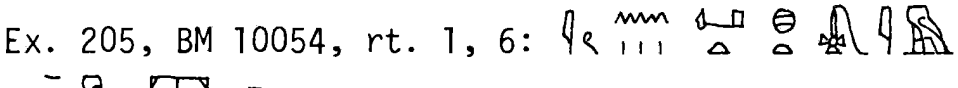
Ex. 203, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 592, 2-3:

 , *r-š3'-(r) p3-hrw*, Until today;

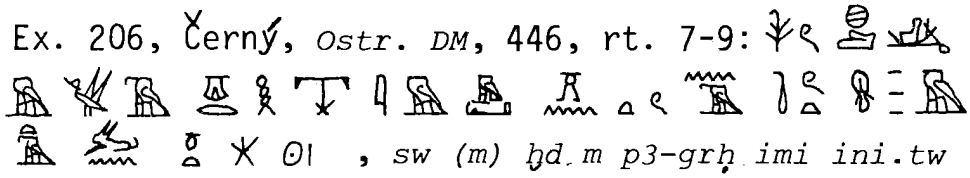
with

Ex. 204, *LES*, 65, 16:  ,
(r)-š3'-(r) dw3w, Until tomorrow.

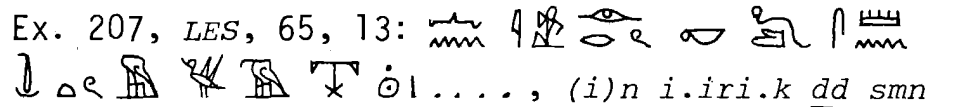
b).  , *grḥ*, 'Night'.

Ex. 205, BM 10054, rt. 1, 6:  ,
iw.n (ḥr) di.t ḫ.t im.w m ø-grḥ, We set fire to them by night.

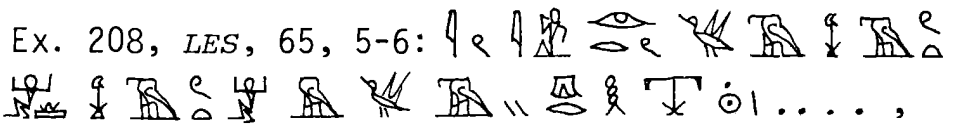
When *grḥ* indicates 'tonight' it is preceded by the definite article. (Compare above 3.1.1.1.)

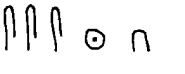
Ex. 206, Černý, *Ostr. DM*, 446, rt. 7-9:  ,
sw (m) ḫd m p3-grḥ imi ini.tw n3-tb.wt m t3-wnw.t, He is sailing to the north tonight. Have the sandals brought immediately.

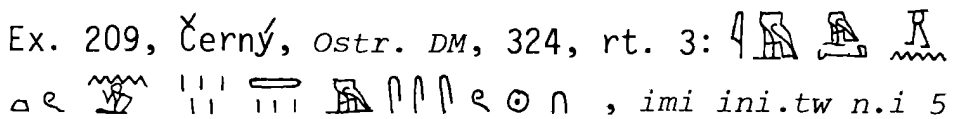
Compare

Ex. 207, *LES*, 65, 13:  ,
(i)n i.iri.k dd smn tw m p3-grḥ ...., Did you say (to me), "Stay tonight" ....?

with

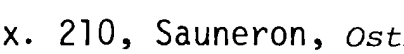
Ex. 208, *LES*, 65, 5-6:  ,
iw i.iri p3-ḫ3w ḫ3wt m p3y-grḥ ...., It being on that very night .... that the lad who was possessed fell into a trance.

c).  , *sw 10*, 10 days.

Ex. 209, Černý, *Ostr. DM*, 324, rt. 3:  , *imi ini.tw n.i 5*

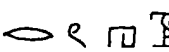
'q.w m ø-sw 10, Let five cakes be brought to me (each) ten day period.

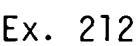
d). , *3bd*, 'Month'.

Ex. 210, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 569, 4:  , *iw.f (ḥr) in.t n.i n3-t̲bw ø-3bd n hrw*, He brought along to me the baskets of a full month.

When *3bd* is preceded by *p3* it indicates present time.

Ex. 211, *RAD*, 52, 15-16: , *iw hrw 18 'q m p3-3bd*, While 18 days of this (lit. 'the') month are past.

e).  , *rwh3*, 'Evening'.

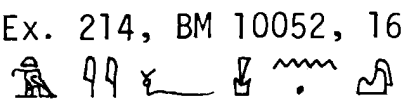
Ex. 212, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 582, 4:  , *m ø-rwh3*, In (the) evening.

4.4.2. After the , *m*, of predication.

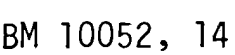
a). When indicating a profession:

Ex. 213, BM 10052, 7, 11: , *wn m ø-ḥry-p̲d.t*, Who was a troop captain.

b). When indicating kinship:

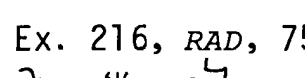
Ex. 214, BM 10052, 16, 13:  , *iw.f m ø-h3i m-di t3y.f-sn.t šr(i.t)*, He being the husband of his younger sister.

c). When indicating 'form', 'kind' or 'type':

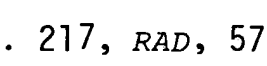
Ex. 215, BM 10052, 14, 18:  ,

iḫ m ø-3tp, What kind of load?

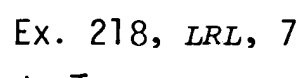
4.4.3. Abstract nouns after prepositions.

Ex. 216, *RAD*, 75, 12:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) gm.t iw dd.f sw m ø-m3'.t*, And one found out that he told the truth (lit. 'said it in truth').

4.4.4. Direct objects of verbs in negative verbal constructions, when these indicate a notion equivalent to the English 'any'.

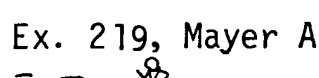
Ex. 217, *RAD*, 57, 9:  ,
r-dd bn sḏm.i ø-md.t, Saying, "I will not hear anything."

4.4.5. Words designating food and drink.

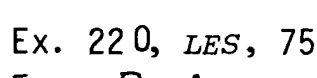
Ex. 218, *LRL*, 7, 14:  , *iw.f (ḥr) di.t n.i ø-'q.w ø-ḫnq.t*, He gave me bread and beer.

4.4.6. When the noun and its governing verb form a new word.

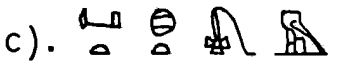
a). , *sḏm ø-ḫrw*, 'Hear (someone's) voice', in contrast to 'listen'.

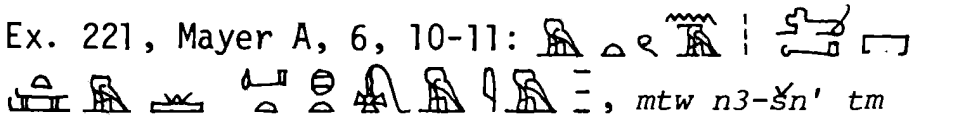
Ex. 219, Mayer A, 2, 5:  , *iw.i (ḥr) sḏm ø-ḫrw n3-rmṯ*, I heard people speaking (lit. '(the) voices of the people').

b). , *sḏm ø-md.t*, 'Understand (a language)'.

Ex. 220, *LES*, 75, 5:  , *iw.f (ḥr) sḏm ø-md.t km.t*, Who

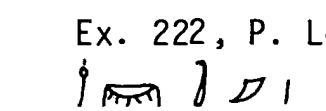
understands Egyptian.

c).  , *di.t ø-ḫ.t m*, 'Set fire to'.

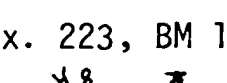
Ex. 221, Mayer A, 6, 10-11:  , *mtw n3-šn' tm di.t ø-ḫ.t im.w*, So that those who belong to the workshop should not set fire to them.

4.4.7. When functioning as an adjective-equivalent, in conjunction with the *n* of the genitive.[8]

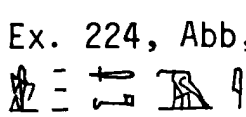
a). Indicating what a thing is made of:

Ex. 222, P. Leop-Am, 2, 18:  , *ḥnw.w n ø-nbw ø-ḥd ø-ḥsmn*, Vessels of gold, silver, and bronze.

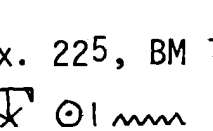
b). Indicating the use to which a thing is put:

Ex. 223, BM 10054, rt. 2, 9:  , *p3-ḥnw n ø-wdḥ*, The offering vessel.

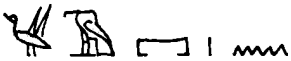
c). Indicating abstract ideas:

Ex. 224, Abb, 5, 17:  , *5.t wšb.t n ø-md.t '3.y '3.y n ø-mw.t*, Five very grave capital charges.

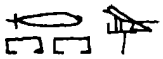
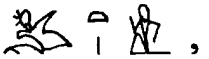
d). Indicating time:

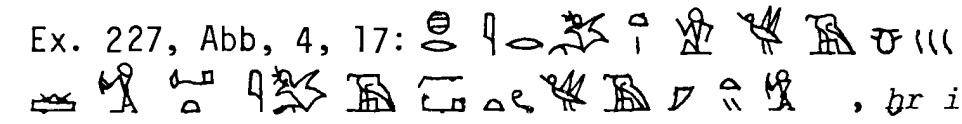
Ex. 225, BM 10054, rt. 2, 4:  , *ḫr ir m r(w)h3 n ø-hrw 2*, In (the) evening of the next day.

e). Indicating titles or occupations, when they precede proper names (see above 4.3.3.):

Ex. 226, BM 10054, vs. 2, 26:  , *p3-pr n wḥ' A*, The house of (the) fisherman A.

4.4.8. When the noun functions as a predicate of a nominal sentence (see below Chapter 57.).

4.4.9. In certain old titles:  , *pr-'3 'w.s.*,  , *t3ty*, etc..

Ex. 227, Abb, 4, 17:  , *ḫr ir ø-t3ty p3-wdpw (ḥr) dī.t it3.tw p3-ḥmty*, Now (the) vizier and the butler had the coppersmith taken.

4.5. The Genitive.

4.5.1. The Direct Genitive.

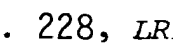
The direct genitive is used to express the notion of possession. When two nouns are in a direct genitive relationship they follow each other with no formal connection. The first noun acts as the possessed element, the second as the possessor, i.e. A (of) B. Coptic shows that the direct genitive relation led to loss of accent in the first of the two words:

ϩOY-MIϹϵ , 'birthday' (ϩOOY);
NϵB-HI , 'landlord' (NHB).

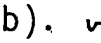
1). The direct genitive occurs very often.

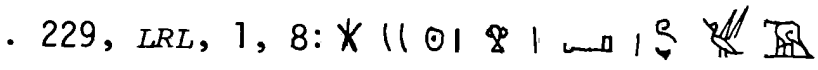
1). When A denotes a part of the body, i.e. *dr.t* (of) *B:*

a). , *dr.t*, 'Hand'.

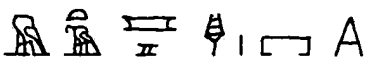
Ex. 228, *LRL*, 17, 10:  , *m dr.t*

šmsw A, By (the) hand of (the) messenger A.

b).  , ', 'Arm'.

Ex. 229, *LRL*, 1, 8:  , *dw3w ḫr '.wy p3-ntr*, Tomorrow is in God's hands.

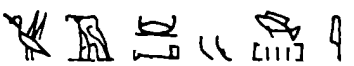
2). When A denotes the notion of a 'place where a person stays', a home, a tomb.

Ex. 230, *LRL*, 19, 1:  , *m t3-miḫ'.t A*, In the tomb of A.

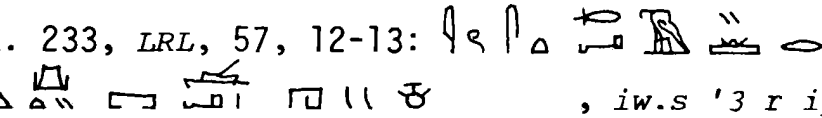
3). When A and B together constitute a title.

Ex. 231, *LRL*, 56, 8: , *m-di sš pr-ḥd*, From (the) scribe of (the) treasury.

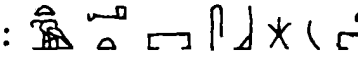
4). When A and B together denote a profession.

Ex. 232, *LRL*, 20, 8:  . *p3-wḫ'-3pd*, The fowler.

5). When A denotes a specific unit of measure.

Ex. 233, *LRL*, 57, 12-13:  , *iw.s '3 r ip.t t3-šnw.t w' hn*, Which was larger than the granary's *oipe*-measure by one *hin*.

6). When A loses its full lexical meaning in compound nouns.

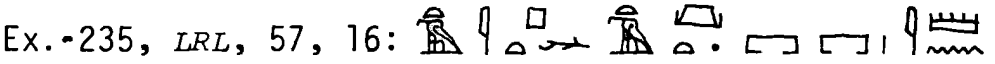
Ex. 234, *LRL*, 10, 14:  , *t3—'.t sb3*, The school.

The fact that the direct genitive very often occurs under the same conditions as the pronominal suffixes indicates that the direct genitive expresses an identical notion of 'belonging' (see above 4.2.9.).

ii). Occurrences of Definition in direct genitive constructions.

a). The pattern *p3-A* (of) *ø-B* (see above Ex. 232).

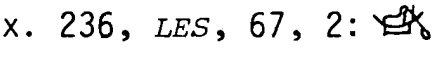
b). The pattern *t3-A* (of) *t3-B*.

Ex. 235, *LRL*, 57, 16:  , *t3-ip.t t3-Šnw.t pr-imn*, The *oipe* measure of the granary of the temple of Amon.

c). The pattern*ø-A* (of) *p3-B* (see above Ex. 229).

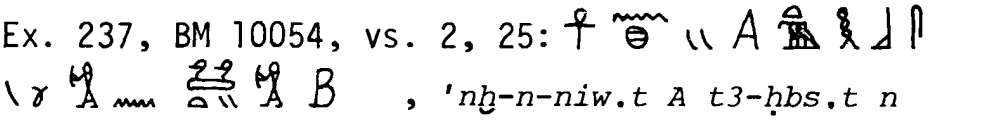
4.5.2. The Indirect Genitive.[10.]

In the indirect genitive construction A is linked to B by means of the adjective *n*, which is immutable in Late Egyptian.

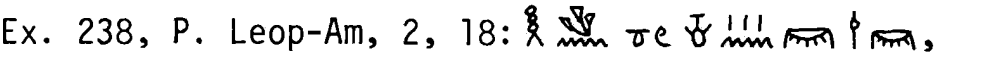
Ex. 236, *LES*, 67, 2:  , *br(?) n km.t*, An Egyptian boat (lit. 'a boat of Egypt').

The indirect genitive expresses

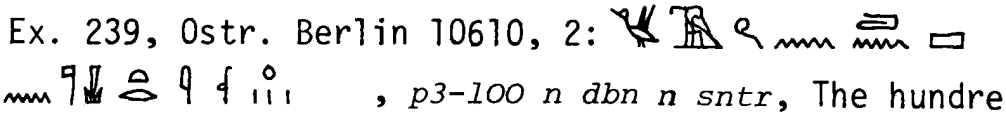
a). Belonging

Ex. 237, BM 10054, vs. 2, 25:  , *'nḫ-n-niw.t A t3-ḥbs.t n rḫty B*, Citizeness A, the concubine of the washerman B.

b). The material from which something is made:

Ex. 238, P. Leop-Am, 2, 18:  , *ḥnw.w n nbw ḥḏ*, Vessels of gold and silver.

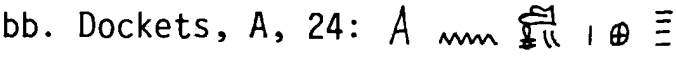
c). The quantity or number of something:

Ex. 239, Ostr. Berlin 10610, 2:  , *p3-100 n dbn n sntr*, The hundred *deben* of incense.

d). The quality of a thing:

See above Ex. 224.

e). Origin:

Ex. 240, Abb. Dockets, A, 24:  , *A n dmi ḫmnw*, A of the town of Hermopolis.

, and are seldom found written in Late Egyptian. , however, is found regularly in old titles, even if singular.

Ex. 241, Abb, 4, 1: , *'nḫ-n-niw.t*, Citizeness.

4.6. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 128-132; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 19-25.
2. Erman, *NAG*, 143-156.
3. Erman, *NAG*, 171-182.
4. Erman, *NAG*, 175 and 192.
5. Erman, *NAG*, 163-167; Groll, *Non-verbal*, p. 59, V.
6. Erman, *NAG*, 183-185.
7. Erman, *NAG*, 159[a]-162.
8. Till, *Grammatik*, 114-115.
9. Erman, *NAG*, 200-204.
10. Erman, *NAG*, 205-215.

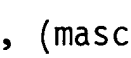
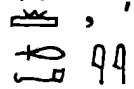
CHAPTER 5. ADJECTIVES

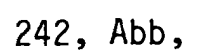
5.1. Introduction.[1.]

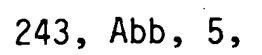
a). One must distinguish between adjectives and adjective verbs. The former can occur in non-verbal formations, whereas the latter occur only in verbal formations, that is as statives (see below 19.10.2.) and infinitives.[2.]

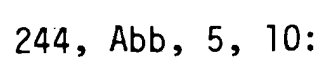
b). Every adjective can function both as an adjective and as a noun equivalent. As a noun equivalent the adjective may be preceded by either the definite or indefinite article,[3.] or take part in nominal sentence patterns (see below Chapters 59 and 60).

5.2. Gender and number.

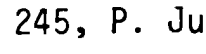
Adjectives have two genders, masculine and feminine, the *.t* of the latter not always being written. Some have a plural form, which is used indiscriminately for masculine and feminine: , *'3*, (masc); , *'3.t*, (fem);  ,  , *'3.y(t)*, (plur).

Ex. 242, Abb, 5, 3:  , *p3-ntr '3*, The great god.

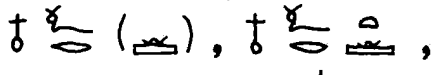
Ex. 243, Abb, 5, 5:  , *t3-in.t '3.t*, The great valley.

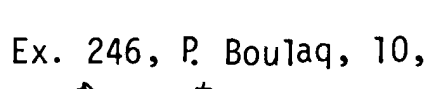
Ex. 244, Abb, 5, 10:  , *n3-sr.w '3.y*, The great magistrates.

 , *'ȝ3*, 'many' and , *qnw*, 'many' are always written with the plural strokes. However, *bin*, 'bad', occurs both as and .

Ex. 245, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 6:  ,

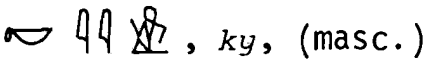
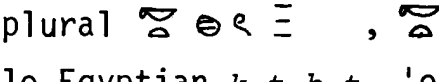
md.wt bin.w, Slanders.

 , *nfr*, 'good', 'beautiful', is always written , *nfr*, in the expression 'Our good lord'.

Ex. 246, P. Boulaq, 10, rt. 11:  , *pr-'3 '.w.s. p3y.i-nb '.w.s. nfr '.w.s.*, Pharoah (l.p.h.), my good (l.p.h.) lord (l.p.h.).

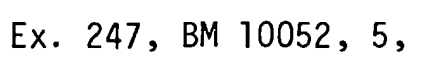
5.3. The position of adjectives.

All adjectives follow the qualified noun (see the above examples), with the following exceptions:

 , *ky*, (masc.); , *k.t*, (fem.), 'other'.[4] The plural  , , *ktḫ.w*, is derived from Middle Egyptian *k.t ḫ.t*, 'other things'.

When acting as an adjective, *ktḫ.w*, in contradistinction to *k.t*, is very often preceded by the definite article.

Compare

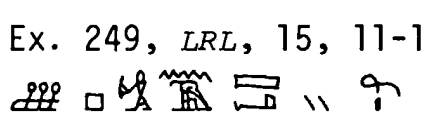
Ex. 247, BM 10052, 5, 21:  , *k.t s.t*, Another place;

with

Ex. 248, BM 10052, 5, 12: , *n3-ktḫ.w it3.w*, The other thieves.[5]

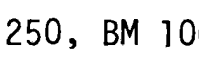
However, when *ktḫ.w* acts as a noun equivalent, i.e. when it is not followed by a noun, it can take the form of a bare noun.

As the predicate of a participial sentence:

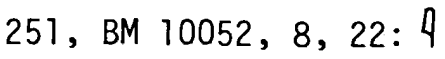
Ex. 249, *LRL*, 15, 11-12:  , *(i)n ktḫ.w i.iri šsp n3-š'.t*, And it is others who receive the letters.

ky is used as a noun equivalent:

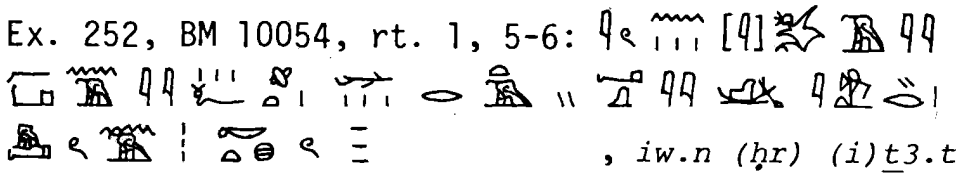
a). As the subject of a first present pattern:

Ex. 250, BM 10052, 15, 7:  ,
k.t 'nḫ.tw, (The) other one is still alive.

b). As the subject of the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future:

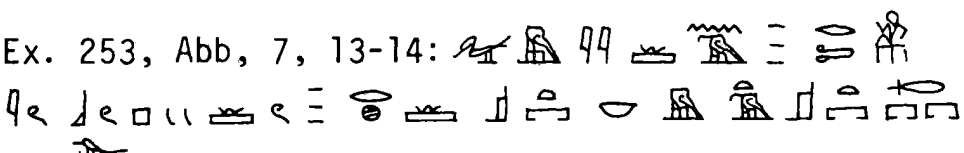
Ex. 251, BM 10052, 8, 22:  ,
ir iw ky (ḥr) iy, And if someone else comes.

c). After a preposition:

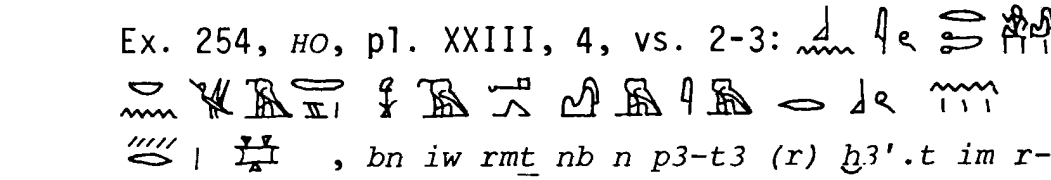
Ex. 252, BM 10054, rt. 1, 5-6:  , *iw.n (ḥr) (i)t3.t n3y.f-w.wt r t3y-'qy irm n3-ktḫ.w*, We took his coffins to this ship, along with the other things.

5.4. Peculiarities of the adjective *nb*, 'every'.[6.]

nb is the only adjective never used as a noun equivalent. On the one hand *nb* can follow only bare nouns, and on the other hand *A nb* can act as the antecedent of relative forms (see below Ex. 1355), therefore one is entitled to assume that *nb* acts as a defining element. However, since *nb* can follow defined relative clauses (see below 51.3.2.), it is only reasonable to assume that in these cases the definite article acts as a nominalizer. *nb* normally stands after nouns in the singular. The two forms, , (masc.) and (fem.) are used indiscriminately.

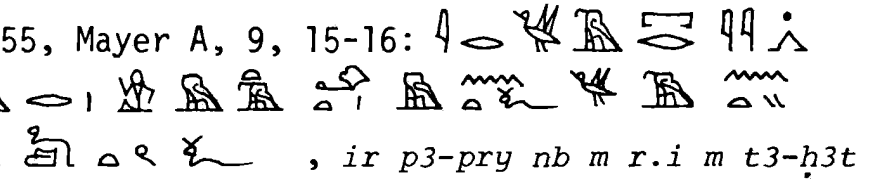
Ex. 253, Abb, 7, 13-14:  , *gmy n3-rmt iw bwpw.w rḫ s.t nb n t3-s.t pr-'3 '.w.s.*, It was found that the men did not

know any place in the Place of Pharoah, l.p.h..
(see above 4.4.4.)

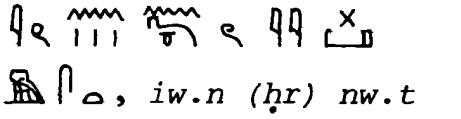
Ex. 254, *HO*, pl. XXIII, 4, vs. 2-3: 
, *bn iw rmṯ nb n p3-t3 (r) ḫ3'.t im r-bl*, Nobody in the world (lit. 'land') shall throw you out of there.

However, even when qualified by , *nb*, participles, relative forms and relative clauses introduced by , *nty*, have the definite article.

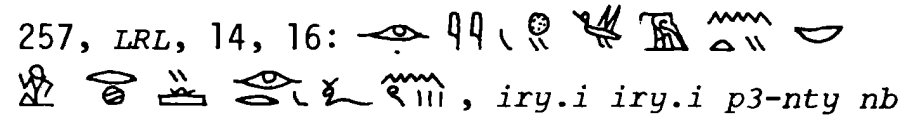
a). Participle:

Ex. 255, Mayer A, 9, 15-16: 
, *ir p3-pry nb m r.i m t3-ḥ3t ntf p3-nty iw.i (r) dd.f*, As for everything I said before, I shall say it (again now). (Lit. 'As for anything which came out of my mouth before, that is what I shall say.')

b). Relative form:

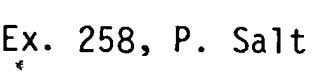
Ex. 256, P. Leop-Am, 2, 17: 
, *iw.n (ḥr) nw.t p3w-gmi.n nb im.s*, We collected all we found in it.

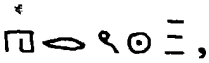
c). , *nty*:

Ex. 257, *LRL*, 14, 16: 
, *iry.i iry.i p3-nty nb iw.i (r) rḏ ir.t.f n.w*, I will do, I will do everything I can for them.

d). *r-ṯnw* as syntactic equivalent of *nb* with time expressions:

, *r-tnw*, plus noun means 'every':

Ex. 258, P. Salt 124, rt. 2, 6: 

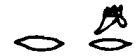
 , *r-tnw hrw*, Every day.

But it is sometimes found with *nb*:

Ex. 259, *Ancient Egypt*, 1 (1914), 106, no. 1, 3-4:

iry.i 3 rnp.t n di.t n.s w' ip.t bty r-tnw 3bd nb 3bd nb iri n h3r 9, Every single month for three years I gave her one *oipa* of wheat, which makes a total of 9 *khar*. (Lit. 'I spent three years giving her one *oipa* of wheat every month, which makes 9 *khar*.') (19th Dynasty.)

5.5. Adverbial expressions as adjective equivalent.[7.]

 , *r-dr*, plus pronominal suffix, 'whole', 'entire', is sometimes written with , even in the singular: , *r-dr.f*; , *r-dr.s*; , *r-dr.s*; plural , *r-dr.w*. The prepositon *r* is sometimes written , evidence of a vocalic pronunciation; it is sometimes even omitted altogether.

5.6. The so-called 'nisbes'.[8.]

The faculty of forming adjectives by means of , *-y*, the so-called 'nisbes', is lost in Late Egyptian, although a certain number survive, e.g. , *mḥty.t*; , *imnty.t*; , *rswy*; , var. , *ḫry*. There are two adjectives of obscure origin, , *wnmy*, 'right' and , *smḫy*, 'left'. Some nisbes in *-ty* display a plural form written , *tyw* (compare above Exx. 125-127).

5.7. Bibliography and references.

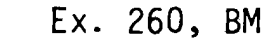
1. Erman, *NAG*, 216-219; *GG*, 135; Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 85; Hintze,*Untersuchungen*, pp. 218-219; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 68-71.
2. See below 19.10.2. and also *ḥr snb* in *Ostr. Cairo Cat.*, Černý, 25725, 2.
3. See *LRL*, 2, 1, and *RAD*, 77, 15.
4. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 77-80; Till, *Grammatik*, 227.
5. See also Mayer A, 4, 2.
6. Till, *Grammatik*, 94, 231.
7. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 74; Polotsky, *Papers*, pp. 398-399 (= *Or.* 30 (1961), 294-295).
8. Erman, *AZ* 52 (1916), 107-108; Griffiths, *JEA* 28 (1942), 66-67.

CHAPTER 6. NUMBERS

6. Numbers.[1.]

6.1. Writing.

In Late Egyptian all numbers except '1' are written in figures only. Therefore the consonantal skeleton must be inferred from Old Egyptian writings, most of which occur in the Pyramid Texts, and from quite late writings and Coptic forms. The numbers 3-9, which in Coptic possess both masculine and feminine forms, employ the feminine form of the numeral when used with a feminine noun. This is sometimes indicated by a feminine ending, as in

Ex. 260, BM 10052, 3, 7-8:  , *4.t dny.t*, Four parts.

But sometimes the feminine ending is omitted,as in

Ex. 261, BM 10052, 3, 13: , *4(.t) dny.t*, Four parts.

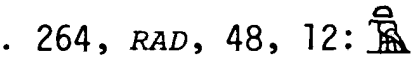
6.2. Number and gender.

The numerals are always construed with the singular form of the object numbered; if this noun is provided with plural strokes it means that it has plural sense, but not that the grammatical form is that of a plural.[2.] From this it follows that if the numbered noun is defined (i.e. provided with a definite article, demonstrative pronoun or possessive article) the defining word is always in the singular, and agrees in gender with the noun.

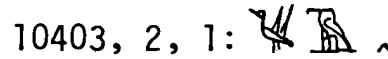
Ex. 262, P. Leiden I, 368, 8: , *6 rmṯ*, Six people. (Dynasty 19.)

Ex. 263, Mayer A, 1, 19: , *p3y-6*

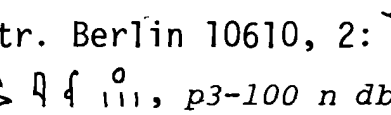
rmt, These six people.

Ex. 264, *RAD*, 48, 12:  ,
t3y.i-3 hrd.w, My three daughters.

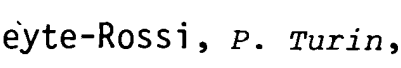
As can be seen from the examples quoted above, for numbers 3-9 the numeral generally stands immediately before the noun numbered. For the numbers 10 and above[3.] the numeral is joined to its noun by means of a preposition or the *n* of the genitive. In these cases the defining element is regularly in the singular, and agrees in gender with the noun.

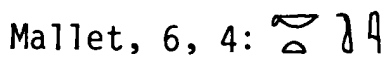
Ex. 265, BM 10403, 2, 1:  ,
p3-10 n dbn n ḥmt, The ten *deben* of copper.

Ex. 266, *RAD*, 64, 2: ,
p3-20 n ḫbs, The twenty lamps.

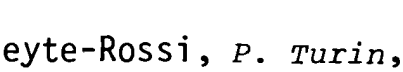
Ex. 267, Ostr. Berlin 10610, 2:  , *p3-100 n dbn n sntr*, The hundred *deben* of incense.

This rule is valid up to two-hundred. The rule for numerals between two-hundred and three-hundred is unknown, but from three-hundred onwards the defining word is in the feminine.

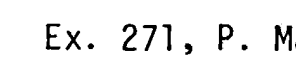
Ex. 268, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 137, 3:  , *t3-365 n ntr*, The 365 gods.

Ex. 269, P. Mallet, 6, 4:  ,
k.t 700 n ḫt, Another 700 pieces of wood.

In accounts containing indications of size and weight the numeral often follows the noun.

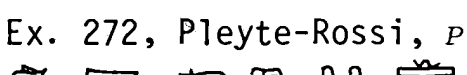
Ex. 270, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 2, 10:  ,
n mḥ 40(?), Of 40(?) cubits. (Dynasty 19.)

In time expressions the numeral often follows the noun:

Ex. 271, P. Mallet, 1, 3:  , *rnp.t 4*, Four years.

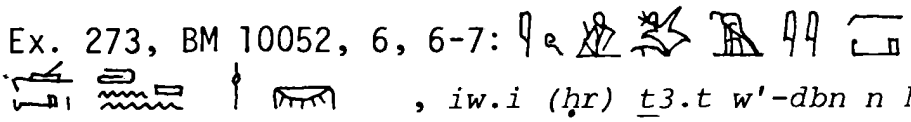
In this last example the dot separates the stroke of the noun from the numeral.

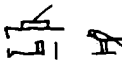
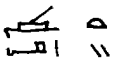
Although a numbered noun stands in the singular, the whole group is nevertheless considered as a plural. This is clear from the fact that the pronouns referring to such a group, or any adjectives which follow it, are always plural, even if the number is 2.

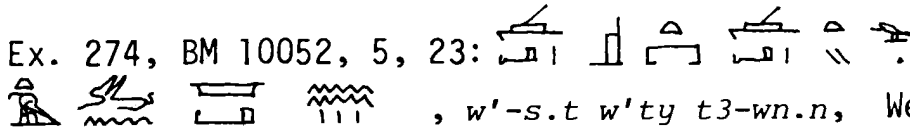
Ex. 272, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 4, 7-8:  , *p3y-3 dp '3.y*, These three large blocks.

6.3. The peculiarities of 'one' and 'two'.

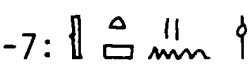
The number 'one' is almost always written fully, , *w'*; in Late Egyptian it loses the distinction between masculine and feminine (see above 3.7.).

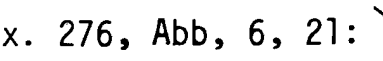
Ex. 273, BM 10052, 6, 6-7:  , *iw.i (ḥr) t3.t w'-dbn n ḥd*, I stole one deben of silver.

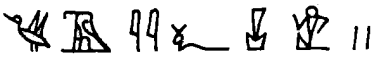
It must be distinguished from  , *w'*, and  , *w'ty*, which mean 'one only', and which follow the noun.

Ex. 274, BM 10052, 5, 23:  , *w'-s.t w'ty t3-wn.n*, We only opened a single place (lit. 'It was one place only that we opened.').

The numeral '2' has the peculiarity of always standing immediately after the noun, which is in the singular.

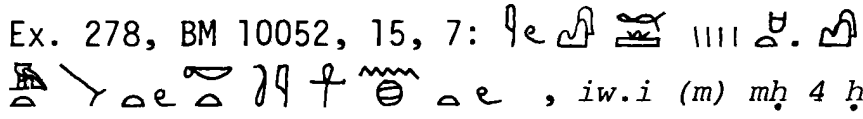
Ex. 275, BM 10052, 8, 6-7:  , *qd.t 2 n ḥd*, 2 *qite* of silver.

Ex. 276, Abb, 6, 21:  , *p3y-sš 2*, These 2 scribes.

Ex. 277, Abb, Dockets, A, 23:  , *p3y.f-sn 2*, His 2 brothers.

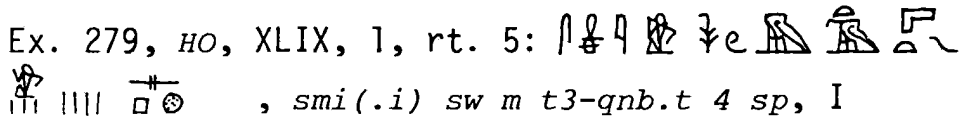
6.4. Absolute use.

A numeral can stand without a noun.

Ex. 278, BM 10052, 15, 7:  , *iw.i (m) mḥ 4 ḥm.t t3-2.t mwt.tw k.t 'nḫ.tw*, I being (his) fourth wife. Two are dead, but the other is still alive.

6.5. Multiples.

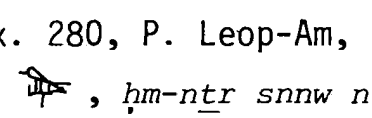
Multiples are formed from cardinal numbers plus , *sp*.

Ex. 279, *HO*, XLIX, 1, rt. 5:  , *smi(.i) sw m t3-qnb.t 4 sp*, I reported him to the Court four times.

6.6. Ordinal numbers.

6.6.1. The form employing the suffix *nw*.

The ordinals formed with the suffix *nw* occur only in traditional expressions, especially in titles.

Ex. 280, P. Leop-Am, 4, 12:  , *ḥm-nṯr snnw n imn-r'*, The second prophet of Amonre.

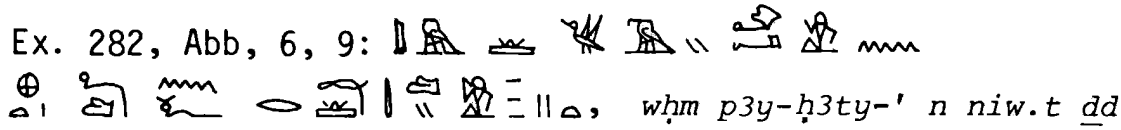
6.6.2. The form employing *mḥ*.

Since *mḥ* is apparently a participle, it can occupy various syntactic positions.

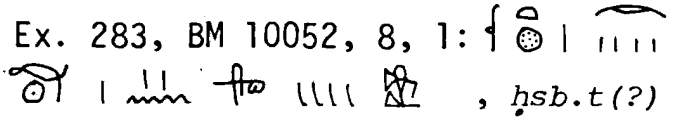
a). As an adverbial predicate following the *m* of predication
After *iw.f (m)*:

Ex. 281, BM 10052, 15, 7: ,
iw.i (m) mḥ 4 ḥm.t, I being (his) fourth wife.

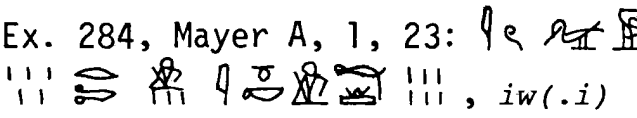
b). As an indirect object, following the preposition *r*:

Ex. 282, Abb, 6, 9: 
whm p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t dd n.f r mḥ md.t 2.t, This Mayor of Thebes spoke again to him of a second matter.

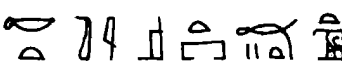
c). As an independent noun equivalent in a date

Ex. 283, BM 10052, 8, 1:  ,
ḥsb.t(?) 1 3bd 4 Šmw sw 7 mḥ hrw 3 n smty, Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 7. Third day of examination.

d). In a participial statement:

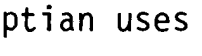
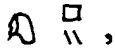
Ex. 284, Mayer A, 1, 23:  , *iw(.i) (ḥr) gm.t p3y-5 rmṯ ink mḥ 6*, (I) found these five men, I being the sixth.

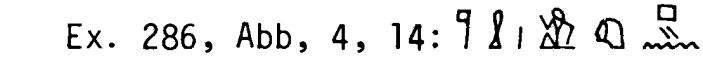
e). In a nominal sentence pattern of the type 'A *p3y*':

Ex. 285, BM 10052, 5, 21-22:  ,
k.t s.t mḥ 2.t t3y, Another tomb, that is a second one.

Note the positions which the numeral can occupy in the construction with *mḥ*.

		1.	2.	3.
a).	See Ex. 281	*mḥ*	Number 4.	Bare noun.
b).	See Ex. 283	*mḥ*	Bare noun of time expression	Number 3.
c).	See Ex. 282	*mḥ*	Bare noun.	Number 2.
d).	See Ex. 285	*mḥ*	Number 2.	Demonstrative.

Note that *mḥ* cannot be followed by the number 'one'. Instead Late Egyptian uses an adjective  , *ḥ3wty*.  , *tpy*, 'first', occurs only in traditional expressions, particularly titles.

Ex. 286, Abb, 4, 14:  ,

ḥm-nṯr tpy n imn-r', The first prophet of Amon-re.

6.6.3. The forms built by numerals following the nouns.

See above, Ex. 271.

6.7. Bibliography and references.

1. Stern, *Grammatik*, 277; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 82-91: *GG*, 259-262; Sethe, *Zahlen*; Gunn, *JEA* 3 (1916), 279-286; Griffith, *PSBA* 13 (1890-1891), 392-406 and *PSBA* 14 (1891-1892), 403-450.
2. Sethe, *Zahlen*, 51, n.1.
3. Černý, *JEA* 23 (1937), 57-59.
4. *LRL*, 47, 13.

CHAPTER 7. PREPOSITIONS

7.1. Simple Prepositions.

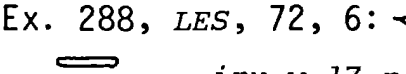
7.1.1. The preposition *m*.[1]

a). Forms.

i). Before nouns (equivalent to Coptic ⲛ̄-).

The preposition *m*, when preceding nouns, takes either the form , *m*, or the form , *n*.

Ex. 287, *RAD*, 57, 13: , *sw 'ḥ' m p3y.f-ih3*, It is standing in his byre.

Ex. 288, *LES*, 72, 6:  , *iry.w 17 n rnp.t m p3y-t3*, They spent 17 years in this country.

ii). Before pronominal suffixes (equivalent to Coptic ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ-):

The forms are , *im*;

Ex. 289, Abb, 4, 5-6: , *dd ḥ3ty-' ....smy im.w*, The Mayor .... reported them;

, *im*;

Ex. 290, Mayer A, 2, 8: , *iw.i (ḥr) it̲3.t w' im.w*, I took one of them;

or , *im*,

Ex. 291, *LES*, 69, 3-4: , *ḫr i.iri sb3y.t pr.t im.f r pḥ r p3-nty tw.i im*, It is from there that craftsmanship went out,

to the place where I am.

b). Uses.

i). Of place:

Place 'in which' something is:

Ex. 292, Abb, 2, 17: , *m t3-s.t*, In the place.

Place 'to which' or 'at which' something is directed:

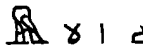
ii). Of concomitance:

Ex. 293, Abb, 4, 15: , *iw.f m 3 rmṯ*, He being with 3 men.

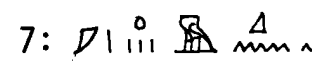
iii). Of time:

Ex. 294, BM 10052, 5, 25: , *m tr n rwh3*, In the evening. (Lit. 'At the time of evening.')

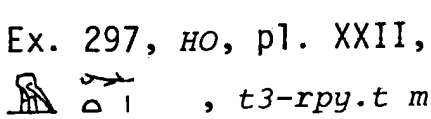
iv). Of condition:

Ex. 295, Mayer B, 1:  , *m šs*, In good condition.

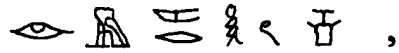
v). Of state:

Ex. 296, Mayer A, 4, 7:  , *ḥmt m qnqn*, Beaten copper.

vi). Of material:

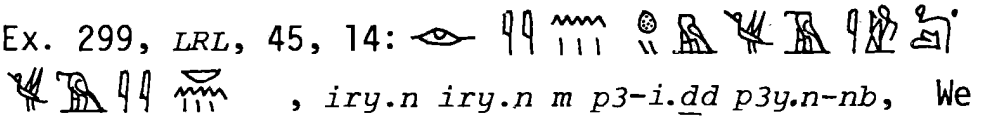
Ex. 297, *HO*, pl. XXII, 2, vs. 1:  , *t3-rpy.t m ḥt*, The wooden statue.

vii). Of instrument:

Ex. 298, *HO*, pl. XXI, 1, vs. 3:  ,
iri m mrḥ, Covered (lit. 'made') with varnish.

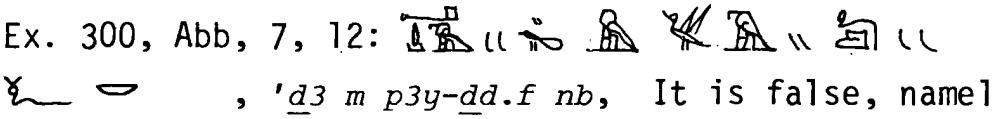
viii). Of rear extraposition:

1). Introducing a nominal direct object (equivalent to the Coptic ⲛ̄ of the direct object):

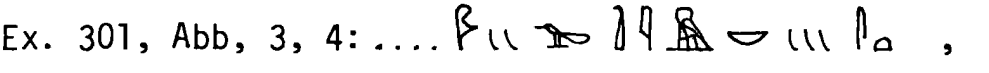
Ex. 299, *LRL*, 45, 14:  , *iry.n iry.n m p3-i.dd p3y.n-nb*, We will do, we will do what our lord said.

Note that the pronominal direct object of *iri.n* is unexpressed.

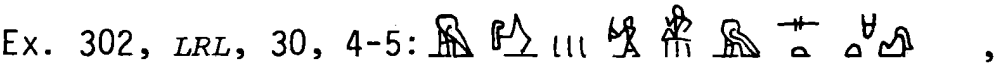
2). Introducing the nominal subject of a one-membral adjectival sentence pattern.

Ex. 300, Abb, 7, 12:  , *'d3 m p3y-dd.f nb*, It is false, namely everything he said.

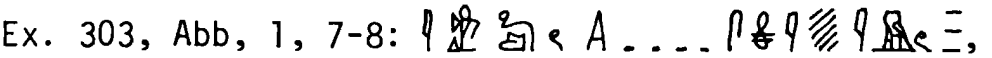
ix). Of separation:

Ex. 301, Abb, 3, 4: ....  ,
.... *šw.ti m nb ('.w.s.).s*, ...empty of its lord (l.p.h.).

x). Of inclusion:

Ex. 302, *LRL*, 30, 4-5:  ,
m 'ḥ3wty.w m s.t ḥm.t, Both men and women.

xi). Idiomatically, with various verbs:

Ex. 303, Abb, 1, 7-8:  ,

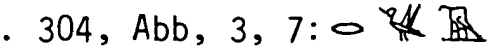
i.dd A .... smi im.w, About whom A reported.

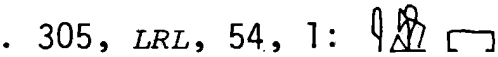
xii). Indicating contemporary action, when used with the undefined infinitive of a verb of motion (see below Ex. 792).

7.1.2. The preposition *r*.[2.]

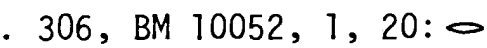
a). Forms.

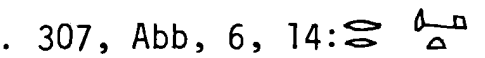
i). Before nouns (equivalent to Coptic ϵ-):

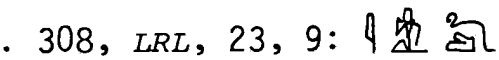
Ex. 304, Abb, 3, 7:  , *r p3y-nsw*, To this king.

Ex. 305, *LRL*, 54, 1:  , *r pr.i*, To my house.

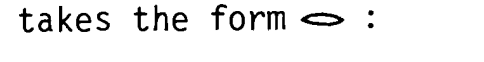
ii). Before an infinitive (equivalent to Coptic ϵ):

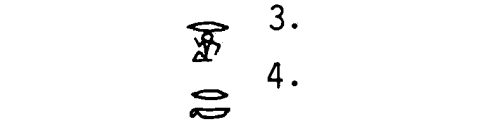
Ex. 306, BM 10052, 1, 20:  , *r di.t*, In order to cause.

Ex. 307, Abb, 6, 14:  , *r di.t*, In order to cause.

Ex. 308, *LRL*, 23, 9:  , *r dd* .... , That .... .

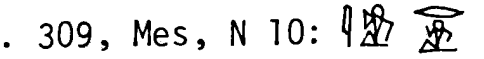
iii). Before pronominal suffixes (equivalent to Coptic ϵρο-):

When *r* precedes the singular pronominal suffixes it usually takes the form  :

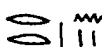
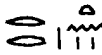
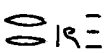


3. 4. 5. 6.

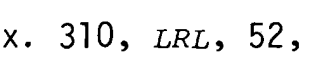
But note the 19th. Dynasty example

Ex. 309, Mes, N 10:  , *r.i*, To me.

However, when *r* precedes the plural pronominal suffixes it usually takes the form :

 7.  8.  9.

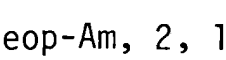
But when *r* + a plural pronominal suffix act as the predicate of the first present form the writing is found:

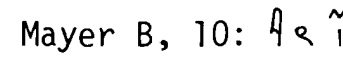
Ex. 310, *LRL*, 52, 8:  , *rn.k r.w*,
Your name is on them.

b). Uses.

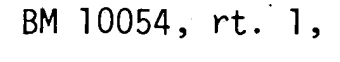
i). Of place;

Place 'on' or 'in to which':

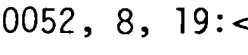
Ex. 311, P. Leop-Am, 2, 13:  ,
r ḫḫ.f, On his neck.

Ex. 312, Mayer B, 10:  ,
iw.n (ḥr) ʿq r.f, We entered it.

ii). Governing persons; 'to' (less commonly than , *n*,).
It is generally used in a hostile sense, often meaning 'against'.

Ex. 313, BM 10054, rt. 1, 11-12:  ,
iw A (ḥr) ii r.i, A came against me.

iii). Of time:

Ex. 314, BM 10052, 8, 19:  ,
r ḥ3w t3ty A, In the time of the vizier A.

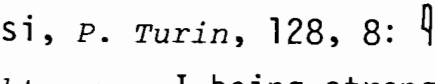
iv). Of purpose; especially with the infinitive:

See below 11.5.1..

v). Of respect; 'concerning';

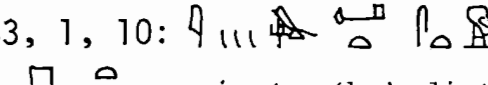
Ex. 315, BM 10053, vs. 4, 7: , *sḫ3 r t3-3 st3.t*, Memorandum about the 3 baulks.

vi). Of comparison; 'more than':

Ex. 316, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 128, 8:  , *iw.i nḫt r.w*, I being stronger than they (are).

vii). Idiomatically, with various verbs:

, *di.t*, with , *r*, means 'to appoint' or 'to make somebody something'.

Ex. 317, BM 10383, 1, 10:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) di.t stm A r stm t3-ḥw.t*, One appointed the Setem-priest A as Setem-priest of 'The Temple'.

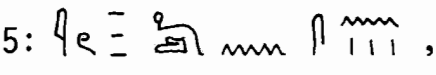
7.1.3. The preposition *n* (equivalent to Coptic ⲛ̄, ⲛⲁ⁄).[10.]

a). Form.

 , *n*, does not vary.

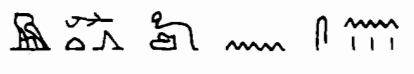
b). Use.

i). As a dative:

Ex. 318, *RAD*, 53, 15:  , *iw.w (ḥr) dd n.sn*, They say to them.

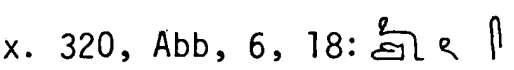
The dative can take various syntactic positions.

1). The dative precedes the nominal subject of a *stp A* formation.

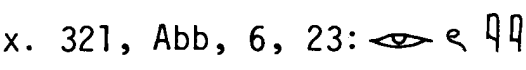
Ex. 319, Abb, 4, 13:  , *m-ḫt dd n.sn ḥmty A*, After the copper-

smith A said to them .... .

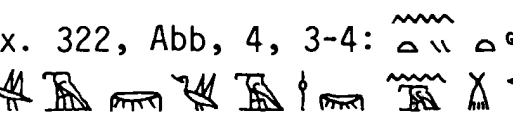
2). The dative follows the dependent pronoun, and precedes the subject of the perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 320, Abb, 6, 18:  ,
dd st n.i n3-sš.w, The scribes told me them.

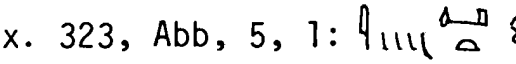
3). The dative precedes the undefined direct object.

Ex. 321, Abb, 6, 23:  ,
iry.i n.i mtr.i, I bore witness for myself.

4). The dative precedes another preposition.

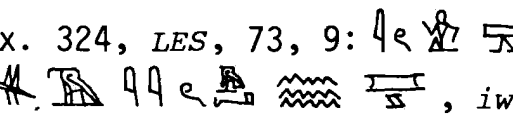
Ex. 322, Abb, 4, 3-4:  , *nty tw.tw (ḥr) di.t.w n.w ḥn' p3-nbw p3-ḥḏ n3-'pr.wt*, Which one gives them, together with the gold, the silver and the jewelry.

5). The dative precedes the defined direct object.

Ex. 323, Abb, 5, 1:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) di.t n.f ir.t.f*, He was given his sight (lit. 'eye').

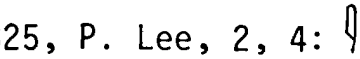
6). The reflexive dative as a tense indicator.[11.]

The reflexive dative is incompatible with the first present formation, that is, with the durative tenses. The reflexive dative when following verbs of motion, in the framework of non-durative tenses, expresses a notion of separation.

Ex. 324, *LES*, 73, 9:  , *iw.i (ḥr) šm n.i (r) sp.t p3-ym*, I went off to the sea-shore.

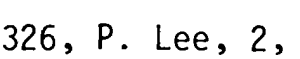
When following the verb *mwt*, 'die', a reflexive dative expresses the notion of committing suicide.

Compare

Ex. 325, P. Lee, 2, 4:  ,

iw.f (ḥr) mwt n.f ḥr ḏs.f, He committed suicide;

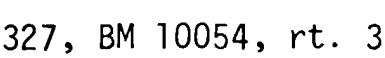
with

Ex. 326, P. Lee, 2, 4:  ,

sw (ḥr) mwt ḏs.f, He committed suicide.

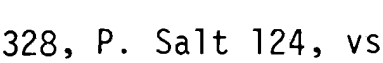
Note that since *iw.f (ḥr) mwt* is a non-durative tense the reflexive dative is needed in order to express the notion of suicide (see below 38.2.2.), whereas, since *sw (ḥr) mwt* is a durative tense, the reflexive dative does not occur.

The reflexive dative in the expression *pš.w n.w* very often means 'among themselves'.

Ex. 327, BM 10054, rt. 3, 13:  ,

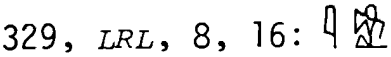
iw.w (ḥr) pš.w n.w, They divided them among themselves.

ii). Of cause or explanation:

Ex. 328, P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 17:  ,

iw[.w] (ḥr) snḏ n.f, They being afraid of him.

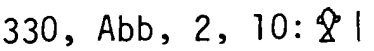
iii). Indicating 'from':

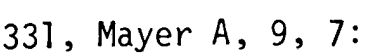
Ex. 329, *LRL*, 8, 16:  , *i.šsp st n.f*, Who received it from him.

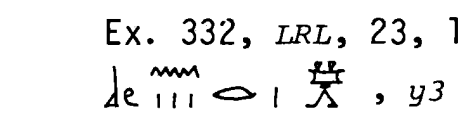
7.1.4. The preposition *ḥr* (equivalent to Coptic ϩⲓ-, ϩⲓⲱⲱ=).[12.]

a). Forms.

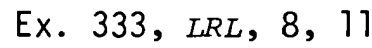
i). Before nouns:

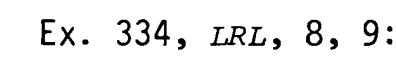
Ex. 330, Abb, 2, 10:  , *ḥr*,

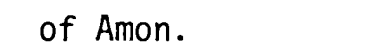
Ex. 331, Mayer A, 9, 7:  , *ḥr imn*,

Ex. 332, *LRL*, 23, 12:  , *y3 ḥr ḥnw ḥr r-bl*, Inside and out.

Compare this writing with

Ex. 333, *LRL*, 8, 11:  , *p(3)-n-p3-wn-ḥr*, He-of-the-Open-faced-one.

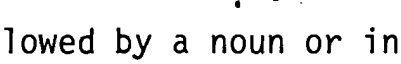
Ex. 334, *LRL*, 8, 9:  , *ḥr imn*, The face of Amon.

Ex. 335, *LRL*, 8, 4:  , *ḥr.k*, Your face.

Note that *ḥr*, when indicating 'face', and when either followed by a noun or in an end position, is written with the two strokes ; therefore the — does not represent .

ii). Before pronominal suffixes:

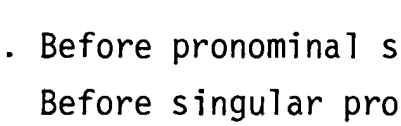
Before singular pronominal suffixes the normal form is :

Ex. 336, *LRL*, 32, 10:  , *ḥr.s*;

But note also

Ex. 337, Abb, 2, 9: , *ḥr.f*.

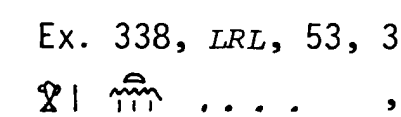
Before plural pronominal suffixes the following forms are found:

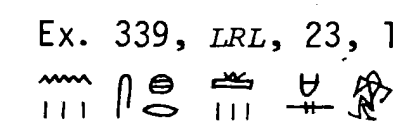


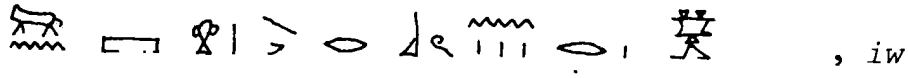
13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

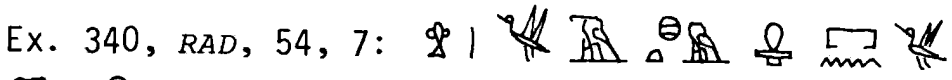
b). Uses.

i). Of place:

Ex. 338, *LRL*, 53, 3-4:  , *wnn t3y.i-š'.t (ḥr) spr ḥr.tn ....*, When my letter reaches you .... .

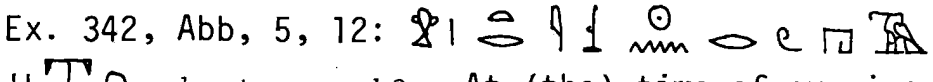
Ex. 339, *LRL*, 23, 11-12: 

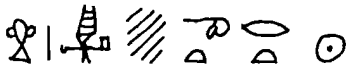
 , *iw.k rḫ.tw p3y.n-sḏr ḥms.t nty tw.n n im.f y3 ḥr ḥnw ḥr r-bl*, Indeed, you know our way of life inside out.

Ex. 340, *RAD*, 54, 7:  , *ḥr p3-ḫtm n p3-ḫr*, At the keep of 'The Tomb'.

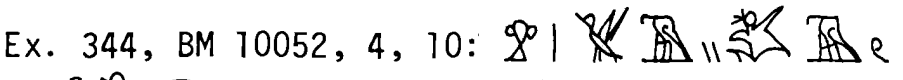
Ex. 341, *LRL*, 50, 11-12: , *m p3y.i-iy ḥr rswy*, On my return from the south.

ii). Of time:

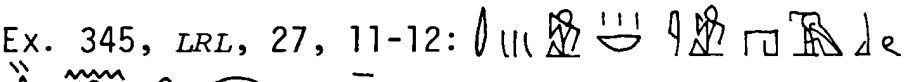
Ex. 342, Abb, 5, 12:  , *ḥr tr n rwh3*, At (the) time of evening.

Ex. 343, BM 10053, vs. 2, 7:  , *ḥr 'ḥ'w mtr.t*, At (the) time of mid-day.

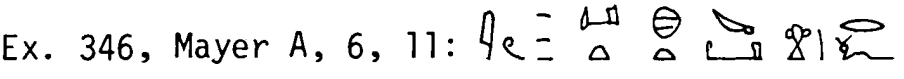
iii). Of cause:

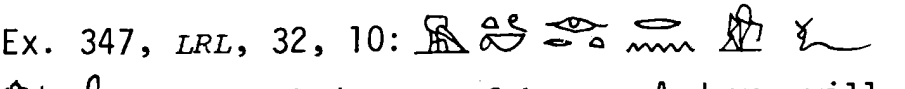
Ex. 344, BM 10052, 4, 10:  , *ḥr p3y-ṯ3w i.iri.k*, Because of this theft which you committed.

iv). Of respect:

Ex. 345, *LRL*, 27, 11-12:  , *md.t nb i.h3b.k n.i ḥr.w*, Everything about which you sent to me.

v). Of sealing and labelling:

Ex. 346, Mayer A, 6, 11:  , *iw.w (ḥr) di.t ḫt ḥr.f*, They put a seal on it.

Ex. 347, *LRL*, 32, 10:  , *mtw.k ir.t rn.f ḥr.s*, And you will

sign his name on it.

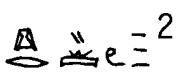
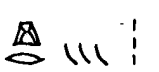
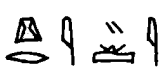
vi). Expressing contemporary action in the present:
See below Chapter 19.

7.1.5. The preposition *hr*.

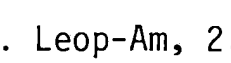
a). Forms.

i). Before nouns (equivalent to Copic ⲉⲣⲁ): [19].

ii). Before pronominal suffixes (equivalent to Coptic ⲉⲣⲟ=):

 [20].  [21].  [22].

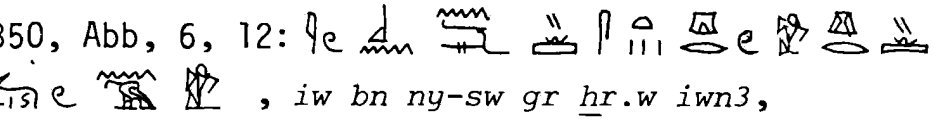
Compare this last form with the form of *hry* in the adverbial phrase

Ex. 348, P. Leop-Am, 2, 8:  ,
r-hry, Down.

b). Uses.

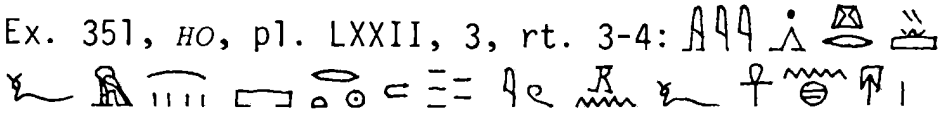
'Under', (of place). It can not only be used literally, but also metaphorically, 'to be under' something, with the meaning of 'to carry' it.

Ex. 349, Abb, 6, 22-23: ,
iw n3-md3i.w .... (hr) ḫd .... hr n3y.w-sḫ3.w, The policemen .... sailed north .... carrying their memoranda.

Ex. 350, Abb, 6, 12:  , *iw bn ny-sw gr hr.w iwn3*,
Because they do not belong to (the category) that can be passed over in silence. (Lit. 'They do not belong to being silent under them.')

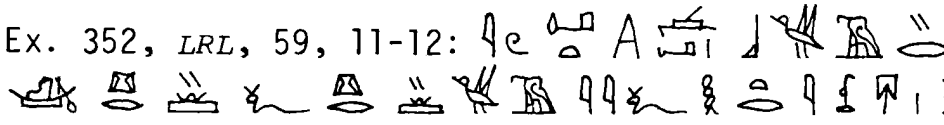
Note that *hr* when indicating 'carrying' occurs in parallel with *iw ini.f*.[23].

Compare

Ex. 351, *HO*, pl. LXXII, 3, rt. 3-4: 

ii hr.f m 3bd 4 pr.t sw 15 iw ini.f 'nḫ, The coming, bringing it (a donkey) in the 4th. month of the winter season, day 15, bringing (also) a goat;

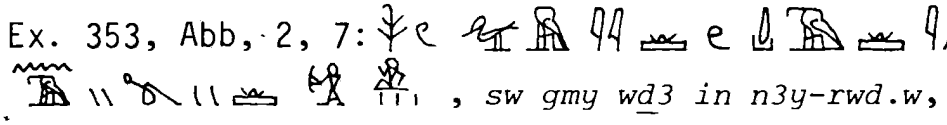
with

Ex. 352, *LRL*, 59, 11-12: 

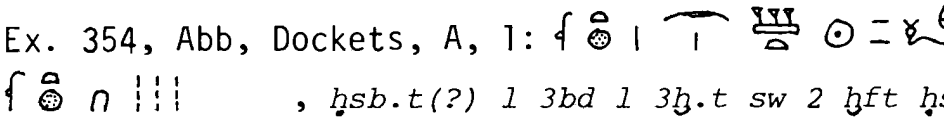
iw di A w'-br hr.f hr p3y.f-ḫtr, After A sent a boat carrying it, and (also) his taxes.

7.1.6. The preposition *in*.[24.]

, *in*, only functions to express the logical subject of the infinitive, or of such passive forms as still exist in Late Egyptian, for example the *stp.tw.f* form, the passive participle and the stative.

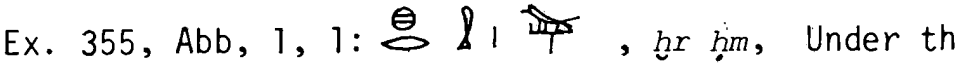
Ex. 353, Abb, 2, 7:  , *sw gmy wd3 in n3y-rwd.w*, It was found intact by these inspectors.

7.1.7. The preposition *ḫft*, 'corresponding to'.

Ex. 354, Abb, Dockets, A, 1:  , *ḫsb.t(?) 1 3bd 1 3ḫ.t sw 2 ḫft ḫsb.t (?) 19*, Year 1, 1st. month of the inundation season, day 2, corresponding to year 19.

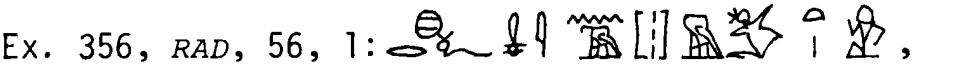
7.1.8. The preposition *ḫr*.

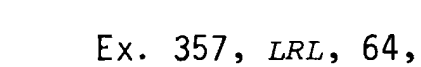
, *ḫr*, is archaic, and is found only in the phrase

Ex. 355, Abb, 1, 1:  , *ḫr ḥm*, Under the majesty, always occurring after a date.

7.1.9. The preposition *mi*.

, *mi*, 'like' is very rare. It occurs in the expressions

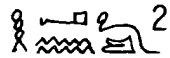
Ex. 356, *RAD*, 56, 1:  , *ḥr.f min3 m ṯ3ty*, So he keeps saying thus, the vizier.

Ex. 357, *LRL*, 64, 10:  , *mi p3-hrw*, Like today(?).

7.1.10. The preposition *ḥn'*.

a). Forms.

[25.] [26.] [27.] [28.]

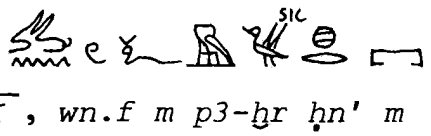
This latter form is only found in the phrase *ḥn'-ḏd*. Note also the writing of this phrase  [29.]

b). Uses.[30.]

It seems that *ḥn'* can not be followed or preceded by a pronominal suffix; i.e. it is limited to nouns, noun equivalents and adverbial phrases.

A). Most frequently *ḥn'* is equivalent to English 'and'.

i). Joining two adverbial phrases in a *wn.f* + adverbial predicate formation:

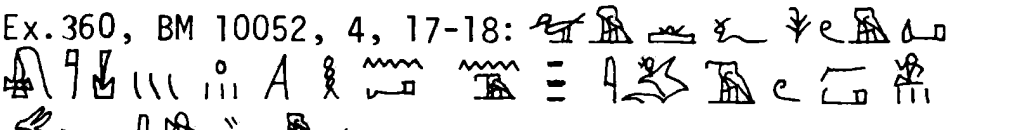
Ex. 358, Mayer A, 10, 22:  , *wn.f m p3-ḫr ḥn' m p3-pr-n-st3*, He was in 'The Tomb' and in the portable shrine.

ii). Joining two defined nouns indicating things:

Ex. 359, Abb, 3, 4-5:

gmy t3-s.t qrs n p3-nsw .... ḥn' t3-s.t qrs n ḥm.t-nsw wr.t A, The burial chamber of the king .... was found, and likewise the burial chamber of the Great Royal Wife A.

iii). Joining two defined nouns indicating people:

Ex.360, BM 10052, 4, 17-18: 

gmi.f sw m-di ḫt-sntr A ḥn' n3-it3.w wn irm.f, He found it in the possession of the incense-burner A and the thieves who were with him.

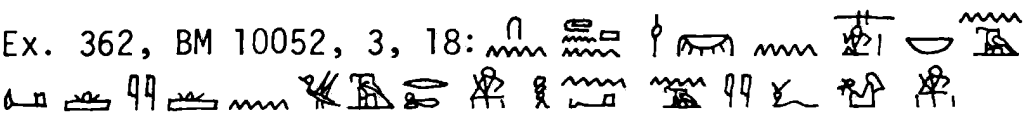
iv). Joining two nouns dependent on the same prepositions:

1). The preposition , *r*:

Ex. 361, Abb, 5, 2-4:

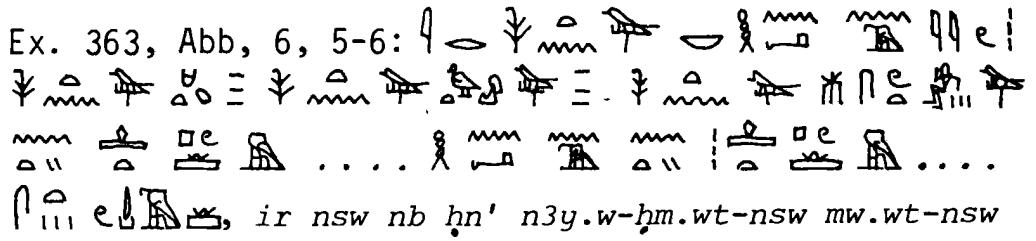
iw p3-ḥmty (ḥr) šm r w'-ḫr-n-'ḥ' .... ḥn' t3-'.t n rmt-is.t A, The coppersmith went .... to a common tomb .... and (to) the hut of the workman A.

2). The preposition , *n*:

Ex. 362, BM 10052, 3, 18: 

10 n dbn n ḥd n s nb n3-dy n p3-rmt ḥn' n3y.f-iry.w, 10 *deben* of silver per person is what was given to the man and his accomplices.

v). Joining frontal extrapositions:

Ex. 363, Abb, 6, 5-6: 

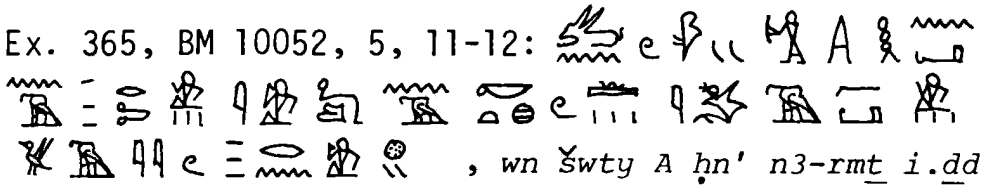
ir nsw nb ḥn' n3y.w-ḥm.wt-nsw mw.wt-nsw ms.w-nsw nty ḥtp m .... ḥn' n3-nty ḥtp m .... st wḏ3, As for all the kings and their Royal Wives, Royal Mothers (and) Royal Children who rest in .... and also those who rest in ...., they are intact.

vi). Joining the nominal subjects of the perfect active *stp.f*:

Ex. 364, Abb, 4, 5-6:

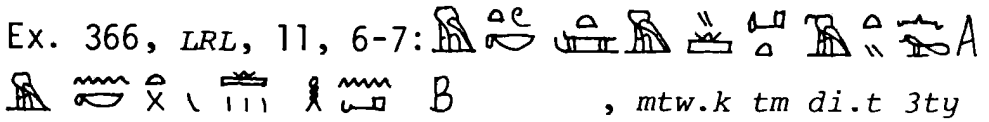
ḏd ḥ3ty-' ḥry-mḏ3i.w A n p3-ḥr '3 šps ḥn' ḥry.w-mḏ3i.w mḏ3i.w rwd.w n p3-ḥr p3-sš n t3ty p3-sš n p3-imy-r-pr-ḥḏ wn irm.w smy im.w, The Mayor and Chief of Police, A, of 'The Great and Noble Tomb', together with the Chiefs of Police, and the policemen and the inspectors of 'The Tomb', the scribe of the vizier, and the scribe of the Overseer of the treasury who were with them, made a report on them.

vii). Joining two nominal subjects of a *wn A* construction:

Ex. 365, BM 10052, 5, 11-12: 

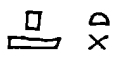
wn šwty A ḥn' n3-rmṯ i.ḏd n3-kṯḫ.w iṯ3.w p3y.w-rnrn, The merchant A, together with the people, the list of whom the other thieves gave, were present.

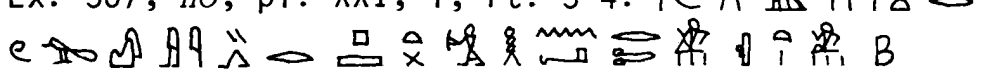
viii). Joining two nominal subjects of the non-initial prospective *stp.f*:

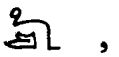
Ex. 366, *LRL*, 11, 6-7:  , *mtw.k tm di.t 3ty A m nk.t ḥn' B*, And you shall not let A and B lack anything.

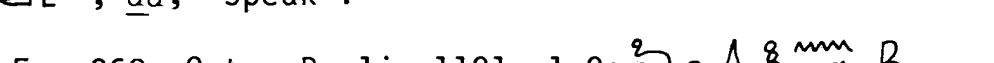
B). The letter formula , *ḥn'-dd*, 'and says' and , *ḥn'-dd r-nty*, introduce a new subject (see below 10.10).

C). *ḥn'* can be used idiomatically with certain verbs.

i).  , *pš*, 'divide' (see below Ex. 378):

Ex. 367, *HO*, pl. XXI, 1, rt. 3-4:  , *iw A t3y.s-šri.t (ḥr) ii r pš ḥn' rmt-is.t B*, A, her daughter, came to make the division with the workman B.

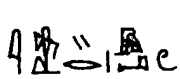
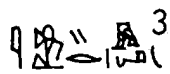
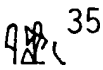
ii).  , *dd*, 'speak':

Ex. 368, Ostr. Berlin 1121, 1-2:  , *dd A ḥn' B*, The arguing of A with B. (The heading of a legal record.)

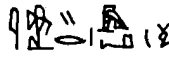
7.1.11. The preposition *irm*.[31]

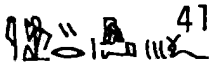
a). Forms.

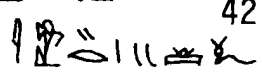
i). With nouns (= Coptic ⲘⲚ̄):

 [32]  [33] [34]  [35]

ii). With pronominal suffixes (= Coptic ⲚⲘⲘⲀ⸗):

[36] [37]  [38]

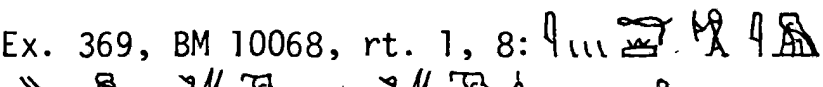
39. 40. 41. 

42. 

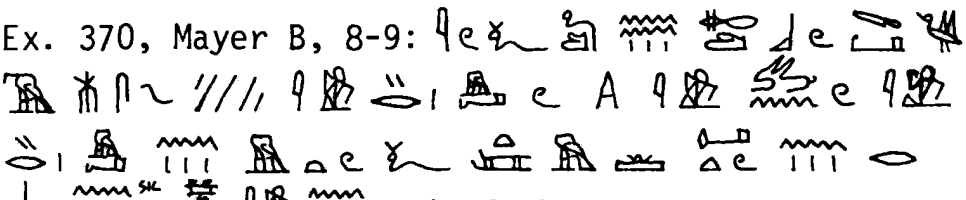
b). Uses.

irm means 'with', 'together with', 'in company with', 'in the possession of' and 'and'. In contradistinction to *ḥn'*, *irm* can be immediately followed by the pronominal suffixes.

i). *irm* joins a preceding pronominal suffix with a following noun:

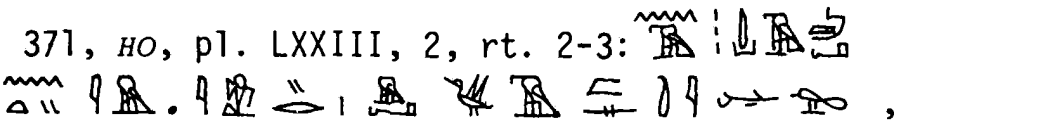
Ex. 369, BM 10068, rt. 1, 8:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) mḥ im.w irm p3-nbw p3-ḥd ḥmt*, One siezed them with the gold the silver and copper.

However, in the framework of verbal formations, *irm* can not join a preceding pronominal suffix with an immediately following noun, acting together as the subject of the verbal formation.

Ex. 370, Mayer B, 8-9:  , *iw.f (ḥr) dd n.n ḥdb(.i) p3-ms (ḥr) irm A i.wn irm.n mtw.f tm di.t.n r-bl*, He said to us, "I, together with A, who was with us, killed the lad (of 'The Tomb') so that he should not sell us out," so he said.

Since the pronominal suffix *(.i)* in *ḥdb(.i)* cannot be immediately followed by *irm A*, *p3-ms* precedes *irm A*.

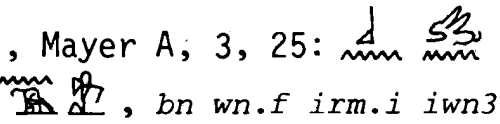
ii). *irm* is equivalent to English 'and':

Ex. 371, *HO*, pl. LXXIII, 2, rt. 2-3:  , *n3-dm3 nty im irm p3-gsty ˁri*, The books which are there, and the small palette.

In these examples it is difficult to see why *irm* is used in preference to *ḥn'*. However, there are certain formations in which *irm* is a fixed element, and *ḥn'* does not occur.

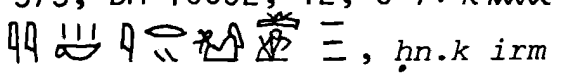
iii). The *wn.f irm* formation:

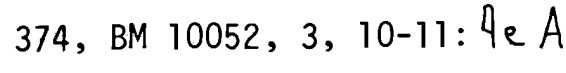
irm acting as the predicate of a *wn.f* .... formation does not interchange with *ḥn'*.

Ex. 372, Mayer A, 3, 25:  , *bn wn.f irm.i iwn3*, He was not with me.

iv). Verbs of motion are followed by *irm*:

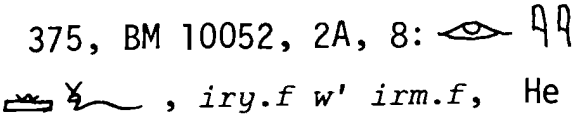
Verbs of motion are not followed by *ḥn'* but by *irm*.

Ex. 373, BM 10052, 12, 6-7:  , *ḥn.k irm n3y.k-iry.w*, Go with your accomplices.

Ex. 374, BM 10052, 3, 10-11:  , *iw A (ḥr) iy irm B*, A went with B.

v). The construction *iri w' irm* .... :

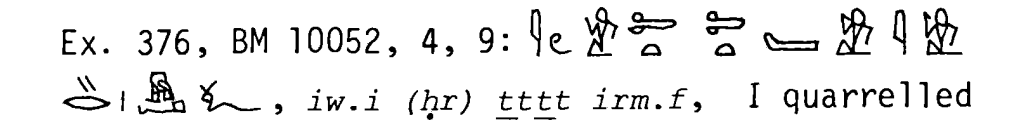
This construction occurs only with *irm* and never with *ḥn'*.

Ex. 375, BM 10052, 2A, 8:  , *iry.f w' irm.f*, He joined with (lit. 'made one with') him.

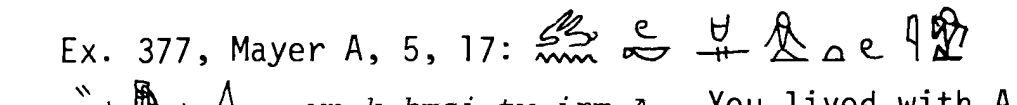
vi). *irm* is used idiomatically with certain verbs. It is

much more common in this use than is *ḥn'*.

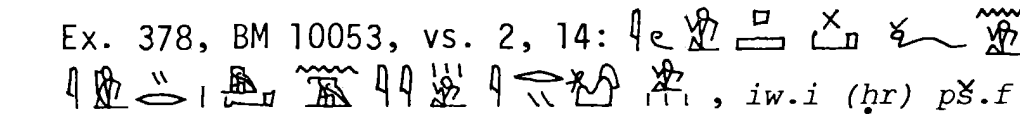
a). *ttt irm*, 'quarrel with':

Ex. 376, BM 10052, 4, 9:  , *iw.i (ḥr) ttt irm.f*, I quarrelled with him.

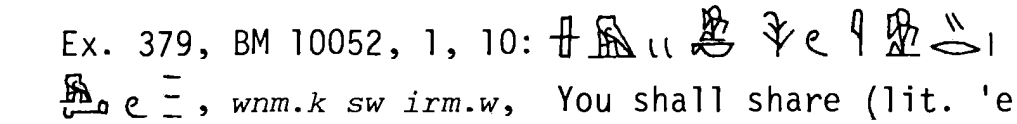
b). *ḥmsi irm*, 'live with':

Ex. 377, Mayer A, 5, 17:  , *wn.k ḥmsi.tw irm A*, You lived with A.

c). *pš n.f irm*, 'divide between him and ....':

Ex. 378, BM 10053, vs. 2, 14:  , *iw.i (ḥr) pš.f n.i irm n3y.i-iry.w*, I divided it between myself and my accomplices.

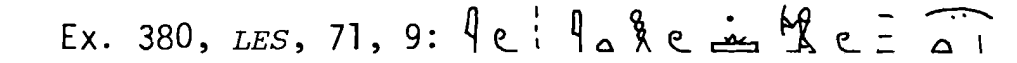
d). *wnm irm*, 'share (a meal) with':

Ex. 379, BM 10052, 1, 10:  , *wnm.k sw irm.w*, You shall share (lit. 'eat') it with them.

7.2. The omission of prepositions.[43.]

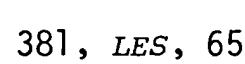
Since prepositions are very frequently omitted in Late Egyptian, one is tempted to assume that nouns can take more than one form; i.e. one might assume the omission of prepositions is due to the existence of cases of inflection in Late Egyptian.

7.2.1. The preposition *r*, when indication the notion 'to, towards'.

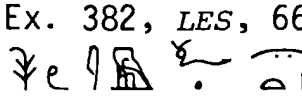
Ex. 380, *LES*, 71, 9: 

, *iw.w (ḥr) iṯ.w (r) sp.t p3-ym*, They dragged them (to) the sea-shore.

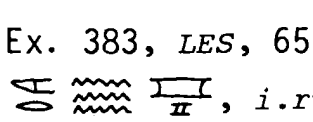
Note that the omission of the preposition *r* before bare infinitives can be included in this category.

Ex. 381, *LES*, 65, 14:  , *mtw.k iy (r)-dd* ...., And you will come in order to say .... .

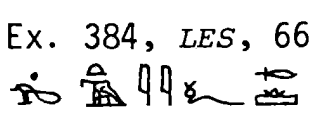
7.2.2. The preposition *m (n)* or *ḥr*, when denoting 'in, at'.

Ex. 382, *LES*, 66, 2-3: ....  , ... *m p3-im nty sw im.f (m) sp.t p3-ym*, ... in the tent in which he was (on) the sea-shore.

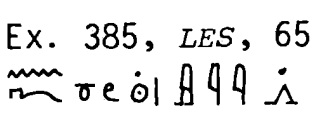
7.2.3. The prepositions *ḥr* or *m (n)*, when denoting 'from (a place)'.

Ex. 383, *LES*, 65, 12:  , *i.rwi tw.k (m) t3y.i-mr*, Take yourself away (from) my port.

7.2.4. The preposition *m (n)* when denoting 'in, inside'.

Ex. 384, *LES*, 66, 3-4:  , *iw.i (ḥr) gm.t.f ḥmsi (m) t3y.f-'r.t*, And I found him sitting (in) his top-room.

Note that the omission of the prepositions *ḥr* and *m* before infinitives can be included in this category.

Ex. 385, *LES*, 65, 11-12:  , *(i)n ntk p3-nty i.iri.f nw (m) iy*, Is it you who have been spending time coming?

(m) iy means 'in the process of coming'.

7.3. Compound prepositions.

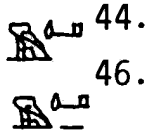
A compound preposition is composed of a simple preposition plus a noun or noun equivalent, or of a noun plus a preposition. Note that in contradistinction to free adverbial phrases the compound prepositions are always immediately followed by either a pronominal suffix or a noun.

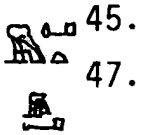
7.3.1. The preposition *m-di*.

m-di is composed of the preposition , *m*, and the element *di*, which sometimes takes the form of the infinitive of the verb *di.t*, 'give'.

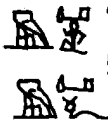
a). Forms.

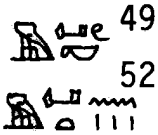
i). Before nouns (= Coptic ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ):

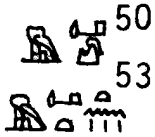
 44. 46.

 45. 47.

ii). Before pronominal suffixes (= Coptic ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ):

 48. 51.

 49. 52.

 50. 53.

iii). Following , *ḫr*:

54.

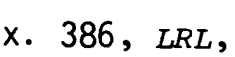
55.

Note that *m-di* can take the form of , *m-ḏr*.[56] But note that *m-ḏr*, when indicating 'because of',[57] is not a writing of *m-di*.

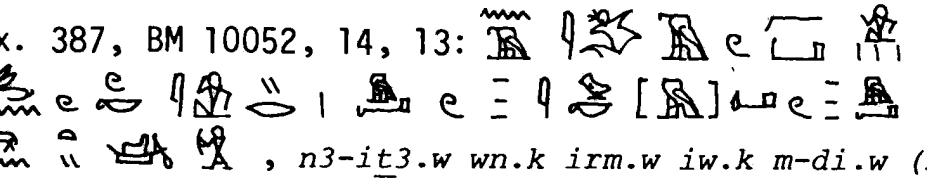
b). Uses.

m-di denotes 'in the possession of' and 'with'.

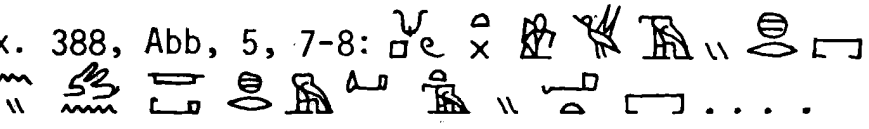
i). 'In the possession of':[58]

Ex. 386, *LRL*, 15, 6:  , *(i)n sw m-di.k*, Is it with you?

ii). 'With' (compare above 7.1.10. and 7.1.11.):

Ex. 387, BM 10052, 14, 13:  , *n3-it3.w wn.k irm.w iw.k m-di.w (m) mhnty*, The thieves with whom you were, being with them (as) ferryman.

iii). 'And','and also':

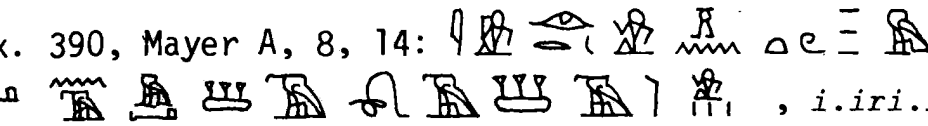
Ex. 388, Abb, 5, 7-8:  , *wpw(-ḥr) p3y-ḫr nty wn ḫr m-di t3y-'.t ....*, Except this tomb, which is open, and this hut .... .

Sometimes in this usage it appears equivalent to the , *ir*, of the frontal extraposition (see below 9.2.2.).

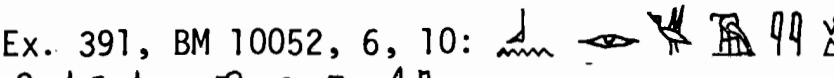
Ex. 389, *LRL*, 9, 9-10: , *ḫr m-di t3-md.t n n3-'3.w .... di.i st n A*, And in the business of the donkeys ...., I handed them over to A.

iv). Idiomatic uses:

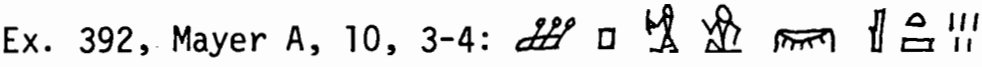
1). *ini m-di*, 'buy from':

Ex. 390, Mayer A, 8, 14:  , *i.iri.i in.t.w m-di n3-mšwš*, It was from the Meshwesh that I bought them.

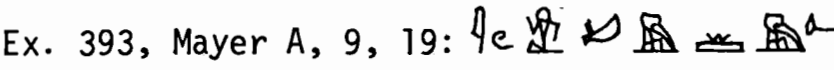
2). *mdw m-di*, 'make claims against':

Ex. 391, BM 10052, 6, 10:  , *bn iri p3y.i-sn (r) di.t mdw.tw m-di.i*, My brother will not allow anybody to make claims against me.

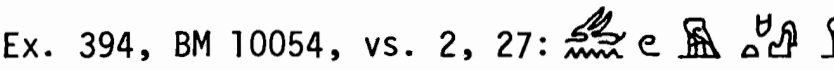
3). *šsp m-di*, 'receive from':

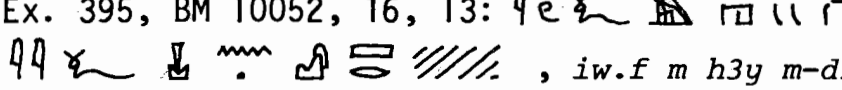
Ex. 392, Mayer A, 10, 3-4:  , *šsp.i nbw qd.t 5 .... m-di A*, I received 5 *qite* of gold .... from A.

4). *sḏm m-di*, 'listen to':

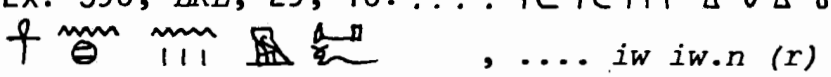
Ex. 393, Mayer A, 9, 19:  , *iw.i (ḥr) sḏm m-di.w iw.w 'ḥ' (ḥr) ttt*, I listened to them standing quarrelling. (See below 12.6.2.)

5). Describing conjugal relationships:

Ex. 394, BM 10054, vs. 2, 27:  , *wn m ḥm.t m-di.A*, Who was the wife of A. (Lit. 'Who was as wife with A'.)

Ex. 395, BM 10052, 16, 13:  , *iw.f m h3y m-di t3y.f-sn.t šri.t*, He being husband to his younger sister.

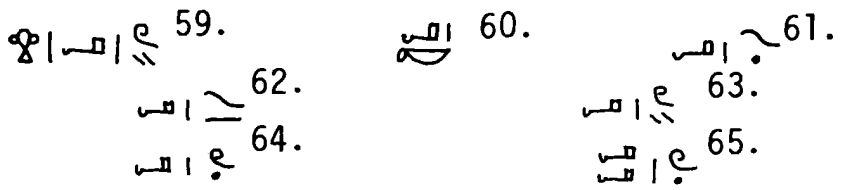
6). *ndnd m-di*, 'consult with':

Ex. 396, *LRL*, 29, 16: ....  , ... *iw iw.n (r) ndnd 'nḫ.n m-di.f*, ... with whom we will consult about our life.

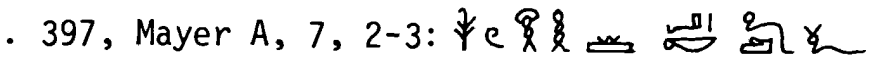
7). For the *wn m-di* and *mn m-di* constructions (see below, Chapters 28-29).

7.3.2. The preposition *(ḥr)-'wy*, 'in the charge of'.

a). Forms.

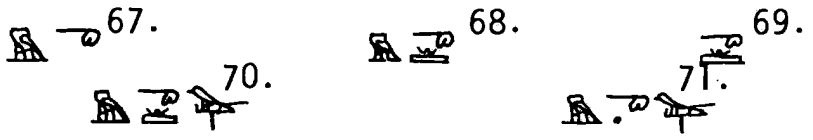


b). Use.

Ex. 397, Mayer A, 7, 2-3:  , *sw w3ḥ (ḥr)-'wy.k ḏd.f sw (ḥr)-' ḥm A*, 'It is in your charge.'
He answered, "It is in the charge of the priest (A)".

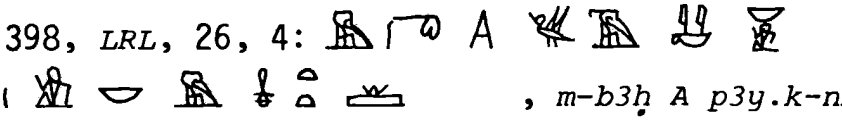
7.3.3. The preposition *m-b3ḥ*, 'in front of' (= Coptic ⲘⲘⲁϩ)[66].

a). Forms.



b). Uses.

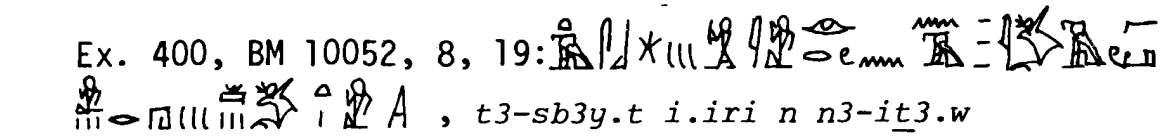
m-b3ḥ is used with gods,[72.] kings,[73.] or high officials (vizier,[74.] royal butlers,[75.] and 'magistrates' (*n3-sr.w*)[76.]). It is, however, sometimes used with a wider range of person;

Ex. 398, *LRL*, 26, 4:  , *m-b3ḥ A p3y.k-nb rmṯ nb m mitt*, Before A, your lord, and everybody else likewise;

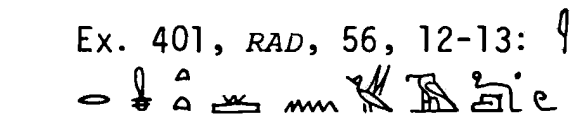
and with inanimate objects:

Ex. 399, Abb, 2, 8-9: , *p3-mr .... nty p3y.f wḏ smn m-b3ḥ.f*, The pyramid .... whose stela is (still) fixed in front of it.

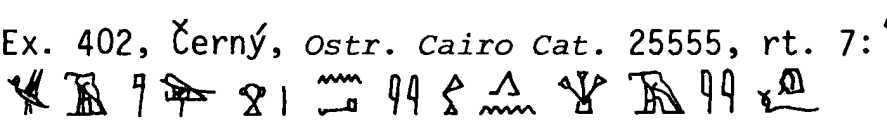
7.3.4. The preposition *r-h3w*, 'in the time of'.

Ex. 400, BM 10052, 8, 19:  , *t3-sb3y.t i.iri n n3-it3.w r-h3w t3ty A*, The punishment which was done to the thieves in the time of the vizier A.

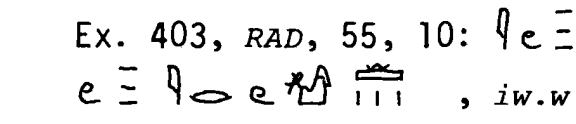
7.3.5. The preposition *r-mitt-n*, 'as', 'according to'.[77.]

Ex. 401, *RAD*, 56, 12-13:  , *iw.w (ḥr) di.t.w r mry.t r-mitt-n p3-dd.f n.sn*, And they installed themselves at the (labour-) market (lit. 'quay') according to his instructions.

7.3.6. The preposition *n-ḥ3*, 'behind'.[78.]

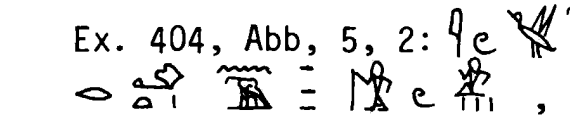
Ex. 402, Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25555, rt. 7:  , *'ḥ'.n p3-ntr ḥr n'y n-ḥ3.f*, Then the god moved backwards.

7.3.7. The preposition *ḥr-ḥ3t-n*, 'before', 'in front of' (= Coptic ϩⲓⲧϩⲏ ⲛ̄....).[79.]

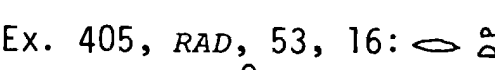
Ex. 403, *RAD*, 55, 10:  , *iw.w 'ḥ' ḥr-ḥ3t-n n3y.w-iry.w*, While they stood in front of their companions.

7.3.8. The preposition *r-ḥ3t* (= Coptic ⲉϩⲏⲧ≈).[80.]

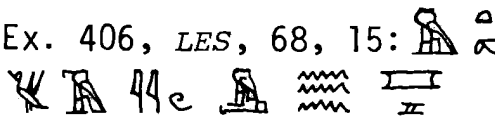
i). 'Before', 'in front of':

Ex. 404, Abb, 5, 2:  , *iw p3-ḥmty (ḥr) šm r-ḥ3t n3-sr.w*, The coppersmith went in front of the magistrates.

ii). 'Because of':

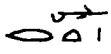
Ex. 405, *RAD*, 53, 16:  , *r-ḥ3t ḥqr r-ḥ3t ib*, Because of hunger and thirst.

7.3.9. The preposition *(m-)ḥr-ib*, 'in the midst of'.

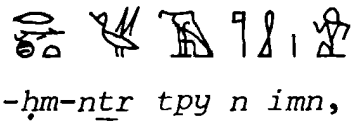
Ex. 406, *LES*, 68, 15:  , *mtw.k mwt n.k (m-) ḥry-ib p3-ym*, And you will bring about your death in the middle of the sea.

7.3.10. The preposition *r-ḫt*, 'subordinate to', 'under the orders of'.

a). Forms.

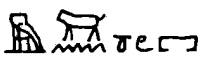
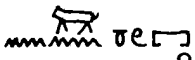
81.  82. 83.

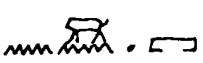
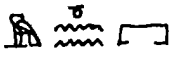
b). Use.

Ex. 407, BM 10054, rt.2, 7: A  , *A r-ḫt p3-ḥm-nṯr tpy n imn*, A, under the charge of the First Prophet of Amon.

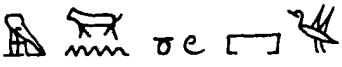
7.3.11. The preposition *m-ḫnw*, 'inside', 'amongst' (= Coptic ϩⲛ̄-).[84]

a). Forms.

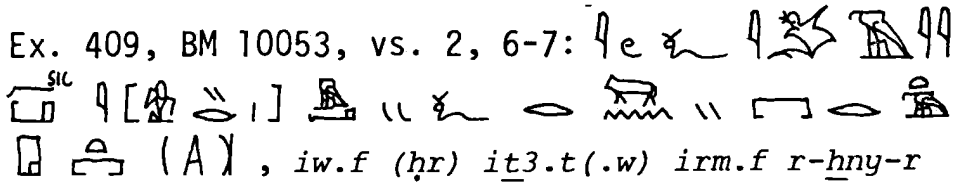
 85. 86.  87.

 88.  89.

b). Use.

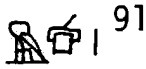
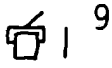
Ex. 408, Mayer A, 2, 5:  , *m-ḫnw p3-r-ḥḏ*, Inside this treasury.

7.3.12. The preposition *(r)-ḥny(-r)*, 'into'.

Ex. 409, BM 10053, vs. 2, 6-7:  , *iw.f (ḥr) it3.t(.w) irm.f r-ḥny-r t3-ḥw.t (A)*, He took (them) with him into the temple of (A).

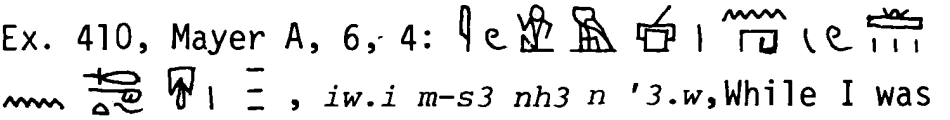
7.3.13. The preposition *m-s3* (= Coptic ⲘⲚⲤⲀ, ⲘⲚⲤⲰ).[90.]

a). Forms.

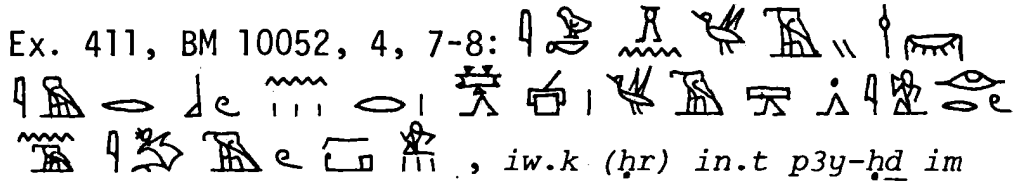
 [91.]  [92.]

b). Uses.

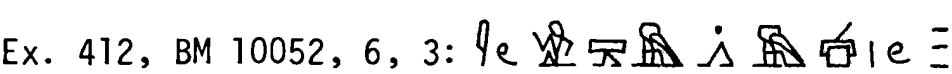
i). 'Behind' (of place):

Ex. 410, Mayer A, 6, 4:  , *iw.i m-s3 nh3 n '3.w*, While I was behind some donkeys.

ii). 'After' (of time):

Ex. 411, BM 10052, 4, 7-8:  , *iw.k (ḥr) in.t p3y-ḥd im r-bl (m-)s3 p3-šm i.iri n3-it3.w*, You brought out from it this silver, after the thieves had been there (lit. 'after the going away which the thieves did').

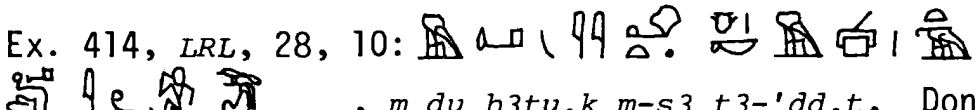
iii). 'After', 'following after':

Ex. 412, BM 10052, 6, 3:  , *iw.i (ḥr) šm m-s3.w*, I followed them about.

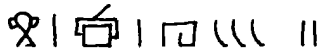
iv). 'After', 'because of', 'looking for':

Ex. 413, *LES*, 67, 9-11: , *i.iri.k iy ḥr iḫ n sḫn iw.i (ḥr) dd n.f i.iri.i iy m-s3 t3-t.t*, "For what commission did you come?" I said to him, "It was for the timber that I came."

v). Idiomatically.

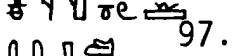
Ex. 414, *LRL*, 28, 10:  , *m dy ḥ3ty.k m-s3 t3-'dd.t*, Don't worry about (lit. 'put your heart after') the young girl.

7.3.14. The preposition *ḥr-s3*, 'after' (of time).

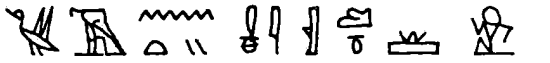
Ex. 415, *HO*, pl. XLIX, 3, rt. 6:  , *ḥr-s3 hrw 2*, After 2 days.

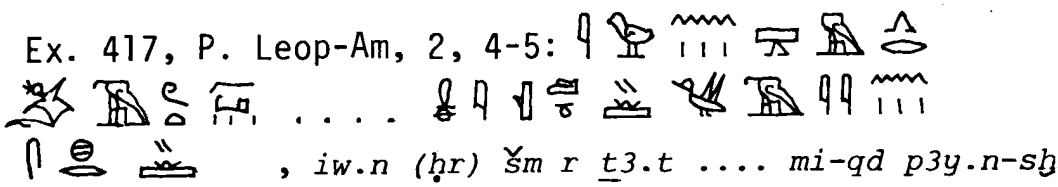
7.3.15. The preposition *mi-qd*, 'like'.[93.]

a). Forms.

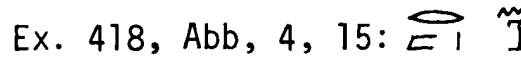
[94.]
[95.]
[96.]
 [97.]

b). Use.

Ex. 416, Abb, 6, 16:  , *p3-nty mi-qd.i*, One of my standing (Lit. 'The (one) who is like me.')

Ex. 417, P. Leop-Am, 2, 4-5:  , *iw.n (ḥr) šm r t3.t .... mi-qd p3y.n-sḫr*, We set out to steal .... according to our (usual) custom.

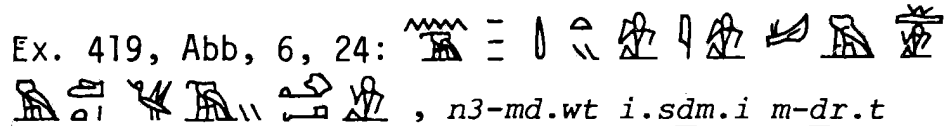
7.3.16. The preposition *r-gs*, 'beside', 'near'.

Ex. 418, Abb, 4, 15:  , *r-gs n3-s.wt*, Beside the Places.

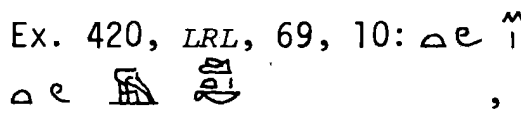
7.3.17. The preposition *m-dr.t*.[98]

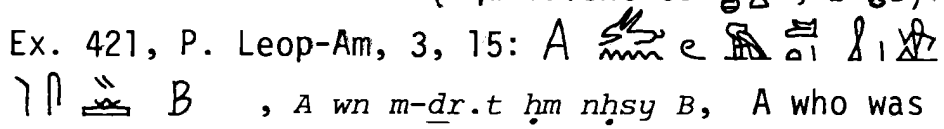
This is not simply another version of *m-di*, a fact which can be demonstrated by comparison with Coptic ⲚⲦⲚ⸗ , and ⲚⲦⲞⲞⲦ⸗ . They are in fact two different prepositions, but with almost indentical uses.

i). 'From':

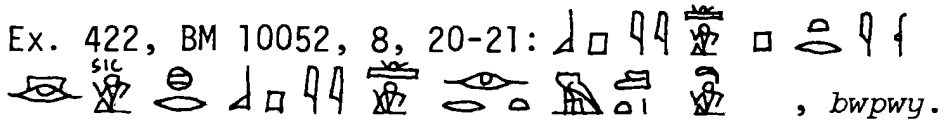
Ex. 419, Abb, 6, 24:  , *n3-md.wt i.sdm.i m-dr.t p3y-ḥ3ty-'*, The words which I heard from this mayor.

ii). 'By', 'through the agency of':

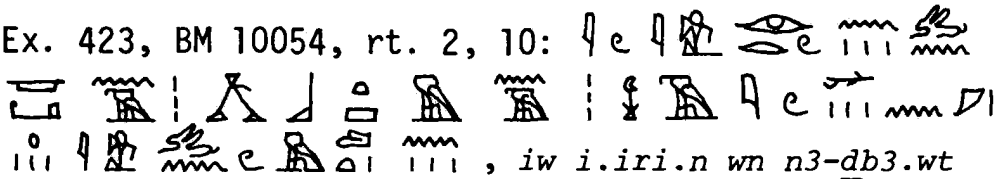
Ex. 420, *LRL*, 69, 10:  , *tw.n ddḥ.tw m-dr.t.k*, We have been imprisoned through you.

iii). 'In the service of' (equivalent to , *r-ḫt*):
Ex. 421, P. Leop-Am, 3, 15:  , *A wn m-dr.t ḥm nḥsy B*, A who was in the service of the Nubian slave B.

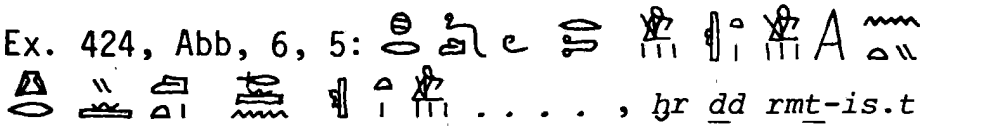
iv). As a way of expressing 'self':

Ex. 422, BM 10052, 8, 20-21:  , *bwpwy.i ptr ḫr bwpwy.i ir.t m-dr.t.i*, I did not see, and I did not take part myself (lit. 'do with my hand').

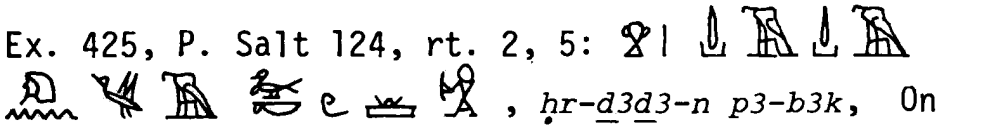
v). In the literal sense 'in the hand of':

Ex. 423, BM 10054, rt. 2, 10:  , *iw i.iri.n wn n3-db3.wt m n3-ḫ3i.w n ḥmt i.wn m-dr.t.n*, And it was with the copper chisels which were in our hands that we opened the outer coffins.

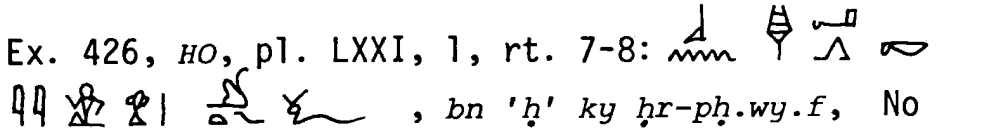
7.3.18. The preposition *hr-dr.t*, 'in the charge of'.

Ex. 424, Abb, 6, 5:  , *ḫr dd rmt-is.t A nty hr-dr.t n '3-n-is.t B ....*, Then the workman A, who is in the charge of the foreman B, said .... .

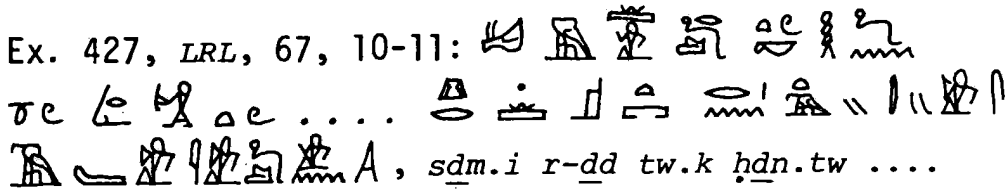
7.3.19. The preposition *ḥr-d3d3-n*, 'On top of' (= Coptic ϩⲓϫⲛ̄, ϩⲓϫⲱ).[99]

Ex. 425, P. Salt 124, rt. 2, 5:  , *ḥr-d3d3-n p3-b3k*, On the top of the construction.

7.3.20. The preposition *ḥr-ph.wy(-n)* (= Coptic ϩⲓ ⲡϫϩⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ), 'behind', 'at the back of'.[100]

Ex. 426, *HO*, pl. LXXI, 1, rt. 7-8:  , *bn 'ḥ' ky ḥr-ph.wy.f*, No other will work with (lit. 'stand behind') it (a donkey).

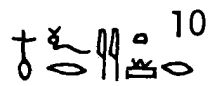
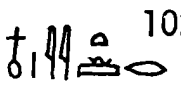
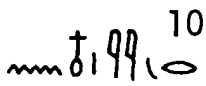
7.3.21. The preposition *hr-s.t-r-n*, 'because', 'on account of'.

Ex. 427, *LRL*, 67, 10-11:  , *sdm.i r-dd tw.k ḥdn.tw ....*

hr-s.t-r-n t3y-md.t sbi i.dd.i n A, I have heard that you are angry .... on account of that joke that I told A.

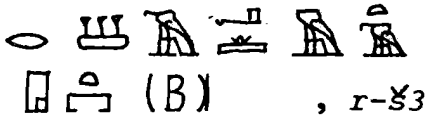
7.3.22. The preposition *nfry.t-r*, 'as far as', 'until'.

a). Forms.

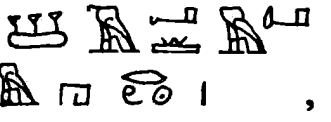
 101.  102.  103.

b). Uses.

i). Of place:

Ex. 428, BM 10054, vs, 2, 3:  , *r-ḫ3'-m t3-ḥw.t (A) nfry.t-r t3-ḥw.t (B)*, From the temple of A to the temple of B .

ii). Of time:

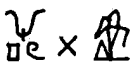
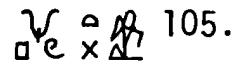
Ex. 429, *HO*, pl. XLII, 1, vs. 1-2:  ,

(r-)ḫ3'(-m) m-di h3b.n.i nfry.t-r p3-hrw, Since I wrote, until today.

Note the 19th. Dynasty form *h3b.n.i*.

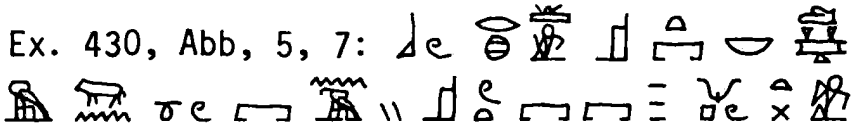
7.3.23. The preposition *wpw(-ḥr)*, 'except for'.

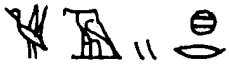
a). Forms.

 104.  105.

Note that the , *ḥr*, is regularly omitted.

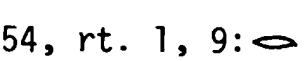
b). Use.

Ex. 430, Abb, 5, 7: 

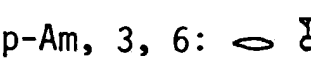
 , *bw rḫ.i s.t nb dy m-ḥnw n3y-s.wt wpw(-ḥr) p3y-ḫr ....*, I know of no place here among these places, except this tomb....

7.3.24. The preposition *(r-)š3'(-r)*, 'until', 'as far as'.

i). Of place:

Ex. 431, BM 10054, rt. 1, 9:  , *r-š3' ḫḫ.f*, Up to its neck.

ii). Of time:

Ex. 432, P. Leop-Am, 3, 6:  *r-š3'(-r) p3-hrw*, Until today.

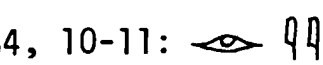
7.3.25. The preposition *(r-)š3'(-m)*, 'from', 'since'.

i). Of place (see above Ex. 428).

ii). Of time:

Ex. 433, *LRL*, 47, 10: , *iw.n (ḫr) ir.t (r)-š3'-(m) 10 n hrw r 20*, We will spend between 10 and 20 days (lit. '10 days (or) to 20').

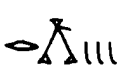
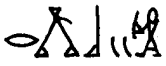
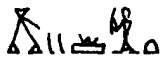
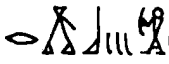
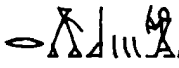
7.3.26. The preposition *r-iwd*, 'between', 'as an obligation upon' (= Coptic ⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲟⲩⲧⲱ).[106]

Ex. 434, *LRL*, 34, 10-11:  , *iry.i 'r'r wp.t nb sḫn.w nb n p3y.i-nb nty r-iwd.i*, I carried out all the errands and commissions of my master which were laid upon me.

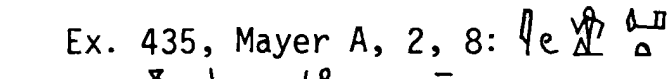
For the sense 'between' see Exx. 149 and 1538.

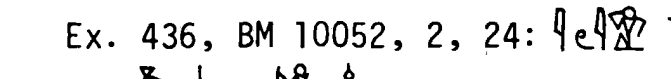
7.3.27. The preposition *r-db3*, 'in exchange for' (= Coptic ЄТВЄ, ЄТВННТ).[107.]

a). Forms.

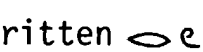
 [108.]
 [109.]
[110.]
 [111.]
 [112.]
 [113.]

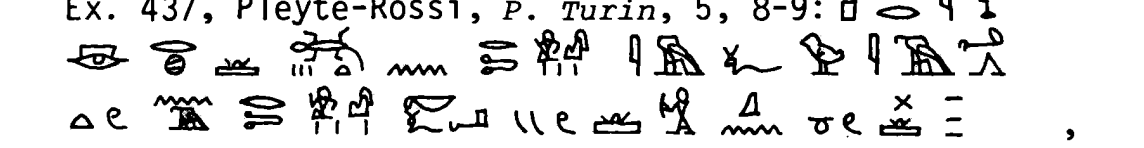
b). Uses.

Ex. 435, Mayer A, 2, 8:  , *iw.i (ḥr) di.t n.f bd.t ḥ3r 1 gs r-db3t.w*, I paid (lit. 'gave') him 1½ *khar* of spelt for them.

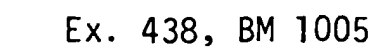
Ex. 436, BM 10052, 2, 24:  , *iw i.iri.i in.t.w r-db3 ḥd*, It being for silver that I bought (lit. 'brought') them.

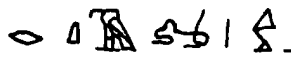
7.3.28. The preposition *wi3.tw(?)*, 'except for'.

A compound preposition of somewhat obscure origin is written  , *wi3.tw(?)*, 'not counting', 'except for'. Gardiner[114.] considered it to be the *stp.tw.f* form of the verb , *wi3*, 'to except'.[115.]

Ex. 437, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 5, 8-9:  ,
ptr rḫ.t 'Ꜣ3.t n rmṯ im.f wi3.tw(?) n3-rmṯ kf' qnw, Look, a great many people are in it, besides the many prisoners.

7.3.29. The preposition *(r-)q3r(-n)*, 'beside', 'near'.

Ex. 438, BM 10052, 8, 12: 

 , *(iḫ p3)y.k-'ḥ' r-q3r-n.w*,
How is it that you were standing near them.[116].

7.3.30. The preposition *n-3by*, 'through desire of', 'in order to'.

See below Ex. 1057.

7.3.31. The preposition *m-ḥ3w-ḥr*, 'more than'.[117].

Ex. 439, P. Ashmolean 1958/112, vs. 2 (unpublished):
, *t3y n3(-n) wnmy w' wsḫ.t m-ḥ3w-ḥr smḥy*, Those of (the) right (side) have carved one chamber more than (those of the) left (side).

7.4. Bibliography and references.

1. Smither, *JEA* 25 (1939), 166-169; Lefebvre, *RE* 8 (1951), 121-124; Erman, *NAG*, 603-608.
2. Erman, *NAG*, 609-612; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 278-284; Stern, *Grammatik*, 536-537; Gunn, *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 90, n. 4.
3. BM 10054, rt. 1, 12.
4. *LRL*, 19, 4.
5. Abb, 2, 3.
6. Abb, 7, 14.
7. P. Leop-Am, 3, 1.
8. Abb, 5, 17.
9. Abb, 3, 5.
10. *GG*, 66; Till, *Grammatik*, 237, 299, and 379.
11. Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 91; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 81-91.
12. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 285-290.
13. Ambras, 1, 8.
14. *LRL*, 39, 7.
15. Abb, 6, 13.
16. Abb, 5, 6.
17. *LRL*, 36, 5.
18. Abb, 5, 18.
19. Abb, 6, 5.
20. Abb, 6, 12.
21. BM 10068, rt. 5, 17.
22. BM 10068, rt. 6, 10; Gardiner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 178.
23. De Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 158-9; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, p. 57-8; Černý, *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics*, p. 81-85; Wente, *JNES*, 21 (1962) 306, n. 19; Groll, *JNES*, 28 (1969) 184-91.
24. Erman, *NAG*, 619, 701-702; Groll, *Non-verbal*, p. 62, n. XIII.

25. BM 10052, 3, 18.
26. *HO*, pl. XX, 6, 2.
27. *LRL*, 51, 7.
28. *LRL*, 43, 11.
29. *LRL*, 36, 4.
30. Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), 96.
31. Sethe, *AZ* 64 (1929), 9-12; Giffith, *JEA* 12 (1926), 201, n. 1; Erman, *NAG*, 620.
32. BM 10052, 7, 12.
33. BM 10053, vs. 3, 20.
34. BM 10053, vs. 3, 18.
35. BM 10053, vs. 2, 9.
36. Mayer B, 9.
37. Abb, 1, 20.
38. Mayer A, 5, 18.
39. Mayer A, 1, 9.
40. BM 10054, rt. 2, 3.
41. BM 10053, vs. 3, 12.
42. BM 10052, 2A, 8.
43. Erman, *NAG*, 598; Černý, *AZ* 72 (1936), p. 110, n. 2.
44. Mayer A, 8, 14.
45. Mayer A, 6, 2.
46. BM 10052, 14, 1.
47. *LRL*, 31, 15.
48. BM 10052, 8, 13.
49. BM 10403, 3, 12.
50. BM 10052, 14, 20.
51. BM 10052, 10, 19.
52. BM 10053, vs. 3, 22.
53. BM 10052, 6, 4.
54. Abb, 5, 8.
55. *LRL*, 9, 9.
56. *LES*, 67, 1; *AZ* 60 (1925) 59-61; *AZ* 62 (1926) 5-8.

57. *LES*, 74, 2-3.
58. Černý - Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), 34, n. 14.
59. *RAD*, 50, 15; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 320-321.
60. Mayer A, 7, 2.
61. Mayer A, 7, 2.
62. Mayer A, 10, 24.
63. BM 10383, 3, 7.
64. *LRL*, 34, 1.
65. *LRL*, 16, 3.
66. Posener, *RE* 5 (1946), 252-254; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 326-327; Černý, *Studies Griffith*, p. 50, n. 3 and p. 51, n. 14.
67. *LRL*, 26, 4.
68. Abb, 4, 10.
69. *LRL*, 5, 7; 18, 9.
70. *LRL*, 28, 4.
71. *LRL*, 59, 5.
72. *LRL*, 28, 4.
73. Abb, 5, 18.
74. Abb, 4, 10.
75. Abb, 5, 14.
76. BM 10052, 4, 23.
77. Erman, *NAG*, 642.
78. See Černý, Chapter VI in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum*, (1962).
79. Stern, *Grammatik*, 575; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 290.
80. Stern, *Grammatik*, 565; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 305-308.
81. BM 10054, rt. 2, 7.
82. Abb, 7, 7.
83. BM 10068, rt. 4, 14.
84. Stern, *Grammatik*, 556; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 315-319.
85. Abb, 5, 7.
86. Abb, 5, 9.

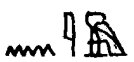
87. Mayer A, 2, 13.
88. *RAD*, 59, 9.
89. *LES*, 64, 10.
90. Stern, *Grammatik*, 561; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 353-357.
91. Mayer A, 6, 4.
92. BM 10052, 1, 20.
93. Erman, *NAG*, 658.
94. Abb, 6, 16.
95. *LRL*, 24, 6.
96. *LRL*, 24, 5.
97. BM 10054, vs. 1, 5.
98. Stern, *Grammatik*, 535; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 361-369.
99. Stern, *Grammatik*, 553; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 370-374.
100. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 328.
101. Ostr. Varille 14, 2; Ostr. *IFAO* 421, 2. (Unpublished).
102. *HO*, pl. XLII, 1, vs. 2.
103. BM 10068, vs. 2, 3.
104. Abb, 5, 6.
105. Abb, 5, 7.
106. Stern, *Grammatik*, 564; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 313-314.
107. Stern, *Grammatik*, 558; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 383-386.
108. BM 10053, vs. 3, 13.
109. BM 10052, 2, 19.
110. Mayer A, 8, 12.
111. Mayer A, 6, 15.
112. Mayer A, 6, 25.
113. Mayer A, 2, 8.
114. *AZ*, 47 (1910) 134-6.
115. See Gunn, *AZ* 62 (1926) 83-5 and Sethe, *AZ* 63 (1928) 99-101.
116. See also *LRL*, 3, 7; However, see Erman *NAG* 657.
117. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 395. See also *LRL*, 24, 9.

CHAPTER 8. ADVERBS

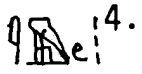
8.1. *im*, 'there', 'from there'.

a). Forms.

1.

 2.

3.

 4.

These latter two writings are phonetic writings corresponding to Coptic ⲘⲘⲁⲨ .5.

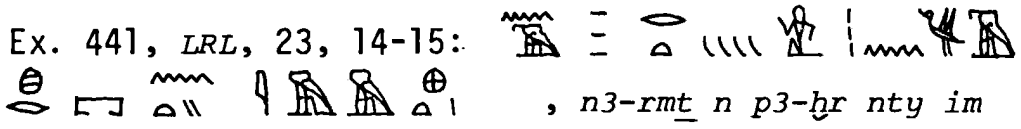
b). Uses.

i). The notion 'in there':

1). Referring back to a preceding element:

Ex. 440, Abb, 6, 10: ,
r p3-nty tw.i im, To the (place) where I was (lit. 'which I was in').

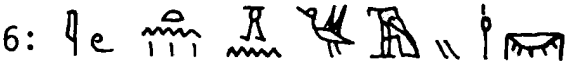
2). Referring to a following element introduced by the preposition *m*:

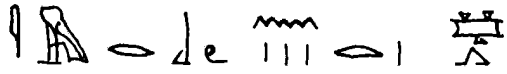
Ex. 441, *LRL*, 23, 14-15:  , *n3-rmṯ n p3-ḥr nty im m niw.t*, The people of 'The Tomb' who are there, (that is) in Thebes.

Note that the preposition *m* is sometimes omitted in immediate contact with *im*.

ii). The notion 'from there':

1). In the phrase *ini r-bl*:

Ex. 442, BM 10052, 5, 6: 

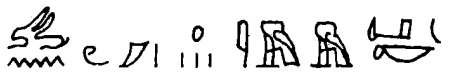
 , *iw.tn (ḥr) in.t p3y-ḥd im r-bl*, You brought the silver out from there.

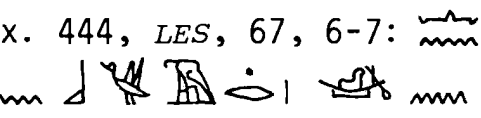
2). As the resumptive element of a relative form.

See below 51.7. - 51.8.

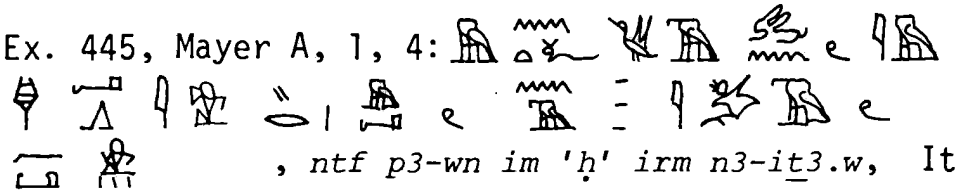
iii). *im* as a tense indicator.

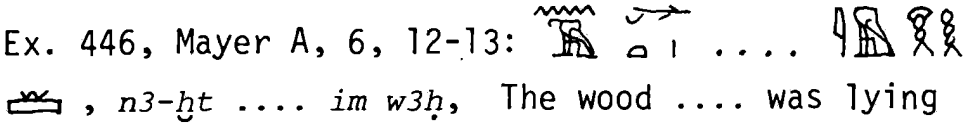
1). As a tense indicator *im* occurs in the constructions with *wn* and *mn* (see below 28.8. - 28.10. and 29.3.3.):

Ex. 443, *LRL*, 19, 15:  , *wn ø-ḥmt im m-di.k*, You have copper. (Lit. 'Copper is with you.')

Ex. 444, *LES*, 67, 6-7:  , *(i)n mn k.t 50 n br im*, Are there not another 50 boats?

2). *im* precedes statives when sharing a subject with them:

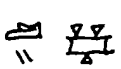
Ex. 445, Mayer A, 1, 4:  , *ntf p3-wn im 'ḥ' irm n3-it3.w*, It was he who was standing there with the thieves.

Ex. 446, Mayer A, 6, 12-13:  , *n3-ḫt .... im w3ḥ*, The wood .... was lying there.

8.2. *dy*, 'here', 'there'.[6]

This corresponds to Coptic ⲦⲀⲒ 'here' and ⲦⲎ 'there'.

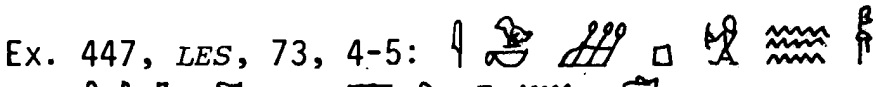
a). Forms.

 [7] [8] [9]

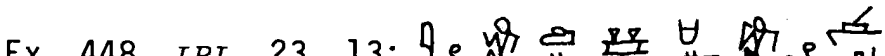
b). Uses.

i). The meanings of *dy*:

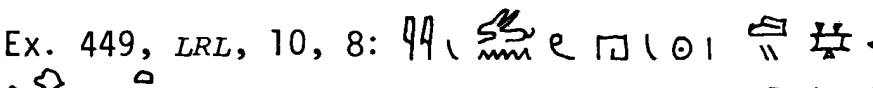
1). Denoting 'there':

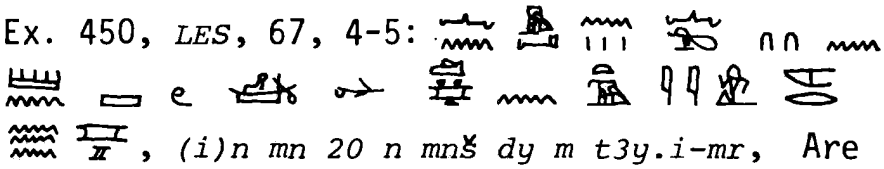
Ex. 447, *LES*, 73, 4-5:  , *iw.k (r) šsp mw imnt.t mi-qd n3-ntr.w nty dy*, You will receive (the) water of (the) West, like the gods who are there.

2). Denoting 'here':

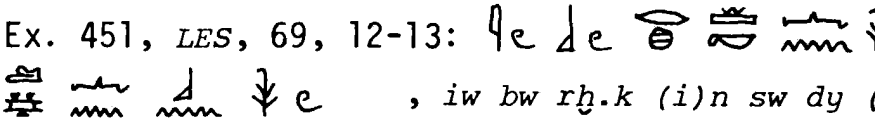
Ex. 448, *LRL*, 23, 13:  , *iw.i dy ḥmsi.tw w'.k(wi)*, While I am sitting here alone.

3). Indicating existence or non-existence in constructions with *wn* and *mn* (see above 8.1. b. iii. 1.).

Ex. 449, *LRL*, 10, 8:  , *y3 wn hrw dy r-ḥ3t.tn*, Indeed, there is (still) time before you.

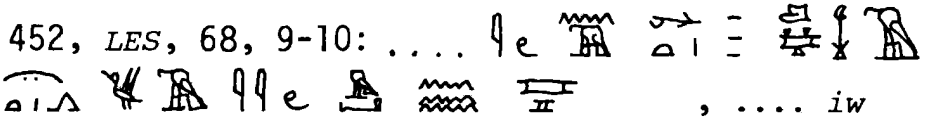
Ex. 450, *LES*, 67, 4-5:  , *(i)n mn 20 n mnš dy m t3y.i-mr*, Are there not 20 boats in my harbour?

4). *dy* stands as the affirmative counterpart of *bn* in sentences of the following type.[10.]

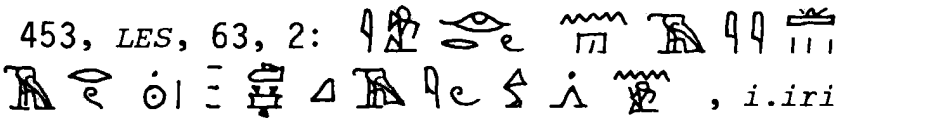
Ex. 451, *LES*, 69, 12-13:  , *iw bw rḫ.k (i)n sw dy (i)n bn sw*, But you have no idea whether he is present or not.

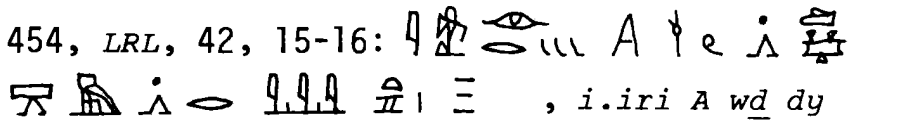
ii). The syntactic position of *dy*:

1). *dy* precedes statives when sharing a subject with them (see below Exx. 545 and 553):

Ex. 452, *LES*, 68, 9-10: ....  , ... *iw n3-ḫt dy ḫ3' (ḥr) sp.t p3-ym*, ... so that the wood is there lying on the sea-shore.

2). *dy* precedes adverbial adjuncts when not acting as predicate:

Ex. 453, *LES*, 63, 2:  , *i.iri nh3y hrw.w dy (r-)q3r-n.i*, Spend a few days here with me.

Ex. 454, *LRL*, 42, 15-16:  , *i.iri A wḏ dy r šm r sḫ.t*, It was to go to the country that A left here.

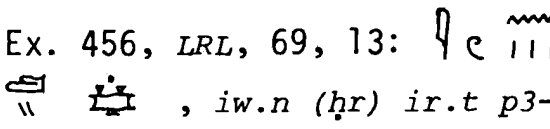
Note, however, that the phrase *r ḥms.t* precedes *dy* in the following sentence.

Ex. 455, *LRL*, 24, 5: , *iw iw.k (r) di.t ii.f r ḥms.t dy irm.n*, Whom you will send to live here with us.

iii). Note that when *dy* acts as the predicative adverb of an 'emphatic' formation it fills an end position.[11].

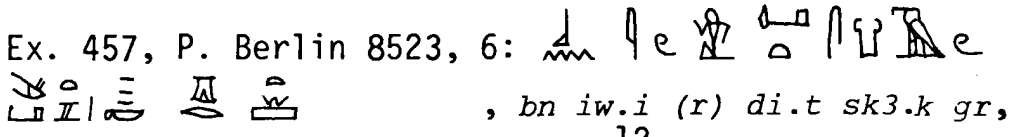
See below Ex. 1058.

iv). *dy* follows direct objects:

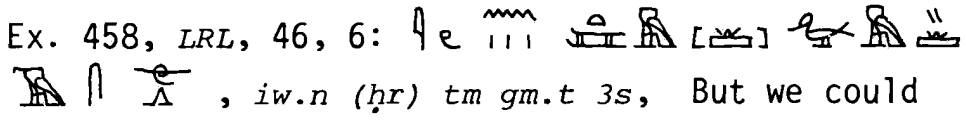
Ex. 456, *LRL*, 69, 13:  , *iw.n (ḥr) ir.t p3-ḥrw dy*, While we spent today here.

8.3. *gr*, 'further'.

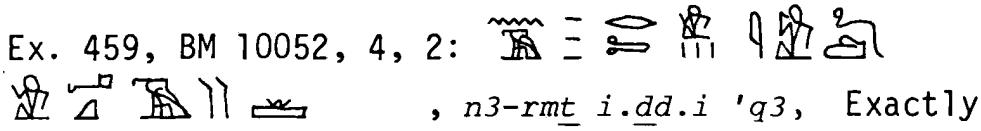
See below Exx. 611 and 613.

Ex. 457, P. Berlin 8523, 6:  , *bn iw.i (r) di.t sk3.k gr*, I will not let you plough again.[12.]

8.4. *3s*, 'quickly', 'immediately'.

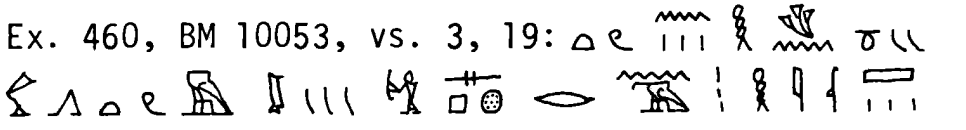
Ex. 458, *LRL*, 46, 6:  , *iw.n (ḥr) tm gm.t 3s*, But we could not find (it) straight away.

8.5. *'q3*, 'precisely', 'exactly'.

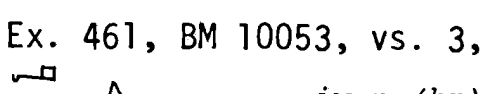
Ex. 459, BM 10052, 4, 2:  , *n3-rmṯ i.ḏd.i 'q3*, Exactly the men I mentioned.

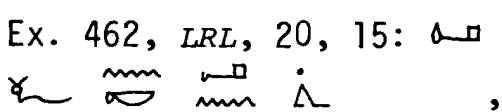
8.6. *'n*, 'again', 'back', 'already', 'yet', 'also' (equivalent to Coptic ON).[13.]

i). 'Again':

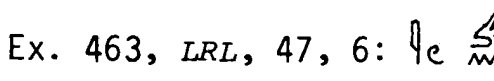
Ex. 460, BM 10053, vs. 3, 19:  , *tw.n ḫn.tw m wḫm sp r n3-ḥtr.w 'n*, We went once again to the door-jambs.

ii). Following verbs of motion and verbs of 'putting', 'giving' and 'bringing'; *'n* is equivalent to English 'back':

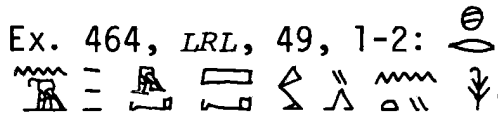
Ex. 461, BM 10053, vs. 3, 2:  , *iw.n (ḥr) šm r.f 'n*, We went back to it.

Ex. 462, *LRL*, 20, 15:  , *di(.i) sw im 'n (r) di.t ini.tw.f n.k 'n*, I put it back there in order that it might be brought back to you.

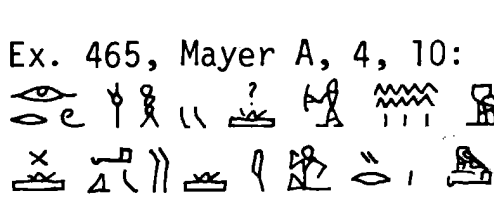
iii). 'Already':

Ex. 463, *LRL*, 47, 6:  , *iw wn.tn im.f 'n*, Since you were there already.

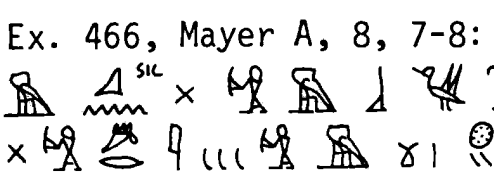
In negative sentences the English translation of this notion is 'yet':

Ex. 464, *LRL*, 49, 1-2:  , *ḫr bwpwy.f ir.t n3-mš'.w nty sw im.w 'n*, He has not yet made the (sort of) journey (lit. 'journeyings') in which he is (now) engaged.

iv). 'Also':

Ex. 465, Mayer A, 4, 10:  , *iw wn ntf i.iri wḏḥ n.n mtw.f pš m pš 'q3 irm.n 'n*, It was he who used to melt it for us, and (then) he also made fair division among us.

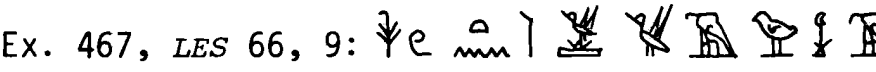
8.7. *ḏri*, 'severely'.

Ex. 466, Mayer A, 8, 7-8:  , *wḥm smty.f m qn(qn) m*

bdn m qnqn dri m šs m šs, He was again examined by beating with a stick, with very very severe beatings.

8.8. Interrogative adverbs.

8.8.1. *tnw*, 'where?' (= Coptic ⲦⲰⲚ):[14].

Ex. 467, *LES* 66, 9:  ,
sw tnw p3-wḫ3, Where is it, the letter?

8.8.2. *wr*, 'how many?' (= Coptic ⲟⲩⲏⲣ):[15].

See below Ex. 1602.

8.9. Fixed adverbial phrases which are to be classified as adverbs.

8.9.1. Adverbs of time.[16].

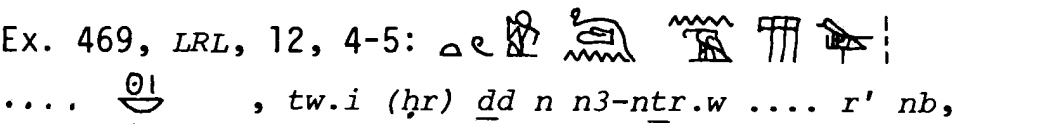
i). *m mnt*, 'daily' (= Coptic ⲘⲘⲎⲚⲈ, ⲘⲘⲎⲚⲒ).

m mnt is an end position adverb.

Ex. 468, *LRL*, 31, 11:
, *iw.i 'ḥ'.k(wi) m p3y.f-wb3 m mnt*, While I stand daily in his courtyard.

ii). *r' nb*, 'every day'.

r' nb is also an end position adverb.

Ex. 469, *LRL*, 12, 4-5: 
, *tw.i (ḥr) dd n n3-ntr.w .... r' nb*, I pray (lit. 'say') to the gods .... every day.

iii). *m p3-hrw*, 'today' (= Coptic ⲘⲠⲞⲞⲨ).

See below Exx. 745 and 746.

iv). *(m)dw3*, 'early' (equivalent to Coptic ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ):

See below Ex. 1032.

v). *m grḥ*, 'at night' (equivalent to Coptic ⲛⲉϫⲱⲣ̄ⲕ):

See above Ex. 205.

vi). *m rwh3*, 'in the evening':

See above Ex. 212.

vii). *(m) t3-wnw.t*, 'immediately' (equivalent to Coptic ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ):

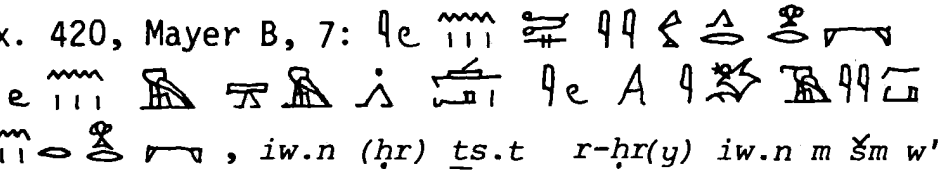
See above Ex. 206.

viii). *r (-ḫ3')-nḥḥ*, 'for ever':

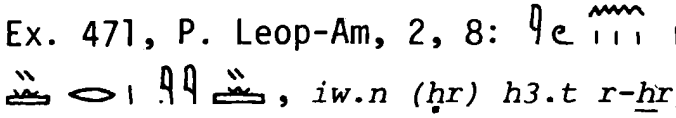
See below Ex. 747.

8.9.2. Adverbs of direction and place.[17.]

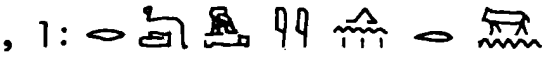
i). *r-ḥry*, 'up' (= Coptic ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ):

Ex. 420, Mayer B, 7:  , *iw.n (ḥr) ṯs.t r-ḥr(y) iw.n m šm w' iw A (ḥr) iṯ3.t.n r-ḥr(y)*, We climbed up, going together, and A took us up.

ii). *r-ḫry*, 'down' (= Coptic ⲉϩⲣⲏ):

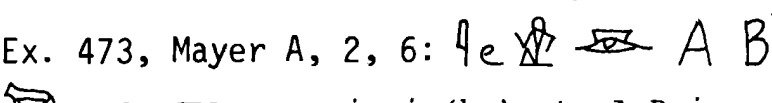
Ex. 471, P. Leop-Am, 2, 8:  , *iw.n (ḥr) h3.t r-ḫry*, We went down.

iii). *r-ḫnw*, 'in', 'into' (= Coptic ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ):

Ex. 472, *RAD*, 53, 1: 

, *r-dd my.n r-ḥnw*, Saying "Come in."

iv). *m-ḥnw*, 'inside' (= Coptic ⲘⲚⲤⲞⲨⲚ):

Ex. 473, Mayer A, 2, 6: 
, *iw.i (ḥr) ptr A B iw.w m-ḥnw*, I saw A and B inside.

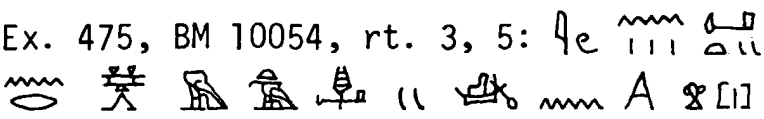
v). *r-bl*, 'out' (= Coptic ⲉⲃⲟⲗ):

r-bl is an end position adverb.

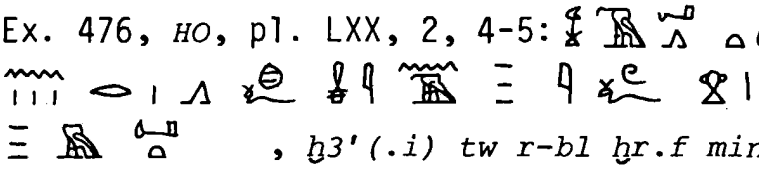
Ex. 474, BM 10054, rt. 1, 8-9:
, *iw.n (ḥr) in.t w'-w.t im.s r-bl*, We brought an inner coffin out of it.

The semantic extensions of *r-bl*:

a). *di r-bl* means sell (= Coptic ⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ):

Ex. 475, BM 10054, rt. 3, 5: 
, *iw.n (ḥr) di.t.f r-bl m t3-'ḥ' n A ḥr mry.t niw.t*, We sold it on the boat of A at the market of Thebes.

b). *ḫ3' r-bl* can mean 'divorce' (= Coptic ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ):

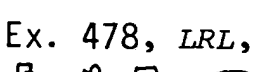
Ex. 476, *HO*, pl. LXX, 2, 4-5: 
, *ḫ3'(.i) tw r-bl ḫr.f min3 iw.f ḥr tt(tt) m-di(.i)*, "(I) will divorce you." Thus he said when quarrelling with (me).

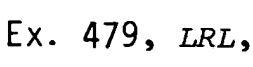
8.9.3. *m dwn*, 'regularly' (= Coptic ⲘⲚⲦⲞⲞⲨⲚ):[18.]

Ex. 477, *RAD*, 82, 3:

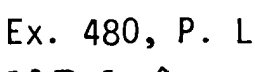
, *ḫr wn.f (ḥr) ir.t.f m dwn m dwn*,
And he used to do it regularly.

8.9.4. *m-r'*, 'still', 'too' (compare Coptic ⲡⲁⲣ', ⲡⲁⲣⲛ̄): [19].

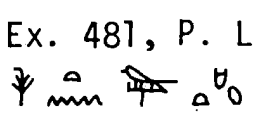
Ex. 478, *LRL*, 36, 12:  , *ḫr ir pr-'3 '.w.s. ḥry nim m-r'*,
But Pharoah (l.p.h.), after all (lit. 'also'), whose chief is he?

Ex. 479, *LRL*, 47, 10:  , *ḫr wnn.f (ḥr) w3ḥ t3-mtr.t m-b3ḥ.n m-r'*, As soon as he puts the evidence before us too ....

8.9.5. *m mitt*, 'likewise', 'in the same way', in negative context 'either'. [20].

Ex. 480, P. Leop-Am, 2, 11-12:  , *iw.n (ḥr) gm.t.s (im) ḥtp.ti m mitt*, We found her lying there in the same way.

8.9.6. *r mitt*, 'likewise', 'in the same way':

Ex. 481, P. Leop-Am, 2, 17:  ,
(iw.n) (ḥr) gm.t (t3)-ḥm.t-nsw r mitt ('q3), (We) found (the) Queen in (exactly) the same state.

8.9.7. *min3*, 'thus': [21].

See above Exx. 356 and 476.

8.9.8. *r-iqr*, 'very':

See below Ex. 870.

8.9.9. *m r-pw*, 'or':

See below Ex. 1618.[22.]

8.10. Bibliography and references.

1. Abb, 5, 6.
2. *LES*, 67, 7.
3. *HO*, pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 5.
4. *LRL*, 50, 10; Wente, *LRL*, 66, note a.
5. Till, *Grammatik*, 240 and 289; see Edel *AZ* 84 (1959), 25-26.
6. Sethe, *AZ* 31 (1893), 107-111; and *AZ* 50 (1912), 99-103; James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 110.
7. *LRL*, 32, 8.
8. Abb, 5, 7.
9. *LRL*, 22, 2.
10. Groll, *Negative*, p. 113.
11. Groll, *Negative*, p. 144.
12. Spiegelberg, *AZ* 53 (1917), 107-111; *Rec. Trav.* 34 (1912), 154-5.
13. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 415-416.
14. Stern, *Grammatik*, 521; Groll, *Negative*, p. 156-158. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 405.
15. Till, *Grammatik*, 215 and 217.
16. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 408-414.
17. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 400-404.
18. Groll, *Negative*, 148-150; Gardiner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 175.
19. Till, *Grammatik*, 134.
20. Gardiner, *RdE*, 6 (1951), p. 127, n.j.
21. Erman, *NAG*, 595. See also *HO*, pl. XXXIII, 2, rt. 3.
22. See also P. Cairo Cat. 58056, 9.

CHAPTER 9. NON-ENCLITIC AND ENCLITIC PARTICLES

A. Non-enclitic particles.

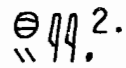
9.1. Non-enclitic particles as syntactic indicators.

Non-enclitic particles are compatible only with some of the verbal formations, therefore they can be used as indicators of verbal classification.

9.2. *ḫr*, 'and', 'how (is) ....?' (Ex. 1602).

9.2.1. Forms.

1.

 2.

9.2.2. *ḫr* is capable of preceding other non-enclitic particles.

a). For *ḫr ir* see Exx. 1034, 1157, 1165, 1234, 1451, 1459, 1465, 1495, 1499, 1596 and 1623.[3]

b). For *ḫr mk* see Ex. 1116.

c). For *ḫr ptr* see Ex. 776.

d). For *ḫr inn* see Exx. 1201, 1610, 1612, 1615, 1618.

e). For *ḫr in* see Ex. 1575.

f). *ḫr m-di*, 'and with', when preceding a noun acts as a marker of a frontal extraposition. See Exx. 388, 389, 498, 636, 967, 1023, 1092, 1178, 1199 and 1208.

However, *ḫr* itself can not be preceded by other non-enclitic particles.

9.2.3. *ḫr* can precede the following types of verbal formation:

a). The initial non-prepositional main clauses (see below Chapters 10, 14-29; Exx. 291, 422, 477, 493, 588, 706 and 735).

b). The dependent *iw* (see Ex. 491).

c). The subordinate *wnn* clause (see below Chapter 56 and Ex. 479).

9.2.4. *ḫr* is incompatible with the following types of verbal formations:

a). The non-initial main clauses (see below Chapters 37-44). See however Ex. 1227.

b). The prepositional subordinate clauses (see below Chapters 31-36).

c). The non-prepositional subordinate clauses (see below Chapters 45-54).

9.2.5. Conclusions.

i). Every *iw* in the combination *ḫr iw*[4]. is either the dependent *iw* or the *iw* of the third future (see below Chapter 37), but is never the *iw* of the *iw.f ḫr stp.f* of the past or of the future (see below Chapters 38-41). *ḫr* + the dependent *iw* denotes 'although', whereas *ḫr* + the *iw* of the third future denotes 'and I will'.

ii). Every *i.iri.tw stp.f* in the combination *ḫr i.iri.tw stp.f* is the emphatic formation (see below Chapters 26-27), and it is neither a relative form (see below Chapters 51-52) nor a *i.iri.t.i stp.f* formation (see below Chapter 33).

iii). Every *stp.f* in the combination *ḫr stp.f* is either the perfect active *stp.f* (Chapter 14), or the initial prospective *stp.f* (Chapter 21), but never the non-initial prospective *stp.f* (Chapter 45).

9.2.6. *ḫr* can precede the following non-verbal patterns.

a). An extraposition (see Ex. 589).

b). A cleft sentence (see Ex. 1489).

c). An infinitive (see Ex. 591).

d). An adjectival sentence pattern (see Ex. 915).

9.3. *ir*, 'if', 'when', 'as for' (see below Chapter 62).[5.]

9.3.1. *ir* preceded by other non-enclitic particles.

a). Preceded by *ḫr*:

See above 9.2.3. a.

b). Preceded by *y3*:

See Ex. 51.

ir itself can be preceded by the dependent *iw* (see Ex. 702).

9.3.2. The verbal formations which can be preceded by *ir*:

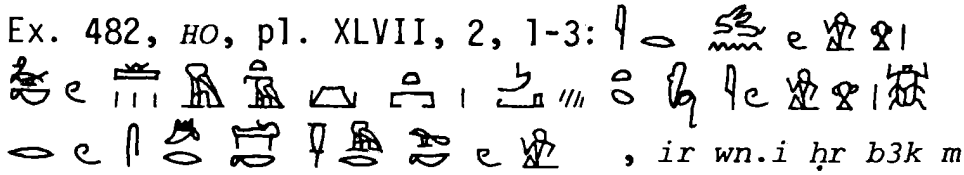
a). The initial main clauses:

i). The perfect active *stp.f* (see Ex. 602);

ii). The initial prospective *stp.f* (see Ex. 1603);

iii). The *wn* of existence (see Ex. 1606);

iv). The *wn.f (ḥr) stp.f* formation;

Ex. 482, *HO*, pl. XLVII, 2, 1-3:  , *ir wn.i ḥr b3k m t3-šnw.t m3'.t iw.i ḥr ḫpr sḏr.k(wi) mr.kwi*, When I was working in the granary of *M3'.t* I became confined to my bed.

v). The emphatic formation which expressed future time (see Ex. 1556);

vi). The first present. When the first present is preceded by *ḫr ir* it is converted to the past tense, and becomes a temporal clause (see Exx. 634, 759, 766, 778 and 785).

b). The initial prepositional subordinate clauses:

ir can precede an *m-ḏr stp.f* formation, when the latter occupies an initial position; i.e. *ir* is here a marker of initiality (see Chapter 32; Ex. 1135).

c). The non-initial main clauses.

ir can precede the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future (see Exx. 701, 703, 713, 714; Chapters 40-41).

d). The non-initial formations created through conversion by the dependent *iw* (see Exx. 704, 737 and 1607).

9.3.3. Conclusions.

It seems that *ir* can not precede a third future formation, a *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, or undefined participles or relative forms.

9.3.4. Non-verbal formations which can be preceded by *ir*.

a). A noun in extraposition (see Exx. 14, 15, 52 and 573);

b). The predicate of a nominal sentence (see Exx. 1485 and 1495). Here *ir* is a marker of the following predicate;

c). *ḫr ir* precedes a time expression (see Exx. 809 and 1165).

9.3.5. The semantic connotations of *ir*:

ḫr ir = 'when'.
ḫr ir = 'and as for'.
ḫr ir + *m-dr stp.f* = 'and since ....'.
ḫr ir + a one membral nominal sentence = 'and it is A'.
iw ir + a verbal formation = 'and if ....'.

9.4. *y3*, 'but', 'indeed', 'really' (= Coptic ⲓⲉ, ⲉⲓⲉ):[5.]

9.4.1. *y3* with other particles.

y3 can not be preceded by any other non-enclitic particle, but it can precede *ir* (see Exx. 12 and 1540).

9.4.2. Verbal formations which can be preceded by *y3*:

i). Initial main clauses:

a). The perfect active *stp.f* (see Ex. 598 and Chapter 14).

b). The *bwpw.f stp.f* (see Ex. 641 and Chapter 15).

c). The first present (see Exx. 745, 746, 877, 878, 1177 and Chapters 19-20).

d). *wn.f stp.ø* (see Ex. 824 and 19.17. - 19.18.).

e). *bw iri.f stp.f* (see Exx. 875, 881 and 20.7.).

f). Emphatic formations (see Exx. 791, 1067, 1077 and 1081).

ii). Subordinate clauses marked by the geminated *wnn.f* .... (see Ex. 1455 and Chapter 56).

iii). Adverbial phrases, (see Ex. 876).

9.4.3. Verbal formations which can not be preceded by *y3*:

a). Prepositional subordinate clauses (see Chapters 31-36).

b). Non-initial main clauses (see Chapters 37-44).

c). Clauses introduced by the dependent *iw*.

9.4.4. Non-verbal patterns which can be preceded by *y3*:

a). A nominal sentence pattern (see Exx. 690 and 1471).

b). The interrogative pronoun *iḫ* (see Exx. 1464 and 1225).

c). A *ḥr ḥnw ḥr r-bl* combination (see Ex. 332).

d). A one membral nominal sentence (see below Ex. 1618).

9.5. *mk*, 'now', 'behold'.

9.5.1. *mk* with other particles.

mk can be preceded by *ḫr* (see Ex. 726), and it can precede *ptr*. This combination can introduce frontal extrapositions (see Exx. 697 and 1116).

9.5.2. Verbal formations which are preceded by *mk*:

It seems that *mk* can precede only initial main clauses:

a). The *bwpw.f stp.* formation (see Ex. 640).

b). The initial prospective *stp.f* (see Ex. 726).

9.5.3. Non-verbal formations which can be preceded by *mk*:

a). An adjectival sentence pattern (see Ex. 1559).

b). Frontal extrapositions (see Exx. 697 and 1116).

9.5.4. Conclusion.

Thus, in contradistinction to Middle Egyptian, *mk* does not act as a supporting element for verbal formations starting with the dependent pronoun.

9.6. *ptr*, 'now', 'here' (see below 24.7.).

9.6.1. *ptr* with other particles.

ptr can be preceded by *hr* (see Exx. 597 and 776) and by *mk* (see Ex. 697). It can also be followed by the non-enclitic particle *my* (see Exx. 799 and 1188).

9.6.2. Verbal formations which can be preceded by *ptr*:

It seems that *ptr* can only precede initial main clauses:

a). The first present (see Exx. 686, 769, 776, 829 and 834).

b). The perfect active *stp.f* (see Ex. 597).

c). An emphatic formation (see Ex. 799).

d). *bw iri.f stp.f* (see Ex. 880).

e). *bw ir.t.f* formation (see Ex. 891).

9.6.3. Conclusion.

That *ptr* can be followed by *my*, and that it cannot be followed by subordinate clauses indicates that *ptr* has retained its imperative force.

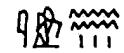
9.6.4. Non-verbal formations which can be preceded by *ptr*.

a). A frontal extraposition (see Ex. 697).

b). A nominal cleft sentence (see Ex. 889).

9.7. *inn*, 'if' (see below Chapter 62), 'when':[8.]

9.7.1. Forms.

 (Ex. 601). (Ex. 693; preceding *bn*: = Coptic ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲩ[B]).[9.]

Note that in Ex. 691 *inn* is a spelling of the interrogative particle *in*.

9.7.3.

inn can be preceded by the non-enclitic particle *ḫr* (see Exx. 1610 and 1612).

9.7.4. Verbal formations which can be preceded by *inn*:

a). The perfect active *stp.f* (see Ex. 524 and Chapter 14).

b). *bwpw.f stp.f* (see Exx. 601, 1610 and Chapter 15).

c). The third future (see Exx. 625, 693, 707 and 740).

d). An emphatic formation (see Exx. 670 and 1618).

e). The first present (see Exx. 716, 760, 819 and 1615).

f). *wn* .... (see Exx. 1616 and 1617).

9.7.5. Conclusion.

inn can precede only initial main clauses; i.e. it seems that it is incompatible with prepositional and non-prepositional subordinate clauses, and with non-initial main clauses.

9.7.6. The semantic connotation of *inn*.

When *inn* does not fill an initial position it indicates 'whether'.[10.]

9.8. *hn*, 'if', introducing an unfulfilled condition (see below 62.6.1.).[11.]

9.8.1. Forms.

(see Ex. 59). (see Ex. 568).

9.8.2.

It seems that *hn*, like *ḫr*, can not be preceded by any other non-enclitic particle.

9.8.3. Verbal formations which can be preceded by *hn*.

a). The perfect active *stp.f* (see Ex. 1619).

b). *hn* + *wn* + perfect active *stp.f* (see Exx. 568, 626 and 1620).

c). *hn* + *wn* *(m)-di.i* *ø-A* formation (see Exx. 729 and 1090).

9.8.4. The non-verbal formations which can be preceded by *hn*.

A nominal cleft sentence (see Exx. 59 and 1323).

9.9. The interrogative particle *in* (= Coptic ⲉⲛⲉ).[12.]

in can be preceded by *ḫr* (see Ex. 709).

9.10. The interrogative particle *ist* (= Coptic ⲉⲥⲧⲉ).[13.]

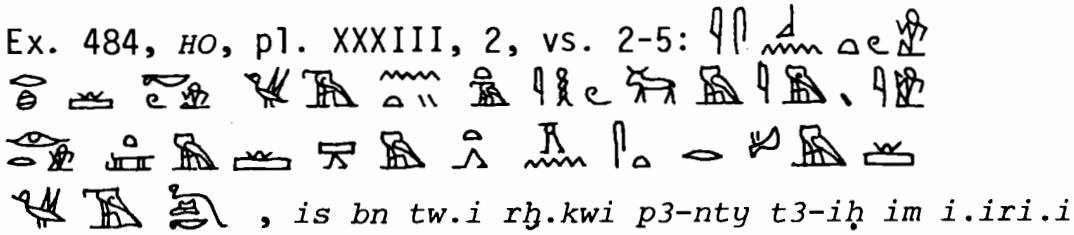
See below 61.5.

9.11. The interrogative particle *is* (= Coptic ⲉⲓⲥ).[14.]

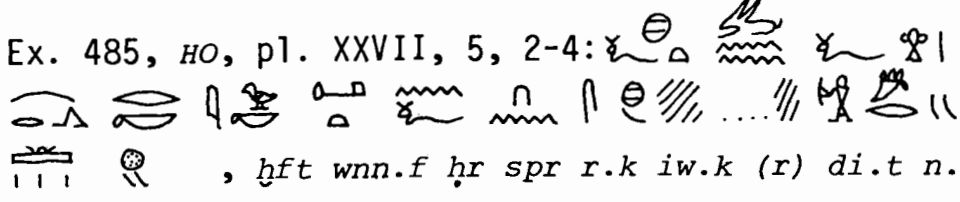
Ex. 483, P. Leiden I, 365, 4-5: , *is p3y.k-b3k A iw ink p3y.k-rwd*, Is A your servant and am I your bailiff? (19th. Dynasty.)

9.12. The rhetorical interrogative particle *is bn*.

is bn is used to introduce rhetorical questions expecting the answer 'yes', and is not to be classified as *is* followed by a negative sentence pattern. *is bn* is never followed by *iwn3*.[15.]

Ex. 484, *HO*, pl. XXXIII, 2, vs. 2-5:  , *is bn tw.i rḫ.kwi p3-nty t3-iḥ im i.iri.i tm šm (r) in.t.s r sḏm p3-ḏd.k*, Don't I know where the cow is? It was in order to hear what you said that I did not go to fetch it. (19th. Dynasty.)

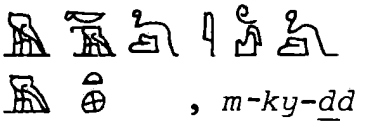
9.13. *ḥft*, 'when'.

Ex. 485, *HO*, pl. XXVII, 5, 2-4:  , *ḥft wnn.f ḥr spr r.k iw.k (r) di.t n.f 10 n sḫ(.t) ḏri ḏri*, When he reaches you, you will give him 10 very hard lashes.

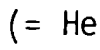
9.14. *p3-wn*, 'because of'.

See Exx. 513 and 874.

9.15. *m-ky-ḏd*, 'in short'.[16.]

Ex. 486, *HO*, pl. LXX, 2, 10-11:  , *m-ky-ḏd iw.t (r) ḏd nk.t iw.t (r) h3.t r km.t*, In short, you will say something, (or) you will return to Egypt.

B. Enclitic particles.

9.16. *mi*, 'please' (= Hebrew , ).[17.]

See below 24.6.2.

9.17. Bibliography and references.

1. Ex. 291.
2. P. Leiden I, 365, 4.
3. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 7-31.
4. Gardiner, *RdE*, 6 (1951), p. 120, n.1.
5. Grapow, *AZ* 77 (1942), 57-62; Erman, *NAG*, 301.
6. Stern, *Grammatik*, 526.
7. *GG*, 234.
8. Černý, *JEA* 27 (1941), 106-112.
9. Černý, *AZ* 90 (1963), 13-16.
10. See Černý, *AZ* 90 (1963), 15, n.2.
11. Till, *AZ* 69 (1933), 112-117; Gardiner, *CdE* 30 (1955), 288-293; for the semitic cognates of *hn* see Haldar, *'On the problem of Akkadian šumma'* in the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 4 (1950), 63-64.
12. See Barns, *JEA* 58 (1972), 164-165; Stern, *Grammatik*, 523.
13. Erman, *NAG*, 677.
14. Till, *Grammatik*, 387.
15. Edgerton, *AJSL* 48 (1931-1932), 41.
16. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 243-244.
17. Gardiner, *CdE* 30 (1955), 288-293.

CHAPTER 10. THE VERBAL SYSTEM

10.1. Tense Indication in Late Egyptian.

Erman's view was that Late Egyptian, like Old and Middle Egyptian, attaches little importance to the expression of time. Although it possesses, like Old and Middle Egyptian and Coptic, forms with which it can express the past and future, it makes use of these only when it wants to exclude any misunderstanding. When the need for this is not so great one of the indifferent forms is used, and it is left to the reader to deduce from the context whether the time referred to is past, present, or future.[1.] This is, to say the least, exaggerated as far as Old and Middle Egyptian are concerned,[2.] and is clearly untrue in Late Egyptian. On the contrary, Late Egyptian has verbal forms and constructions specialized to express the three tenses: the present, the past, and the future tenses.[3.]

10.2. The Importance of Syntax for Morphological Classification.

10.2.1. Introduction.

In view of the inadequate orthography, which shows but little of the true shape of Late Egyptian verbal forms, the value of purely morphological description is almost negligible for the second stage of grammatical classification, and the syntax of the verb has become of far greater importance than in the older stages of the language as a means for morphological classification. In order to illustrate this one should consider the different kinds of *stp.f* forms in Late Egyptian. Although the *stp.f* forms, with one exception, show no outward morphological change in Late Egyptian, it is clear from the variety of Late Egyptian syntactic uses that there exist in Late Egyptian three different patterns of *stp.f*.

10.2.2. The non-initial prospective *stp.f*[4]. (see below Chapter 45).

Coptic shows that after the causative *di* the dependent prospective *stp.f* has the accented vowel before the pronominal suffix, *sedmǒf*. The auxiliary verb *iri* appears as ⲣⲉⲩ in such forms as ⲉ-ⲧ-ⲣⲉⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ , from *r-di.t iri.f sdm*, lit. 'to cause that he may do hearing', and ⲙⲁ-ⲣⲉⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, from *imi iri.f sdm*, lit. 'cause that he may do hearing'.[5] This, if accented, would take the form of *ⲣⲟⲩ, which actually occurs in ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ , from *imi iri.n*, lit. 'cause that we may do', by analogy with the forms of other verbs preserved in Coptic causatives.

10.2.3. The initial prospective *stp.f* (see below Chapter 21).

10.2.4. The perfect active *stp.f* (see below Chapter 14).

The frequent Late Egyptian *stp.f* with independent use and past reference can hardly be termed 'prospective', since it refers to the past, and not to either absolute or relative future. Nor does it ever show the prothetic *i.* , which sometimes occurs in the initial emphatic *stp.f* with strong future meaning, as found in oaths and promises. And last, but not least, this past *stp.f* is replaced in Coptic by a form ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ,[6] which in all probability derives from *iri.f sdm*, lit. 'he did hearing'; if so the form ⲁⲩ, which *iri.f* has here, is quite different from the ⲣⲉⲩ found for the non-initial prospective *iry.f*. This latter was probably vocalized **eirof*, but *iri.f* in ⲁⲩ , with its *r* lost, necessitates a vocalization where the accent lies before the *r*.

10.2.5. Conclusions.

However, all Late Egyptian *stp.f* forms have assumed the same, unchangeable appearance, whatever their syntactic role,

and the above considerations are of a purely hypothetical value. Since the stem of the *stp.f* form always appears the same, irrespective of the underlying verbal form, the morphology of the *stp.f* forms is of no help in classification, but the syntactic role and the negative counterpart of each use permit the classification of the Late Egyptian *stp.f* forms into three well-defined and distinct groups:

	Syntax	Time	Negative
I.	The Perfect Active *stp.f*	Past or Present Perfect	*bwpw.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 15).
II.	The Initial Prospective *stp.f*	Future	*bn stp.f* (see below Chapter 22).
III.	The Non-Initial Prospective *stp.f*	Depends on the tense of the main clause, mostly relative future.	*tm.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 46).

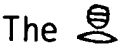
Thus, since the three distinctive affirmative patterns of *stp.f* are indistinguishable morphologically, there is no point in classifying them in purely morphological terms, nor is it satisfactory to place them in a single category. They are to be classified according to their syntactic position. Since the perfect active *stp.f* (i.e. the *stp.f* of the past) is an initial main clause (see below 10.10.-10.11.), it should be classified among the initial main clauses. And since the initial prospective *stp.f* (i.e., the independent prospective *stp.f*) is also an initial main clause, it should be classified in the same section as the perfect active *stp.f*. However, since the non-initial prospective

stp.f is a non-initial, non-prepositional, subordinate clause, it should be described in the section on non-initial, non-prepositional, subordinate clauses. Thus, although they share in common the basic characteristic of being suffix conjugation patterns, nevertheless they are not described in the same section.

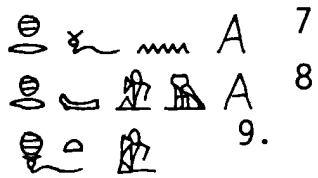
10.3. Time Indication as a Secondary Principle of Classification.

10.3.1. Introduction.

Time indication is a basic feature of the Late Egyptian verbal system. The classification according to time indication will be achieved within the framework of the broader classification of syntactic position; i.e., time indication is the secondary principle of classification.

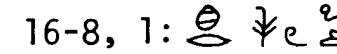
Three grammatical forms which clearly indicate specific ranges of time are the following expressions, used in quotations, which we must consider as survivals of the Middle Egyptian *stp.f* and *stp.n.f* forms. The  , *ḫr.f*, formation expresses the present and the near future tenses. The , *i.n.f*, formation expresses the past tense. The , *k3.f*, formation expresses the future tense.

10.3.2. The forms of the *ḫr.f* formation. A nominal actor expression is introduced by the *m* of rear extraposition.



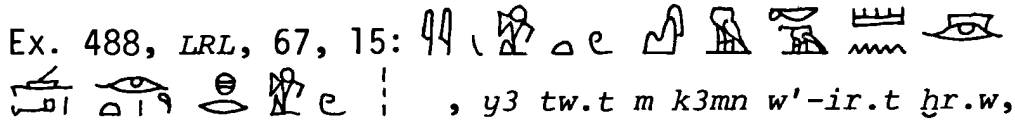
10.3.3. The occurrences of the , *ḫr.f*, formation.

a). *ḫr.f* reports a first present pattern indicating the simple present tense; i.e. a *sw (ḫr) dd* pattern[10]. (see below Ex. 743 and 19.6.).

Ex. 487, *LRL*, 7, 16-8, 1:  ,

ḫr sw (ḫr) dd .... ḫr.f, And he says .... so he says.

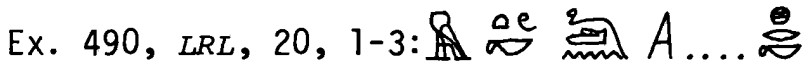
b). *ḫr.f* reports a first present pattern indicating a state in the present (see below Ex. 786):

Ex. 488, *LRL*, 67, 15:  , *y3 tw.t m k3mn w'-ir.t ḫr.w*, "You are blind in one eye," so they say.

c). *ḫr.f* reports an imperative formation (see below Chapter 24).

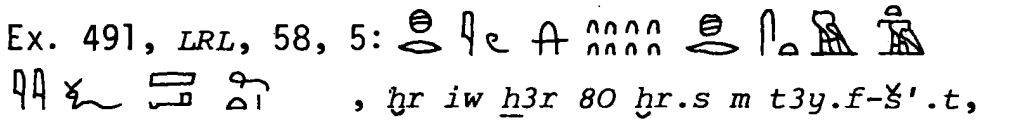
Ex. 489, *LRL*, 72, 2-8: , *i.dd n A B C .... ḫr.tn n.w*, Say to A, B, and C .... so you should say to them.

d). *ḫr.f* reports a conjunctive formation (see below Chapter 42).

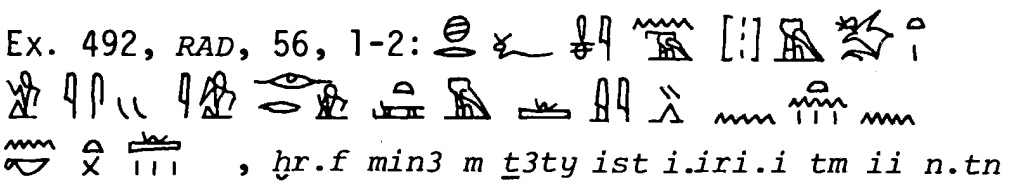
Ex. 490, *LRL*, 20, 1-3:  , *mtw.k dd n A .... ḫr.k n.f*, And you will tell A, ... so you will say to him.

e). *ḫr.f* reports non-verbal patterns.

A one-membral nominal sentence (see below 57.9.-57.10.):

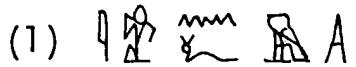
Ex. 491, *LRL*, 58, 5:  , *ḫr iw ḥ3r 80 ḫr.s m t3y.f-š'.t*, Although they amount to 80 sacks, so says his letter.

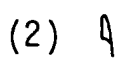
f). *ḫr.f min3* is sometimes the marker of a following direct speech.[11].

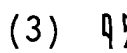
Ex. 492, *RAD*, 56, 1-2:  , *ḫr.f min3 m ṯ3ty ist i.iri.i tm ii n.tn n nk.t*, So he says, the vizier, "Is it for no good

reason (lit. 'a small (thing)') that I did not come to you?"

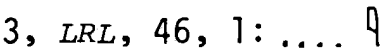
10.3.4. The forms of the *i.n.f* formation.

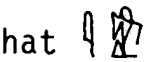
(1) 

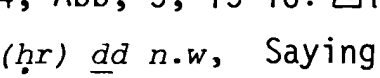
(2) 

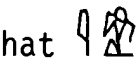
(3)  + infinitive.

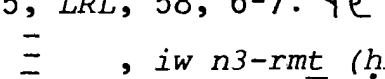
Note that a nominal actor expression is introduced by the *m* of the rear extraposition.

Ex. 493, *LRL*, 46, 1: ....  , ... *i.n.f m p3y.n-nb*, ... so said our lord.

Note that  , *i.n.f*, can be followed by an infinitive.

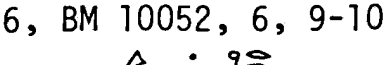
Ex. 494, Abb, 5, 15-16:  .... *r-dd* .... *i.n.f (ḥr) dd n.w*, Saying .... so he said to them.

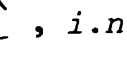
Note that  , *i.n.w*, is sometimes spelt .

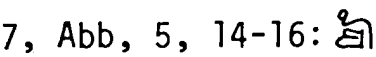
Ex. 495, *LRL*, 58, 6-7:  , *iw n3-rmṯ (ḥr) dd* .... *i.n.w*, The men said .... so they said.

10.3.5. The occurrences of the , *i.n.f*, formation.

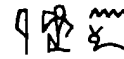
a). *i.n.f* follows the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past (see below Chapter 38).

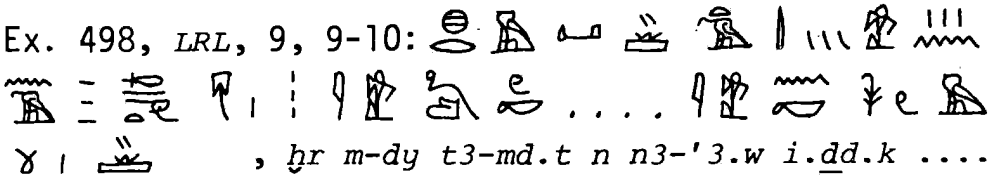
Ex. 496, BM 10052, 6, 9-10:  , *iw.i (ḥr) dd n.w m sḫr wstn r-dd* .... *i.n.i*, But I said to them with an air of boldness ...., so I said.

b).  , *i.n.f*, follows the perfect active *stp.f* (see below Chapter 14).

Ex. 497, Abb, 5, 14-16:  ....

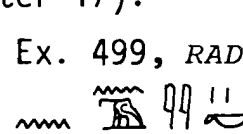
, *ḏd p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t .... r-ḏd .... i.n.f (ḥr) ḏd n.w*, This Mayor of Thebes said, ... saying ...., so he said while talking to them.

c).  , *i.n.f*, follows a relative form. (See below Chapter 51).

Ex. 498, *LRL*, 9, 9-10:  , *ḫr m-dy t3-md.t n n3-'3.w i.ḏd.k .... i.n.k sw m sš*, Now in the matter of the donkeys about which you said .... so you said. It is all right.

10.3.6. The , *k3*, + pronominal suffix formation.

k3.f follows the third future formation (see below Chapter 17):

Ex. 499, *RAD*, 55, 9-10:  , *bn iw.n r iy k3.k n n3y.k-ḫry.w*, "We shall not come," so you shall say to your chiefs.

10.3.7. Conclusions.[12.]

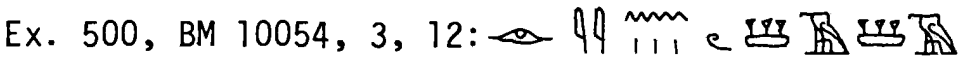
Since the third future formation is probably never followed by *ḫr.f* or by *i.n.f*, one may conclude that in Late Egyptian, generally speaking, three time ranges are recognizable in the verbal system: <u>past</u>, <u>present</u>, and <u>future</u>. Since *ḫr.f* is mutually exclusive with the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, the relative form, the perfect active *stp.f*, and the third future, and yet is compatible with the present and relative future formations, one may conclude that *ḫr.f* is restricted in use to present and relative future.

10.4. Verbal Classes.[13.]

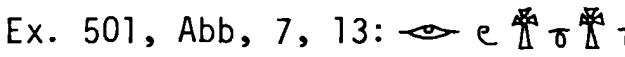
Verbs of four or five consonants have lost all forms

other than the infinitive and stative. The forms that have disappeared have been replaced by the corresponding forms of , *iri*, 'make', 'do', followed by the infinitive of the verb as its object.

a). *iri.f s'ḥ'.f* as periphrasis of the perfect active *stp.f*:

Ex. 500, BM 10054, 3, 12: 
, *iry.n wš3š3.w*, We broke them up.

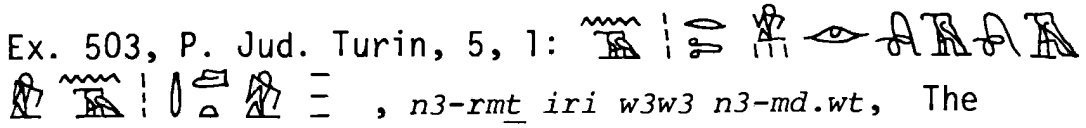
b). *iri.w s'ḥ'.f* as periphrasis of the passive perfect *stp.f*:

Ex. 501, Abb, 7, 13: 
iri.w ndnd-r.w, They were questioned.

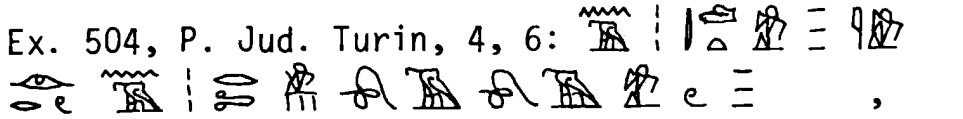
c). *iri.f s'ḥ'.f* as periphrasis of the non-initial prospective *stp.f*.

Ex. 502, BM 10052, 6, 16:
, *r di.t iry w' s'ḥ' p3y.f-iry*, In order to make each of them accuse his fellow.

d). *iri s'ḥ'* as periphrasis of a participle.

Ex. 503, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 1: 
, *n3-rmṯ iri w3w3 n3-md.wt*, The men who plotted the matters.

e). *i.iri.f s'ḥ'* as periphrasis of a relative form.

Ex. 504, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 6: 
, *n3-md.t i.iri n3-rmṯ w3w3.w*, The matters which the men had plotted.

10.5. The Prothetic .

The prothetic *yod*, , *i*, is prefixed to the following Late Egyptian verbal formations, though not consistently:

1. The participle (see below 48.1.1. and 50.1.).
2. The relative form (see below Chapter 51).
3. The emphatic formations (see below Chapters 26 and 27).
4. The imperative (see below 24.1.).

The synchronic clue that we possess to the pronunciation of is the fact that, in some cases it interchanges with .[14] Thus, like the preposition , *r*, it must at that time have had a vocalic pronunciation, *e* or *a*.

10.6. Mood.[15]

There are four moods in Late Egyptian:

1). <u>The indicative mood</u>. This is the class of verbal sentence patterns which express statements unqualified in regard to the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying (his certainty, his wishes, etc,).

2). <u>The imperative mood</u> comprises verbal formations expressing either commands or requests. The imperative mood is associated with the 'second person'. However, a 'third person' imperative is achieved through the imperative of the causative construction.

3). <u>The optative mood</u> comprises verbal formations expressing a wish which will be fulfilled by the help of an external power.

4). <u>The polemic or interrogative mood</u>. The association of specific groups of interrogative sentence patterns with the emphatic formation indicates that sentences of this type should

be classified as a separate mood.

10.7. Voice.

There are two voices in Late Egyptian: active and passive.

The following formations are passive in voice:

1). Subjectless finite verbs:

a). The marked passive suffix conjugation patterns (see below Chapter 16, 20.9. and 50.5.).

b). Patterns composed of the stative of a transitive verb (see below 12.2.).

2). Active transitive verbal formations with unspecified subjects.

Unspecified subjects include *ø-rmṯ* and *w'*, 'someone', *nkt*, 'something', the pronominal suffixes *.tw*, 'one', and *.w*, 'they', and the pronominal preformative *tw.tw*, 'one'. Note that when *.tw* or *tw.tw* denote 'the king', they are to be classified as specific subjects.

Note that in group 2 three elements are necessary:

1. an unspecified subject,
2. a transitive verb,
3. a direct object expression.

The agent expression is optional.

10.8. Aspect.

There are two major aspects in Late Egyptian:

1). the action aspect, and
2). the state aspect.

Every suffix conjugation pattern and verbal formation composed of a predicative infinitive belongs to the action-aspect group. Every verbal formation composed of a predicative adverb or stative belongs to the state-aspect group. Indeed, one can divide Late Egyptian verbal formations into two unequal classes. The first contains all verbal formations but one - the stative - and expresses an action in progress, or a change of state ('he kills', 'he sits down'). The second class, consisting of the predicative stative alone, expresses state.

10.9. The substitution table of the predicate (i.e., the contrast between durative and non-durative tenses).

There are two major modes of action in Late Egyptian: (1) the durative, and (2) the non-durative. Every verbal formation in which the predicate can interchange with an adverb is durative; e.g., the first present. And every other verbal formation is non-durative; e.g., the perfect active *stp.f* and *bwpw.f stp.f*. Thus, as far as aspect is concerned, the perfect active *stp.f* and the *tw.i ḥr stp.f* are identical, they both belong to the action aspect group; but as far as the durative-non-durative contrast is concerned, *tw.i ḥr stp.f* and the perfect active *stp.f* are different; namely the *ḥr stp* in the former interchanges with statives and adverbs, whereas the *stp* in the *stp.f* does not.

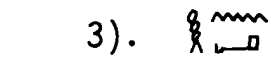
10.10. The syntactic principles according to which the verbal formations of Late Egyptian are classified.

Punctuation marks as we know them in modern western languages do not exist in Late Egyptian. However, there are certain grammatical elements and formations which can be classified as indicators of syntactic initiality and non-initiality.

10.10.1. The direct indicators of syntactic initiality.

1). , *r-nty*, 'to the effect that'.

2). , *r-dd*, 'saying', introducing direct speech.

3).  , *ḥn'-dd-r-nty*, 'and further' introducing a new subject, often where English would use a new paragraph.

4). , *ky-dd*, 'another matter', very similar in use to *ḥn'-dd-r-nty*.

5). , *ḫr.f min3*, 'Thus he says' introducing direct speech (see above Ex. 492).

Note that the verbal formations composed of the verb *dd* are not followed by *r-dd*; e.g. :

a). The perfect active *dd.f*:

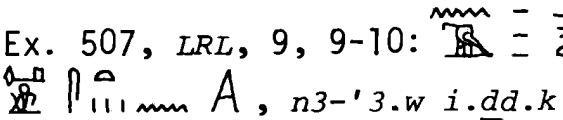
Ex. 505, P. Leop-Am, 1, 14: , *dd.f*, He said.

Ex. 506, BM 10052, 4, 3: , *dd.tw n.f*.

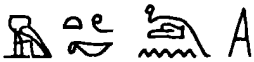
Conclusion: the perfect active *dd.f* and the indicator of initiality *r-dd* are mutually exclusive.

b). A relative form of the verb *dd*:

The relative form composed of the verb *dd* and *r-dd* are also mutually exclusive.

Ex. 507, *LRL*, 9, 9-10:  , *n3-'3.w i.dd.k di.i st n A*, The asses of which you have said, "I gave them to A."

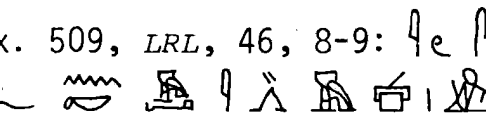
c). A conjunctive formation composed of the verb *dd*:

Ex. 508, *LRL*, 11, 7-8:  ,

mtw.k dd n A gmi.i B, You will tell A that I found B. (Lit. 'You will tell A, "I found B." ')

Thus, verbal formations composed of the verb *dd* can function as indicators of initiality without being followed by *r-dd*.

However, if the verbal formation is itself composed of the verb *dd*, *r-dd* is needed.

Ex. 509, *LRL*, 46, 8-9:  , *iw.s (ḥr) dd n sš A r-dd dd.f n.k my m-s3.i*, She said to the scribe A, "He told you to follow him."

Note, however, that *r-dd* occasionally follows a *dd.f* formation when followed by a third future.

Note that *r-dd*, *r-nty*, *ḥn'-dd-r-nty*, and *ky-dd* do not become a part of the verbal formations which follow them, remaining instead outside elements.

10.10.2. The so-called 'converters'[16.] as indirect indicators of syntactic initiality.

1). , *iw* (i.e., the dependent *iw*, which converts the verbal formation which follows it to a dependent clause. (See below 17.1.4., 19.13.1., 19.13.7., Chapter 37 and Chapter 63.)

2). , *wn* (i.e., the *wn* of the past. See below 19.13.7-19.13.12.).

3). , *nty* (i.e., the relative subordinizer. See below Chapter 53).

The dependent *iw*, the *wn* of the past and *nty* may be

combined into one category as "converters." They convert verbal formations into different syntactic units: e.g., the dependent *iw* and *nty* convert initial main clauses which they precede into non-initial subordinate clauses, whereas *wn* converts non-past tense verbal formations into durative past tenses. When preceding a verbal formation that is already past, the new formation expresses irreality (see below Ex. 568). The three converters become, in the framework of the first present (see below 19.13.1.-19.13.12. and 53.13.2.-53.13.5.), a part of the verbal formation itself. The dependent *iw* and *wn* become, in the affirmative first present, the conjugation base; i.e., they are a necessary element of the verbal formation. That is, since **.i stp.kwi* is impossible, the *iw* which precedes *.i* in *iw.i stp.kwi*, must be regarded as the essential element which enables a pronominal suffix to act as the subject of a following stative. Likewise, because **.i stp.kwi* is impossible, the *wn* in *wn.i stp.kwi* is a necessary element. The particle *nty*, which follows an antecedent identical with the subject of the relative clause, functions both as the subject of the relative clause and as the relative subordinizer; i.e., in *p3-A nty (ḥr) stp*, *sw* is not repeated after *nty* because *nty* fulfils its function (see below 53.13.).

The converters *iw* and *nty* are <u>indirect</u> indicators of initiality because, while they always occur in a non-initial context (and only with non-prepositional verbal formations), nevertheless, each of the verbal formations which they precede may fill an initial position. Every non-prepositional verbal formation which is compatible with at least one of the direct indicators of initiality is also compatible with at least one of the converters.

Note, however, that the direct indicators (*r-nty*, *r-<u>dd</u>*, *ḥn'-<u>dd</u>-r-nty*, *ky-<u>dd</u>*) and the converters do not belong to the

same grammatical category; the former remain outside elements of the following verbal formations, while the latter form a part of the verbal formations which they precede. One may classify them under a broader heading because in Late Egyptian it is only the non-prepositional initial main clauses which may be preceded by either. Thus, initiality and compatibility with the converters find a meeting point.

10.11. The classification of verbal formations according to compatibility or incompatibility with the direct or indirect indicators of initiality.

a). Initiality.

1). Every non-prepositional verbal formation which can follow both the direct and indirect indicators of initiality, is an initial main clause.

2). Every verbal formation which is built in by conjunctions can follow the direct indicators of initiality, but is incompatible with the indirect indicators. E.g., *ih̯-stp.k* (see below Chapter 30) is compatible with *ky-dd*, but is incompatible with the converters. A conjunctional verbal formation is hence an initial main clause.

3). Every prepositional verbal formation is compatible with the direct indicators of initiality and incompatible with the indirect. Since every prepositional verbal formation in Late Egyptian is a subordinate clause, one may classify them as initial prepositional subordinate clauses; e.g., *mdr-stp.f* (see below Chapter 32).

b). Non-initiality.

Every verbal formation which can follow neither the direct

nor the indirect indicators of initiality is, by its very nature, non-initial.

1). Every non-initial verbal formation capable of following a prepositional subordinate clause, functioning as its apodosis, is a non-initial main clause; for example, the *iw.f (ḫr) tm stp.f* of the past (see below Chapters 38-39, particularly Ex. 1152) or the *mtw.f stp.f* (see below Chapters 42-43, particularly Ex. 1194) formations.

2). Every non-prepositional non-initial verbal formation which functions as a complementary clause to a preceding initial main clause is a non-initial non-prepositional subordinate clause; for example, the non-initial prospective *stp.f* when continuing the imperative formation (see below Exx. 1251 and 1252).

Since our classification of verbal formations is based mainly on syntactic criteria, the following five classes of verbal sentence patterns will appear in this work:

1). Initial non-prepositional main clauses (Chapters 14-29).
2). Initial conjunctional main clauses (Chapter 30).
3). Initial prepositional subordinate clauses (Chapters 31-36).
4). Non-initial main clauses (Chapters 37-44).
5). Non-initial non-prepositional subordinate clauses (Chapters 45-56).

10.12. The verbal formations of Late Egyptian.

10.12.1. <u>The Initial Category</u>.

I. <u>The initial non-conjunctional main clauses</u>, arranged according to their <u>tense</u>, <u>mood</u> and <u>voice</u>.

a). The indicative mood, active voice.

Affirmative formation	Negative formation
1. Past tense: perfect active *stp.f* (see below Chapter 14).	*bwpw.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 15).
2. Future tense: third future; i.e. *iw.f (r) stp.f* (see below Chapter 17).	*bn iw.f (r) stp.f* (see below Chapter 18).
3. Present tense: a). immediate present: *tw.i m 'q* (see below 19.7.). *tw.i ḥr stp.f* (see below 19.4.1.). b). simple present: *tw.i (ḥr) 'q* (see below 19.2.1. and 19.6.). *tw.i ḥr stp.f* (see below 19.4.2.). c). present perfect: *tw.i 'q.kwi* (see below 19.9.). d). the 'already' notion: *tw.i 'q. kwi (m p3-hrw)* (see below 20.8.2.).	 *bn tw.i m 'q* (see below Ex. 836). *bn tw.i ḥr stp.f* (see below 20.2.4.). *bw iri.i 'q* (see below 20.7.7.-20.7.8.). *bw iri.i stp.f* (see below 20.7.2.-20.7.4.). *bwpw.i 'q* (see below 20.5.2.-20.5.3.). *bw iri.t.f stp.f* (see below 20.8.2.-20.8.3.).

b). The indicative mood, passive voice (see above 10.7.).

4. Past tense: a). the perfect passive *stp.f* (see below Chapter 16.). b). *stp.tw st* (see above 2.4.1. Obs. 7). c). *stp.w st* (see above 2.4.1. Obs. 7).	*bwpw.tw stp.f* (see below Ex. 630).
5. Future tense: a). *iw.tw (r) stp.f* *iw.w (r) stp.f*	*bn iw.tw (r) stp.f* *bn iw.w (r) stp.f*
6. Present tense: a). immediate present: *ptr tw.i stp.kwi* (see below Ex. 769). b). simple present: *tw.tw (ḥr) stp.f* (see below Ex.1417). c). the already notion: *tw.i stp. kwi (m p3-hrw)* (see below 20.9.).	*ptr bn tw.i stp.kwi (?)* *bw iri.tw stp.f (?)* *bw iri.w stp.f (?)* *bw iry.t.f stp* (see below 20.8.2.).

c). The optative mood, active voice.

7. Initial prospective *stp.f* (see below Chapter 21).	*bn stp.f* (see below Chapter 22).

d). The optative mood, passive voice.

8. Initial prospective *stp.w st* or *stp.tw st*.	*bn stp.w st*

e). The imperative mood.

9. The imperative *i.stp* formation (see below Chapter 24.).	The *m iri stp.f* formation (see below Chapter 25).
10. The *stp* formation (see below 24.1.).	The *tm stp* formation (see below 11.5.2.).

f). The polemic mood (the so-called "second tenses"), active voice.

11. a). *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. (see below Chapter 26). b). *i.iri.f ir.t.f* + adv. (see below 26.18.3.). c). *i.di.f* + adv. (see below 26.18.6.).	*bn i.irí.f tm stp.f* + adv. *iwn3* (see below Ex. 1085). *bn i.iri.f tm ir.t.f* + adv. *iwn3* (?). *bn i.di.f* + adv. (see below 27.3.).

g). The polemic mood, passive voice.

12. a). *i.iri.tw stp.f* + adv. b). *i.iri stp A* + adv. c). *ini.f t3y.f* + adv.	*bn i.iri.tw stp.f* + adv. *iwn3*. *bn t3y.f* + adv. *iwn3*.
13. *wn m-di.f ø-A* (see below Chapter 28).	*mn mdi.f ø-A* (see below Chapter 29).

II. The initial conjunctional main clauses.

a). The imperative mood.

1. *iḫ stp.k* (see below Chapter 30).	

III. Initial prepositional subordinate clauses.

a). Active voice.

1. *(ir) m-dr-stp.f* (see below Chapter 32).	
2. *(š3')-i.ir.t.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 34).	
3. *m-ḫt-stp.f* (see below Chapter 35).	
4. *r-tnw-stp.f* (see below Chapter 36).	

b). Passive voice.

5. *(ir) m-dr-stp.tw st.*	
6. *(š3')-i.ir.t.tw stp.f.*	
7. *m-ḫt-stp.tw st* (?)	
8. *r-tnw-stp.tw st* (?)	

10.12.2. The Non-Initial Category.

IV. The non-initial main clauses; the successive formations.

a). Active voice.

1. Successive past tense: a). *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past (see below Chapter 38). b). *'ḥ'.n....* formation (see below 44.2.). c). *dd.in....* formation (see below 44.3.).	The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past. (See below Chapter 39).
2. Successive future tense: *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future (see below Chapter 40).	The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the future. (See below Chapter 41).
3. The successive relative future tense: *mtw.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 42).	*mtw.f (tm) stp.f* (see below Chapter 43).

b). Passive voice.

4. The successive passive of the past. a). *iw.tw (ḥr) stp.f* of the past. b). *iw.w (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.	*iw.tw (ḥr) tm stp.f* *iw.w (ḥr) tm stp.f*
5. The successive relative future. a). *mtw.tw stp.f* b). *mtw.w stp.f*	*mtw.tw tm stp.f* *mtw.w tm stp.f*

V. The non-initial non-prepositional subordinate clauses.

a). The non-initial prospective *stp.f*.

i). Active voice.

1. The relative future tense: the non-initial prospective *stp.f* after verbal formations indicating future time; i.e. the final *stp.f* (see below 45.4.).	*tm.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 46).
2. The non-initial prospective *stp.f* which follows *di* (see below 45.2.).	No negation.

ii). Passive voice.

3. .... *stp.tw st* ; i.e. the non-initial prospective *stp.f* with *.tw* as actor expression (?).	*tm.tw stp.f (?)*
4. .... *di* .... *stp.tw* (see below Chapter 47).	
5. The *wnn.f* .... formation (see below Chapter 55).	
6. The *ḫr wnn.f* formation (see below Chapter 56).	

b). The relative clause.

A. After a defined antecedent.

i). Active voice.

1. Past tense: *i.iri.f* ; i.e. the relative form (see below Chapter 51).	*nty bwpw.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 52).
2. Past tense: *i.iri* ; i.e. the participle (see below Chapter 48).	*nty bwpw.f stp.f* (see below Chapter 49).
3. Immediate present tense: a). *nty sw m 'q* b). *nty m 'q*. (for relative clauses introduced by *nty* see below Chapter 53).	 *nty bn sw m 'q* *nty bn sw m 'q*

4. Simple present tense: a). *nty sw (ḥr) 'q.* b). *nty ḥr 'q.*	 *nty bw iri.f 'q.* *nty bw iri.f 'q.*
5. The present perfect tense of intransitive verbs: a). *nty tw.i 'q.kwi.* b). *nty 'q.kwi.*	 *nty bwpw.i 'q.* *nty bwpw.i 'q.*
6. The 'already' notion: *nty tw.i 'q.kwi (m p3-hrw).*	 *nty bw iri.t.i stp.f.*
7. Future tense: *nty iw.f (r) stp.f.*	*nty bn iw.f (r) stp.f.*

ii). Passive voice.

8. The *i.iry* form of the participle (see below Chapter 50).	*nty bwpw.w stp.f.*
9. Immediate present tense: *nty st ḥr stp.f.*	 *nty bn st ḥr stp.f.*
10. The 'already' notion: *nty tw.i stp.kwi (m p3-hrw).*	*nty bw iry.t stp.f.*
11. The future tense: a). *nty iw.w (r) stp.f.* b). *nty iw.tw (r) stp.f.*	 *nty bn iw.w (r) stp.f.* *nty bn iw.tw (r) stp.f.*

B. After a bare or undefined antecedent (see below Chapter 54).

i). Active voice.

1. Past tense: *iw* + perfect active *stp.f.*	*iw bwpw.f stp.f.*
2. Immediate present tense: *iw.f m 'q.*	*iw bn sw m 'q.*
3. Simple present tense: *iw.f ḥr 'q.*	*iw bw iri.f 'q.*
4. Future tense: *iw iw.f (r) stp.f.*	*iw bn iw.f (r) stp.f.*

ii). Passive voice.

5. Past tense:	
a). The perfect passive *stp.w.f* after *iw.*	*iw + bwpw.tw stp.f.*
b). The perfect active *stp.tw st* after *iw.*	*iw + bwpw.tw stp.f.*
c). The perfect active *stp.w st* after *iw.*	*iw + bwpw.w stp.f.*
6. Immediate present tense: *iw.w (ḥr) stp.f.*	*iw bn st (ḥr) stp.f.*
7. Simple present tense: *iw.tw (ḥr) stp.f.*	*iw bw iri.tw stp.f.*

8. Future tense:	
a). *iw iw.tw (r) stp.f.*	*iw bn iw.tw (r) stp.f.*
b). *iw iw.w (r) stp.f.*	*iw bn iw.w (r) stp.f.*

10.13. Bibliography and references.

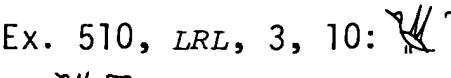
1. Erman, *NAG*, 448. For a similar approach Vergote, *Bib. Or.* 18 (1961), 210 and Albright, *Rec. Trav.* 40 (1923), 68; Vergote, *CdE* 31 (1956), 16-53; Thacker, *Relationship*, 264.
2. See Gunn, *Studies*, VII-VIII.
3. Groll, *Negative*, 36.
4. See Erman, *AZ* 22 (1884), 28-37; Spiegelberg, *AZ* 53 (1917), 135; Sethe, *Göttingen*, 1919, 143; Stern, *Grammatik*, pp. 191-194.
5. Lefort, *Muséon* 60 (1947), 22-23; Polotsky, *Papers*, 215-216 (= *Crum Studies*, 80-81).
6. Till, *Grammatik*, 313; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 177-178; Griffith, *Stories*, pp. 97, note and 101-102, note 1. 32.
7. *LRL*, 65, 7.
8. BM 10052, 8, 9.
9. Mayer A, 9, 19.
10. P. Jud. Turin, 2, 9 where *ḫr.i* is followed by *m dwn*.
11. For the *m* of the rear extraposition see Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 190, n. 4; Wolf, *AZ* 69 (1933), 111, n. 702. That *ḫr.f min3* can act in this way was pointed out to me by Christopher Eyre.
12. For further examples of *ḫr*, *i.n* and *k3* see Faulkner, *JEA* 21 (1935), 177-190.
13. Stern, *Grammatik*, 357-365.
14. Naunakhte, 1, col. III, 1.
15. Lefort, *Muséon* 60 (1947), 7-28; 61 (1948), 65-73 and 153-170; 62 (1949), 19-20; Polotsky, *Papers*, 208-225 (= *Crum Studies*, 73-90), and 71-72 (= *Egyptian Tenses*, 1-2); Sander-Hansen, *Über die Bilduny der Modi im altägyptischen*, *Köbenhavn*, 1941; Polotsky, *Papers*, 38-42 (= *Bib. Or.* 4 (1947), 38-42).

16. Polotsky, *Papers*, 243-244 (= *Or.*, 29 (1960), 397-398, Section 10).

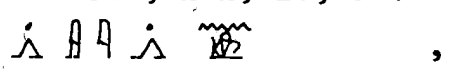
CHAPTER 11. THE INFINITIVE[1].

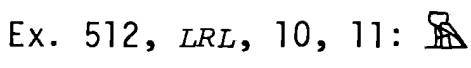
11.1. Gender.

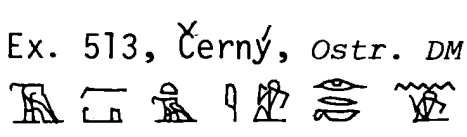
Infinitives in Late Egyptian are treated as masculine, whatever their origin. As far as orthography is concerned, the original feminine infinitive ending, *.t* is kept in many cases,[2] but is often omitted, and is not uncommonly written wrongly with infinitives of masculine origin.

Ex. 510, *LRL*, 3, 10:  , *p3y.k-ir.t r-ˁ3'-r p3-hrw*, Your spending up to today.

Note, however, that the infinitives of the verbs *h3b*, *t3i* and *3ty* are preceded by *t3*. It will be noted that in the quoted examples the infinitives are used as nouns.

Ex. 511, *LRL*, 21, 9-10:  , *iw bw ir.t t3y.tn-h3b ii n.i*, Before your letter (lit. 'sending') came to me.[3]

Ex. 512, *LRL*, 10, 11:  , *mtw.k ptr t3y.w-3ty*, And you will look after their need.[4]

Ex. 513, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 251, 2-3:  , *p3-wn it3.t t3-i.iri.k n.i m t3w.t*, Since your action was stealing. (Lit. 'Since stealing was what you did to me as taking.')

11.2. Forms (see below 24.1.).

From Coptic it is known that the infinitive had three forms:

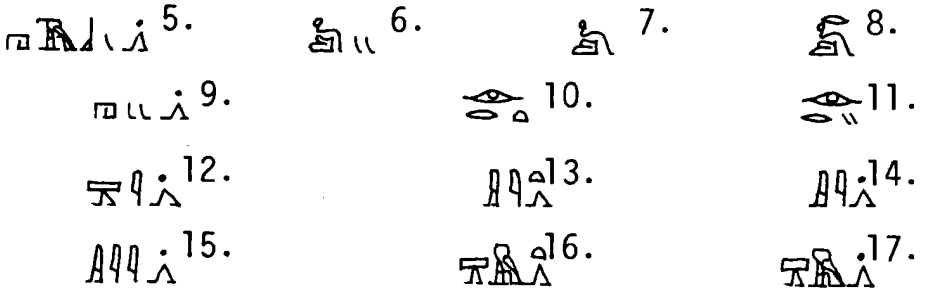
1. The Absolute Form (e.g. ⲕⲱ); used before an indirect

nominal or pronominal object.

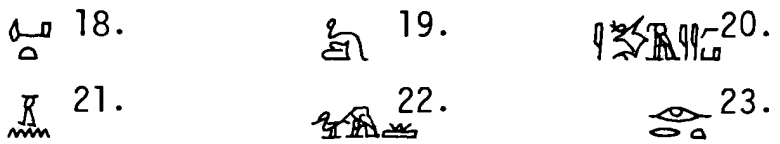
2. The Nominal Form (e.g. K𓂋𓏲); used before a direct nominal object.

3. The Pronominal Form (e.g. K𓂋𓂋𓏲); used before a direct pronominal object.

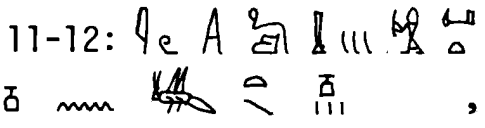
11.2.1. The Absolute Form.



11.2.2. The Nominal Form.



The nominal direct object does not necessarily follow immediately the infinitive.

Ex. 514, BM 10052, 2A, 11-12: 

iw A (ḥr) dd whm(.i) di.t n.f k.t mdq.t n bi.t, A said, "I again gave (lit. 'repeated giving') to him a (lit. 'another') jar of honey.

11.2.3. The Pronominal Form.

I. The Weak Verbs.

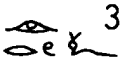
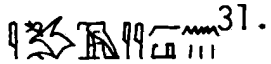
A pronominal suffix is either joined immediately to an infinitive, in the case of former masculine infinitives, or a 𓂝𓏏, *.tw*, intervenes between the infinitive and the pronominal

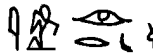
suffix. This is nothing more than the feminine ending, *.t*, which was preserved before a pronominal suffix. Consequently it is the originally feminine infinitives that appear with this , *.tw.*

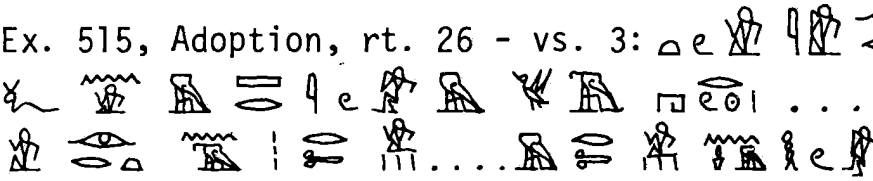
Compare

 24. 25. 26.

27. 28. 29.

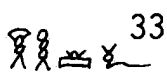
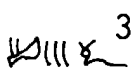
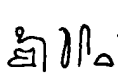
 30.  31.

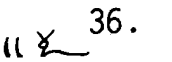
The following spelling,  , *i.iri.f*, of the infinitive of the verb *iri* indicates that Late Egyptian already had the pronominal form of the infinitive. (*i.iri*⩤ = Coptic ⲁⲁ⩤ .)[32]

Ex. 515, Adoption, rt. 26 - vs. 3: 

tw.i (ḥr) i.iri.f n.i m šri m p3-hrw .... tw.i (ḥr) ir.t n3-rmṯ .... m rmṯ nmḥ, And now (lit. 'today') I am making him a son of mine .... I am (hereby) making the people .... freemen.

II. Strong Verbs.

 33.  34.  35.

ti appears in *ḏdti.s* not because the verb had a feminine infinitive, but because it represents the *d*, which by that time had changed into *t*, and it indicates that this *t* was pronounced before suffixes, though it was not pronounced in the absolute form of the infinitive. The same applies to *swḏ*;  36. Note, however, the following form; 37. where the form is the new dependent pronoun, *tw.f*, (see above 2.5.).

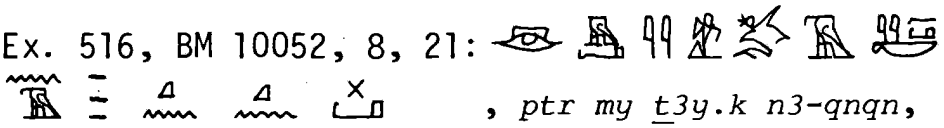
11.3. Characteristics.

Since the infinitive has no distinctive form of its own, it is very often regarded as a mere neutral verb-form. However, when examining the syntactic behaviour of the infinitive it becomes clear that in Late Egyptian it is, on the one hand, a noun equivalent, and, on the other, it is verbal.

11.4. Nominal characteristics of the infinitive.

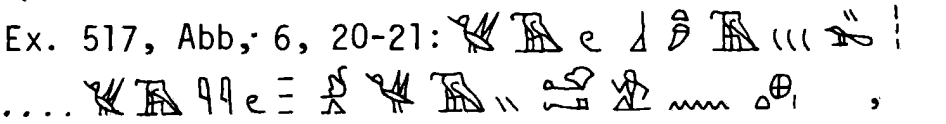
The nominal character of the infinitive is indicated by its ability to be preceded by:

1. The definite article.

Ex. 516, BM 10052, 8, 21:  , *ptr my ṯ3y.k n3-qnqn*,
Behold, please, you have received (several) beatings.

Note that the infinitive can be preceded by a plural article when a repeated action is expressed.

2. The possessive article.[38.]

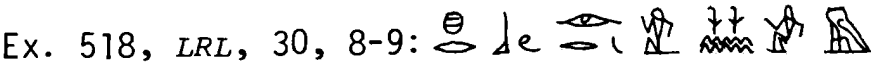
Ex. 517, Abb, 6, 20-21:  ,
p3w bt3 .... p3y.w-pḥ (r) p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t, It was an offence .... for them to have approached (lit. 'their approaching') this Mayor of Thebes.

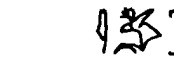
Note that the logical subject is expressed by the pronominal suffix which follows the definite article.

3. Prepositions.

a). The preposition *m* (see above 7.1.1.).

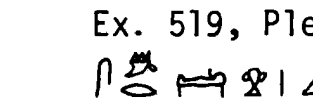
m + infin. following a negative verbal formation:

Ex. 518, *LRL*, 30, 8-9: 

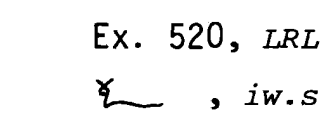
 , *ḫr bw iri.i nn.t m it3.t n.f mw*,
I don't refrain from taking water to him.

Note that the sense of the *m* + infin. in such a case is 'from doing ....'. However, for *m* + infin. of a verb of motion see Ex. 792.

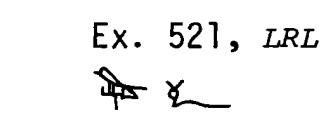
b). *ḫr* + a subjectless infinitive.[39.]

Ex. 519, Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 107, 17-18:  , *iw.sn (ḫr) sdr ḫr qḫqḫ*,
They spent the night smoothing stone.

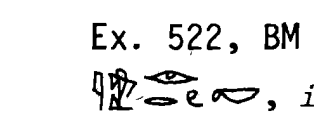
4. The Genitive.[40.]

Ex. 520, *LRL*, 62, 8:  , *iw.s m md.t n tkn.f*, It being a slander against him (lit. 'a word of attacking him').

5. The nominal character of the infinitive is indicated also by its ability to be followed by a pronominal suffix when expressing possession.[41.]

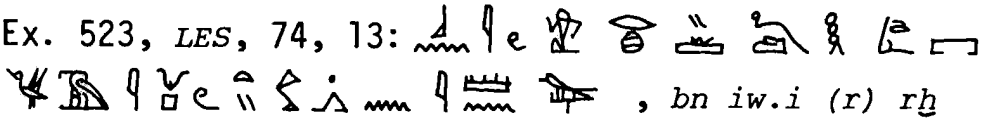
Ex. 521, *LRL*, 14, 3:  , *m wdd.f m ḫtp.f*, In his rising and setting.

6. The infinitive can act as the predicate of a nominal sentence (see below 57.12.33.).

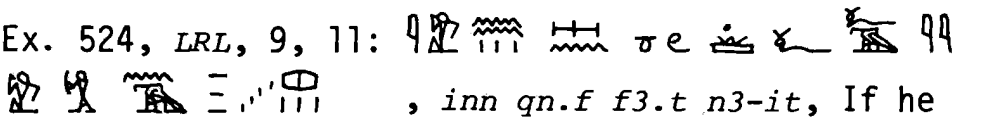
Ex. 522, BM 10052, 10, 8:  , *ir.t it3w p3y-i.iri.k*, Acting as a thief is what you have done.

7. The infinitive can act as the direct object of another verb.[42.]

a). The verb *rḫ*:

Ex. 523, *LES*, 74, 13:  , *bn iw.i (r) rḫ ddḥ p3-ipwty n imn*, I can not imprison the envoy of Amon.

b). The verb *qni*:

Ex. 524, *LRL*, 9, 11:  , *inn qn.f f3.t n3-it*, If he finishes transporting the barley.

11.5. The Verbal Characteristics of the Infinitive.

It should be noted that, in contradistinction to nouns, the infinitive

1. cannot be preceded by the indefinite articles *w'* and *nh3*;

2. can be preceded by the negative verb *tm*;

3. can retain the distinction between transitivity and intransitivity. This is indicated by the fact that the infinitives of intransitive verbs cannot be followed by the pronominal suffixes.

11.5.1. The infinitive preceded by the negative verb *tm*.[43.]

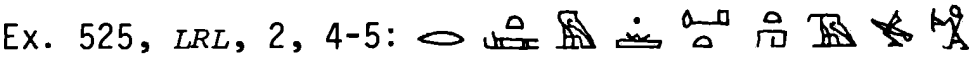
i). In the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past (see below Chapter 39).

ii). In the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the future (see below Chapter 41).

iii). In the conjunctive (see below Chapter 43).

iv). In the emphatic formation *i.iri.f tm stp.f* (see below Chapter 27).

v). In the formation *r tm di.t stp.f*.[44.]

Ex. 525, *LRL*, 2, 4-5:  , *r tm di.t th3 st ky*, In order to avoid someone else acting against them.

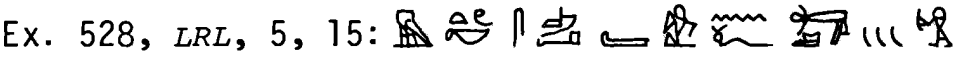
vi). In the construction *n p3y.k-tm stp.f* (see below 11.5.3.).

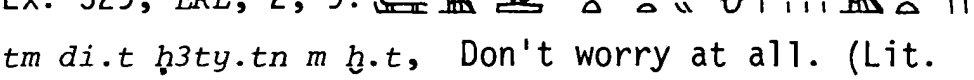
Ex. 526, *LRL*, 20, 6: , *n p3y.k-tm md.t irm w'*, Because of your not speaking with anyone.

vii). In the nominal sentence.

Ex. 527, *LRL*, 64, 14-15: , *tm di.t.w n.k p3-i.iri.w*, Failing to give them to you was what they did.

11.5.2. The infinitve acting as an imperative (see below 25.1.).

Ex. 528, *LRL*, 5, 15:  , *mtw.k sm3' n.f šd.t.f*, And you will pray to him, "Protect him".

Ex. 529, *LRL*, 2, 9:  , *tm di.t ḥ3ty.tn m ḫ.t*, Don't worry at all. (Lit. 'Don't put your heart about (any)thing'.)

11.5.3. Formations supplying actor expressions to infinitives.

Since a pronominal suffix which immediately follows an infinitive acts syntactically as a direct object (very rarely the suffix acts as the possessor expression), there is no way

of expressing the actor expressions of infinitives by direct juxtaposition. Therefore, either the possessive definite article or additional finite verbal formations are needed as an extension.

i). The *p3y.k-stp* formation.

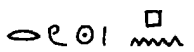
See above Ex. 526.

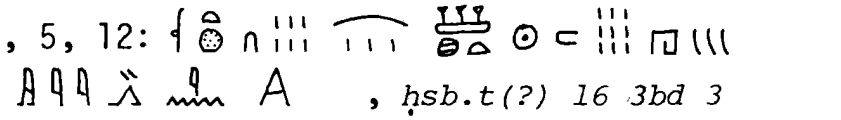
ii). The *p3-stp i.iri.f* formation.

In this formation the relative form which follows the defined infinitive acts as the carrier of the actor expression and also indicates past tense.

Ex. 530, *LRL*, 9, 7: ,
p3-dd i.iri.k t3-md.t, The speaking which you did about the matter.

iii). The actor expression introduced by *in*.[45]

At the beginning of a narrative, after a date followed by the expression  , *hrw pn*, 'that day', the actor expression of the infinitive is introduced by , *in*, 'by'.

Ex. 531, Abb, 5, 12:  , *ḥsb.t(?) 16 3bd 3 3ḫ.t sw 19 hrw pn .... iy in A*, Year 16, 3rd. month of the innundation season, day 19; On that day .... A came.

11.5.4. The element *mn* as an infinitive.

Since *mn*, in the following example, which is the only one of its kind, is preceded by the possessive article, one can state that *mn*, although a conjugation base, shows the characteristics of an infinitive.

Ex. 532, *LRL*, 70, 11: , *iw.k (r) w3ḥ p3y.w-mn*, You will assess their damage.

11.6. Bibliography and references.

1. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 95, 106 and 221; Plumley, *Grammar*, 138; Stern, *Grammatik*, 451; *GG* 298-308; Fecht, *Or.*, 24 (1955), 288-295 and 395-402.
2. Naunakhte, 1, col. II, 5.
3. Gunn, *Studies*, Chapter VI; Erman, *AZ* 50 (1912), 105; Lichtheim, *Polotsky Studies*, 4.
4. Gardiner, *JEA* 34 (1948), 24-25.
5. BM 10053, vs. 4, 21.
6. BM 10052, 3, 3.
7. Mayer B, 1.
8. *LRL*, 64, 4.
9. BM 10052, 12, 3.
10. BM 10052, 8, 21.
11. Abb, 6, 15.
12. *LES*, 65, 14.
13. BM 10054, rt. 1, 12.
14. BM 10054, rt. 2, 6.
15. BM 10053, vs. 2, 17.
16. Abb, 5, 2.
17. BM 10053, vs. 3, 11.
18. BM 10053, vs. 4, 22.
19. BM 10383, 3, 5.
20. BM 10403, 1, 29.
21. BM 10054, rt. 1, 4.
22. BM 10052, 10, 5.
23. Mayer A, 2, 3.
24. Mayer A, 8, 14.
25. P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 6.
26. BM 10053, vs. 3, 21.
27. BM 10053, vs. 3, 21.

28. BM 10383, 3, 2.
29. BM 10052, 15, 12.
30. Mayer A, 8, 6.
31. Mayer B, 7.
32. Černý, *JEA* 35 (1949), 27 and see Wente, *LRL*, 47, n. a and below 24.1.
33. BM 10383, 1, 10.
34. BM 10053, vs. 3, 21.
35. BM 10403, 3, 8.
36. BM 10052, 6, 12.
37. BM 10053, vs. 4, 10.
38. Gunn, *JEA* 32 (1946), 92-96; Gardiner, *Studies Griffith*, 84-85; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 220.
39. *GG*, 304, 1.
40. *GG*, 305; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 224, 2.
41. *GG*, 301.
42. *GG*, 303; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 223.
43. *GG*, 308 and 348.
44. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 226.
45. Wente, *LRL*, 45, n. 1.

CHAPTER 12. THE STATIVE

12.1. Introduction.

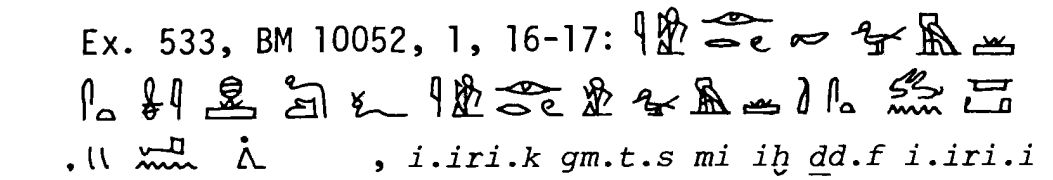
The stative in Late Egyptian is almost always used as the predicate of one of the following verbal formations:

1. The first present (see below 19.8.-19.10.).
2. The circumstantial first present (see below 19.13.1.-19.13.6.).
3. The *wn.i ḥmsi.kwi* formation (see below 19.13.7.-19.13.11.).

Since the predicate of the above numbered verbal formations can be an adverb, an adverbial phrase, or an infinitive preceded by a preposition, one can say that the stative is an adverb equivalent. Since the stative cannot be preceded by prepositions, or the definite or indefinite articles, it is not to be classified as a noun equivalent. Since it can not be preceded by an undefined noun, acting as its virtual relative clause, the stative can not be classified as an adjective equivalent (see below Chapter 54). Therefore a stative is only an adverb equivalent. However, the subjectless stative formation still exists in Late Egyptian.

12.2. The Statal Passive.[1]

The stative of transitive verbs expresses the statal passive. That the stative of a transitive verb expresses a state, and not an activity which is performed, is indicated by the fact that it can constitute the answer to the interrogative compound *mi iḫ*, 'how?', 'in what state?'.

Ex. 533, BM 10052, 1, 16-17: 

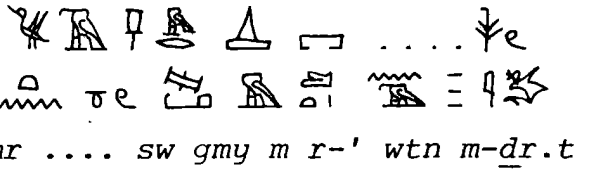
i.iri.k gm.t.s mi iḫ dd.f i.iri.i

gm.t.s wn.tw 'n, "In what state did you find it?"
He said, "It was already open when I found it."

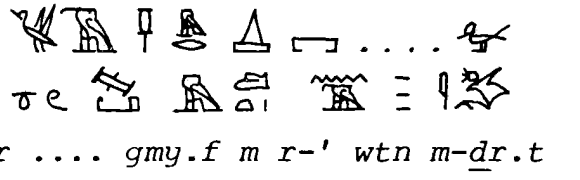
That the stative of a transitive verb expresses the passive voice is indicated by the fact that:

1. It interchanges with the perfect passive *stp.f* (see below Chapter 16).

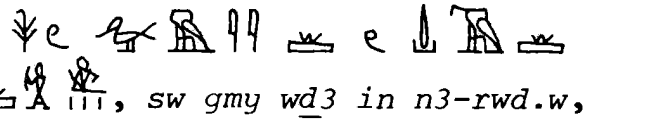
Compare

Ex. 534, Abb, 2, 16-17: 
p3-mr .... sw gmy m r-' wtn m-dr.t n3-it3.w, The tomb .... It was found in the course of being bored into by the thieves,

with

Ex. 535, Abb, 2, 12-13: 
p3-mr .... gmy.f m r-' wtn m-dr.t n3-it3.w, The tomb .... It was found in the course of being bored into by the thieves.

2. Its agent is introduced by the preposition *in*, (see above 7.1.6.):

Ex. 536, Abb, 2, 7: 
sw gmy wd3 in n3-rwd.w, It was found intact by the inspectors.

12.3. Forms.[2.]

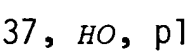
Four different types are still in existence in Late Egyptian, one without and three with an ending.[3.]

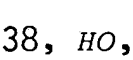
1. The form without an ending, which has its origins in the old 3rd. person singular or plural, is sometimes written with the plural determinative, but it is more than doubtful if such

a form differed in pronunciation from the form without the plural determinative.

2. The forms with endings are:

a). A form ending in , *.kwi*, normally written , *.k*. From this circumstance, and from the fact that the 2nd. person singular of the *stp.f* is unorthographically written with , we conclude that this ending of the stative was only *k* in pronunciation.

Ex. 537, *HO*, pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 7:  , *tw.i ḥmsi.kwi*, I am sitting.

Ex. 538, *HO*, pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 7:  , *šw.k*, Being empty handed (lit. 'deprived').

b). A form ending in , *.n*, or , *.wn*.

Ex. 539, *RAD*, 52, 15: , *r-dd tw.n ḥqr.n*, Saying, "We are hungry".

Ex. 540, BM 10403, 3, 7: , *iw.n ḥmsi.wn*, We are sitting.

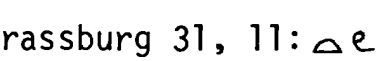
c). A form which has an ending , *.tw*, less often , *.ti*, and still more rarely , *.ti*. This form has its origin in the old 2nd. person masculine singular and third person feminine singular, which had the same form in writing. The pronunciation in Late Egyptian was probably *t*.

Ex. 541, BM 10053, vs. 4, 18: , *w3ḥ.ti*, Placed.

Ex. 542, *LRL*, 23, 11: , *ḥmsi.ti*, Seated.[4].

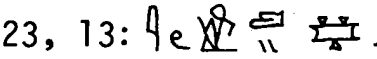
The forms *.kwi* and *.k*, and *.n* and *.wn* are used correctly of

the 1st. person singular and plural respectively. The forms in *.tw* and *.ti* are mostly used for the second person, masculine and feminine, very seldom for the 3rd. feminine, and only from the end of the XXth. Dynasty for the 1st. singular and plural.

Ex. 543, P. Strassburg 31, 11:  ,
tw.i iy.ti, I have come.

Ex. 544, *LRL*, 45, 10: , *tw.n ii.ti*, We have come.

Forms without ending are usually used for the 3rd. singular masculine and the 3rd. plural; from the end of the XXth. Dynasty for other forms also.

Ex. 545, *LRL*, 23, 13:  ,
iw.i dy ḥmsi.tw w'.k, I am sitting here alone.

Thus, as far as morphology is concerned, three distinct paradigms of the stative form exist in Late Egyptian.

Paradigm 1.

Sing. 1. c.	*ḥmsi.kwi*[5].	or *ḥmsi.k*[6].
Sing. 2. c.	*ḥmsi.tw*[7].	or *ḥmsi.ti*[8].
Sing. 3. m.	*ḥmsi.ø*[9].	
Sing. 3. f.	*ḥmsi.tw*[10].	or *ḥmsi.ti*[11]:
Plur. 1. c.	*ḥmsi.(w)n*[12].	
Plur. 2. c.	**ḥmsi.tn*	
Plur. 3. c.	*ḥmsi.ø*[13].	or the ending *.y*[14].

Paradigm 2.

The stative forms belonging to paradigm 2 have the uniform ending *.tw* (or *.ti*).

Sing. 1. c.	*ḥmsi.tw*[15].
Sing. 3. c.	*ḥmsi.tw*[16].

plur. 1. c. *ḥmsi.tw*[17].
Plur. 2. c. *ḥmsi.tw*[18].

Conclusion: The fact that *.tw* is the ending of either the 2nd. sing. c. or the 3rd. sing. f. forms of paradigm 1 indicates that paradigm 2 is created by analogy, on the basis of these verb endings.

Paradigm 3.

The uniform ending of paradigm 3 is zero *(ø)*.

Sing. 1. c. *ḥmsi.ø*[19].
Sing. 2. m. *ḥmsi.ø*[20].
Sing. 3. f. *ḥmsi.ø*[21].

12.4. The verbs which cannot take the stative form.[22]

a). Transitive verbs:

i). Verbs of drinking (eg. *swr*) and eating (eg. *wnm*).

ii). Verbs of speaking and saying (eg. *dd*, 'say'; *mdw*, 'speak'; and *dd smi*, 'report').

iii). Verbs of perception (eg. *ptr*, 'see', and *sdm*, 'hear').

iv). Non-conclusive verbs:

a). Mental states and processes (eg. *'m3*, 'know'; *sdm*, 'understand'; and *stnw*,'distinguish').

b). Emotional states (eg. *mri*, 'love'; *wḫ3*, 'desire').

v). Verbs of ceasing (eg. *qni*, 'cease').

b). Intransitive verbs:

i). Verbs of talking and quarrelling (eg. *ttt*, 'quarrel').

ii). Verbs describing emotional states (eg. *rmi*, 'burst into tears').

12.5. The actor expression of the stative.

The stative is preceded by a pronominal or nominal subject, that is

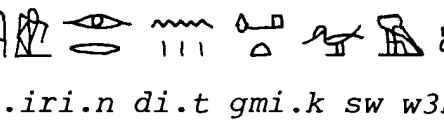
tw.i ḥmsi.k (see below Ex. 752, 774).
iw.i ḥmsi.k (see below Ex. 795).
wn.i ḥmsi.k (see below Ex. 808).
A ḥmsi.ti (see below Ex. 770, 787).
iw A ḥmsi.ti.[23.]
wn A ḥmsi.ti.[24.]

However, under certain circumstances the stative can occur without a preceding subject.

12.6. The Subjectless Stative.[25.]

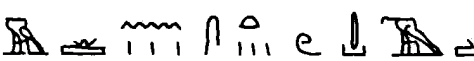
12.6.1. The subjectless stative is used following the verb *gmi*:

a). As the predicative adverbial adjunct of the emphatic *i.iri.f gm.t* formation:

Ex. 546, *LRL*, 47, 14-15:  , *i.iri.n di.t gmi.k sw w3ḥ-ø grg.tw*, We will cause you to find it lying ready.

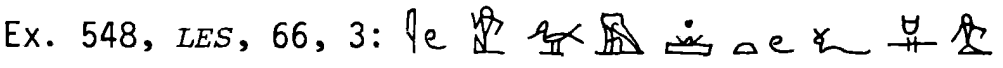
Note that *w3ḥ* and *grg* are not preceded by an *iw.f* of their own; they share, as subject, the element *sw*, which is the direct object of *gmi.k*.

b). As the adverbial adjunct of a perfect active *gmi.f*:

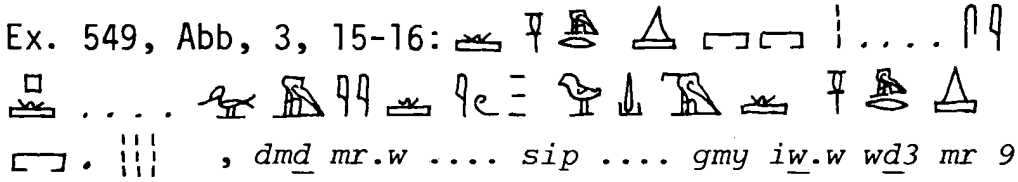
Ex. 547, Abb, 7, 12:  ,

gmi.n st wd3, We found it intact.

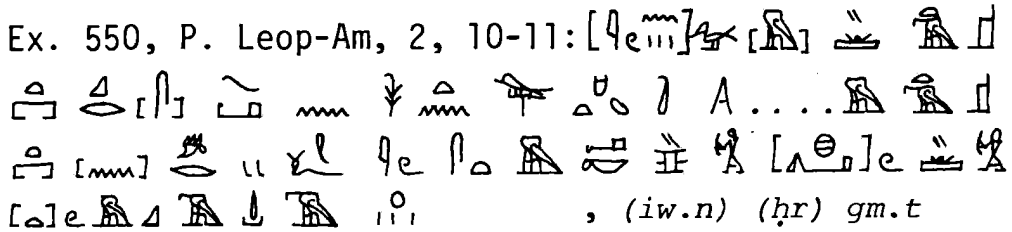
c). As the adverbial adjunct of the *iw.f (ḥr) gm.t.f* of the past:

Ex. 548, *LES*, 66, 3:  , *iw.i (ḥr) gm.t.f ḥmsi.ø*, I found him sitting.

Note that the passive participle of the verb *gmi* which shares its antecedent with a preceding participle is not followed by a subjectless stative but by a *iw.f stp.ø* formation.

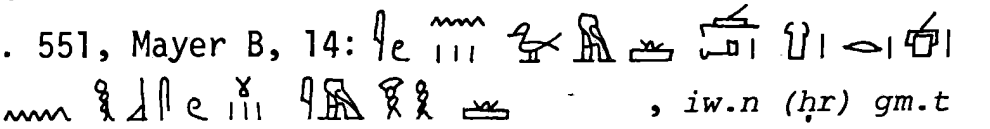
Ex. 549, Abb, 3, 15-16:  , *dmd mr.w .... sip .... gmy iw.w wd3 mr 9*,
Total: tombs .... examined .... and found intact;
9 tombs.

Note also that when the nominal direct object of the verb *gmi* is composed of a succession of nouns followed by adverbial phrases, the following stative takes the form *iw.f stp.ø*, and it is <u>not</u> subjectless.

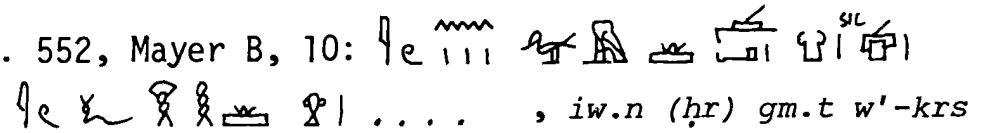
Ex. 550, P. Leop-Am, 2, 10-11:  , *(iw.n) (ḥr) gm.t t3-s.t-qrs n ḥm.t-nsw A .... m t3-s.t (n) dr.f iw.s mk.ø (ḫw).(t)w m qd*, 'We found the burial place of Queen A .... situated beside him, it being protected and guarded by plaster.

Note also that the subjectless stative cannot act as a virtual relative clause.

Compare

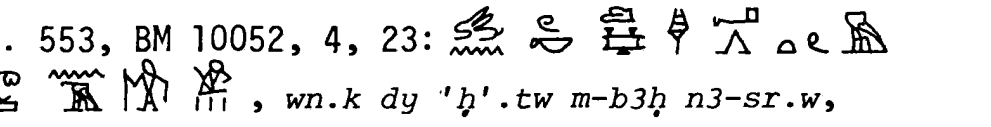
Ex. 551, Mayer B, 14:  , *iw.n (ḥr) gm.t w'-krs n ḫbs im w3ḥ*, We found a bundle of cloth lying there;

with

Ex. 552, Mayer B, 10:  , *iw.n (ḥr) gm.t w'-krs iw.f w3ḥ ḥr .... ,* We found a bundle of cloth which was lying on ....

12.6.2. The subjectless stative of the verb *'ḥ'*.

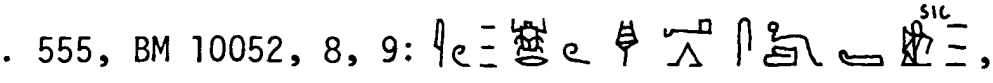
a). Following the adverbs *dy* and *im*:

Ex. 553, BM 10052, 4, 23:  , *wn.k dy 'ḥ'.tw m-b3ḥ n3-sr.w*, You were here standing in front of the magistrates.

Ex. 554, Mayer A, 1, 4: , *ntf p3 wn im 'ḥ' irm n3-it3.w*, It was he who was there involved (lit. 'standing') with the thieves.

Note that *'ḥ'* in Exx. 553 and 554 is not preceded by *iw.k* or *iw.f*. Thus *im 'ḥ'* and *dy 'ḥ'* are to be classified as compound predicates.

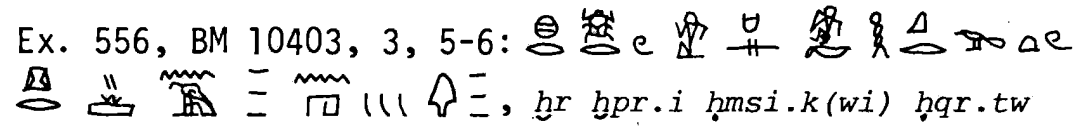
b). Following an *iw.f (ḥr) ḫpr* of the past, constituting a compound verbal formation.

Ex. 555, BM 10052, 8, 9:  , *iw.w (ḥr) ḫpr 'ḥ' (ḥr) sḏd*, They got involved in a quarrel. (Lit. 'They became standing quarrelling'.)

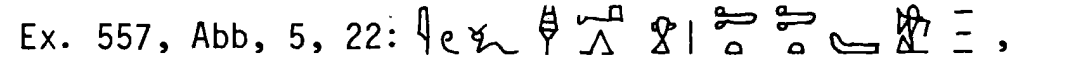
Note that *sḏd*, which is a subjectless infinitive, cannot take the stative form. Thus, in order to express the fact that they quarrelled for a period of time, the verb *'ḥ'*, in

the stative form, precedes *(ḥr) sḏd*, whereas *(ḥr) ḫpr* expresses the starting point.

c). Following a *ḥr ḫpr.i* formation:

Ex. 556, BM 10403, 3, 5-6:  , *ḥr ḫpr.i ḥmsi.k(wi) ḥqr.tw ḥr n3-nh.wt*, And it happened that I was sitting starving under the sycamores.

Note that when statives of the verbs *'ḥ'*, *ḥmsi*, and *ḫpr* are followed by *(ḥr)* + an infinitive, or by subjectless statives, the succession of verbal units is to be classified as a single extended verbal formation. That is to say, each of these verbs does not have its full lexical meaning, but together they convey the full new aspectual and lexical meaning.

Ex. 557, Abb, 5, 22:  , *iw.f 'ḥ' ḥr tttt*, He was involved in a quarrel. (Lit. 'He was standing quarrelling'.)

12.7. Bibliography and references.

1. Polotsky, *Papers*, 243, n. 1 (= *Or.* 29 (1960), 397).
2. See Erman, *AZ* 27 (1889), 65-84; Müller, *AZ* 29 (1891), 85-101.
3. Groll, *Negative*, pp. 224-225.
4. Černý, *JEA*, 26 (1940), 130, n. 5.
5.-6. See *HO*, pl. XLVII, 2, 2-3: *iw.i ḥr ḫpr ø-sḏr.k(wi) ø-mr.kwi*, I became bed-ridden (lit. 'lying ill'). *HO*, pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 7: *tw.i ḥmsi.kwi ø-sw.k(wi)*, I am sitting deprived.
7. *LRL*, 64, 6: *(i)n tw.k 'nḫ.tw*, Are you alive?
8. *LRL*, 17, 12: *tw.k 'nḫ.ti*, I am alive.
9. Mayer A, 5, 16: *sw smty*, He was examined. However, some verbs show distinct endings, eg. the verbs *ini*, 'bring', (Černý, *Ostr. DM.*, 321, vs. 5-6) and *gmi*, 'find' (Abb, 2, 18).
10. BM 10052, 15, 7: *t3-nty 'nḫ.tw*, The one who is still left alive.
11. Abb, 3, 4: *t3-s.t .... šw.ti*, The place .... being empty.
12. BM 10403, 3, 7: .... *iw.n ḥmsi.wn ø-ḥqr.wn*, While we were sitting starving. *RAD*, 52, 15: *tw.n ḥqr.n*, We are hungry.
13. Abb, 7, 15-16: *st swḏ.ø n A*, They were handed over to A. Abb, 6, 6: *st wḏ3.ø*, They were intact.
14. Abb, 6, 7: *st ḫw.y ø-mk.y*, They will be protected and insured.
15. *LES*, 74, 1: *iw.i dy ḫ3'.tw*, I am abandoned here. *LRL*, 39, 9: .... *iw.i iy.tw*, When I have come. BM 10052, 14, 21: *iw.i wḏ3.tw*, I being intact.
16. Mayer A, 8, 19: *sw dd.tw*, He was placed.
17. *LRL*, 45, 10: *tw.n iy.ti*, We have returned. *LRL*, 69, 10:

tw.n ḏḏḥ.tw, We are imprisoned.

18. *LES*, 47, 9: *tw.tn dy ø-ḥmsi.ti*, You are sitting here. (Literary text.)
19. *HO*, pl. LXX, 1, rt. 4-5: *iw.i (ḥr) ir.t ø-3bd hrw iw.i ḥmsi.k(wi) iw.i w'.ø*, While I am spending a full month sitting alone.
20. *LRL*, 46, 7: *tw.k wḏ.ø*, You have (already) left.
21. P. Leop-Am, 2, 11: *iw.s mk.ø*, While she is protected.
22. Groll, *Negative*, pp. 38-42.
23. Černý, *Ostr. DM.*, 35, 10.
24. Sauneron, *Ostr. DM.*, 587, rt. 4-5.
25. Vergote, *Studien Grapow*, 345-349; Westendorf, *MIO* 1 (1953), 38-56; Thacker, *Relationship*, 89-120; Groll, *Negative*, pp. 225-228.

CHAPTER 13. THE NEGATIVE MARKERS

13.1. Introduction.

There are six negative markers in Late Egyptian:

1). *bw* (can act as a direct indicator of initiality).

2). *bwpw* (can act as a direct indicator of initiality).

3). *bn* (can act as a direct indicator of initiality).

4). *bn.... iwn3* (can act as a direct indicator of initiality).

5). *m* (can act as a direct indicator of initiality).

6). *tm* (can not act as a direct indicator of initiality).

13.2. The Coptic Successors of *bw*, *bwpw* and *bn*.

The Late Egyptian negative elements *bw*, *bwpw* and *bn* appear in Coptic as follows:

bw and *bwpw*

ⲘⲈⲩⲀⲔ	*bw rḫ.k*
ⲙ̄ⲡⲩ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄	*bwpw.f stp*
ⲘⲠⲀⲦⲩ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄	*bw iri.t.f stp*
Ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄	*bw iri.f stp*

bn

Ⲛⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (ⲀⲚ)	*bn tw.i ḫr stp (iwn3)*
ⲛ̄ⲚⲈⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄	*bn iw.f (r) stp*
(ⲛ̄)ⲛ̄ⲦⲀⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ + Adv. ⲀⲚ	*bn i.iri.f stp* + Adverb *iwn3*
(ⲛ̄)ⲚⲈⲩ ⲙ̄ⲘⲀⲨ ⲀⲚ	*bn wn.f* + Adverb *(iwn3)*

13.3. The Markers *bw* and *bwpw*.

13.3.1. The morpho-syntactic classification of *bw*.

The element *bw* is not an extra negative element preceding an affirmative verbal form, but, rather, a part of the

conjugation base; e.g. *bw iri.f stp.f* cannot be analysed as *bw + iri.f stp.f*, since there is no affirmative pattern **iri.f stp.f* which conveys the simple present tense. Thus, *bw* and *iri* are a conjugation base, enabling an actor expression to fill the second position. One can also say that, in the *bwpw.f stp.f* formation, *bw* cannot be analysed as an extra element of a **pw.f stp.f* affirmative formation, which does not exist; *bwpw* is a conjugation base filling the first position. Thus, *bw* is not a free negative element, but is a bound negative element occurring only in:

1. An initial main clause (see above 10.11.).

2. A negative counterpart; that is, a verbal formation in its own right.

Since it is not an affirmative formation made negative by the addition of an extra negative element, but, rather, a formation which contains the negative element morphologically, the affirmative verbal formation corresponding to it may not be directly distinguished. A counterpart relationship can be distinguished only by singling out common syntactic features between an affirmative pattern and its negative counterpart.

13.3.2. *bw* and *bwpw* appear in the following verbal formations.

1. Past tense: the *bwpw.f stp.f* form, the negative counterpart of the perfect active *stp.f* (see below Chapter 15).

2. Past tense: the *bwpw.tw stp.f* form, the negative counterpart of the perfect passive *stp.f*, or of the *tw.i stp.kwi* when this indicates past tense (see below 16.7. and 20.5.2.).

3. Simple present tense: *bw iri.f stp.f* (= Coptic ⲘⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲘ̄) (see below 20.7.).

4. The past tense of intransitive verbs: *bwpw.f 'q* (see below 20.5.3.).

5. 'Not yet': *bw iri.t.f stp.f* (see below 20.8.).

6. The passive 'Not yet': *bw iry.t.f stp* (see below 20.9.).

Note that *bw* as a marker is incompatible with future and immediate present tenses.

13.4. The marker *bn* .

13.4.1. The morpho-syntactic classification of *bn*.

In contradistinction to *bw*, *bn* is a free, not a bound, element; eg. *bn tw.i (ḥr) stp.f*. Here, *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* is a verbal formation in its own right, which may be preceded by *bn*. I.e. *bn* is not a necessary element of the pattern *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f*, but is an extra element. Thus, every verbal formation containing *bn* is a free combination of *bn* + the affirmative pattern. Hence, the affirmative pattern is clearly and directly distinguishable in the negative formation. It is not a question - as with *bw* - of singling out the affirmative pattern by a syntactic analysis, since it is morphologically distinguishable.

13.4.2. Every negative verbal formation starting with *bn* is:

1. An initial main clause.

2. An isomorphic pattern, i.e. a negative pattern which is actually an affirmative pattern preceded by *bn*.

13.4.3. *bn* appears in the following verbal formations:

1. Future time:

   a). 3rd future formation: *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* (see below 18.1.1.).

   b). *bn iri A (r) stp.f* (see below 18.1.2.).

   c). *bn iw A stp.f* (see below 18.1.3.).

d). *bn stp.f*, the initial prospective *stp.f* (see below Chapter 22).

2. The immediate present: *bn tw.i m 'q* (see below Ex. 836).

13.5. The markers *bn .... (iwn3)*.

13.5.1. Every verbal formation made negative by *bn .... iwn3* is:

1. An initial main clause.

2. An isomorphic pattern.

3. Durative in aspect.

13.5.2. *bn .... iwn3* appears in the following verbal formations:

1. *bn tw.i m šs iwn3* (+ rear extraposition) (see below 20.6.).

2. *bn i.iri.f stp.f* + Adv. *iwn3* (see below Chapter 27).

3. *bn* + emphatic passive *stp.f* + Adv. *(iwn3)* (see below 27.4.).

4. *bn wn.f* + Adv. *(iwn3)* (see below Ex. 864).

5. *bn iw.f stp.f iwn3* (see below Ex. 721).

Note that *bn .... iwn3* is indifferent to time indication.

13.6. The marker *m*.

13.6.1. Every negative verbal formation which starts with *m* is:

1. An initial main clause.

2. A negative counterpart.

3. An imperative mood pattern.

13.6.2. *m* appears in the following verbal formations (see below Chapter 25):

1. *m iri stp.f.*
2. *m dy stp.f.*
3. *m iri di.t stp.f.*

13.7. The marker *tm*.

tm occurs in:

1. Verbal formations containing an infinitive (see above 11.5.1.).
   a). The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past.
   b). The emphatic *i.iri.f tm stp.f.*
   c). The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the future.
   d). The *mtw.f tm stp.f.*
2. The non-initial prospective *stp.f* (see below Chapter 46).

Note that *tm* is indifferent to time indication.

GROUP I THE INITIAL MAIN CLAUSES

CHAPTER 14. THE PERFECT ACTIVE *STP.F*.

14.1. Introduction.

The Coptic successor of the past *stp.f* is ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ . This represents[1] the Demotic *iry.f stp(.f)*, and it cannot be the Late Egyptian *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, for the following reasons:

a). The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past in Late Egyptian is a non-initial verbal formation, whereas the perfect active *stp.f* is an initial main clause, indicating either the present perfect or the past tense. The difference between ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ and the perfect active *stp.f* is that the former can be followed by another ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ , whereas the latter is almost always followed by the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past (however, see below 14.9.2.).[2]

b). The use of the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past is very limited in Demotic,[3] where the regular past tense is the *stp.f*. It is unlikely that the language would have come back to the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* if that formation had previously been superceded by the *stp.f*.

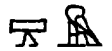
c). If ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ is *iry.f stp*, it is only another example of the tendency to replace simple verb forms by periphrases, composed of the corresponding forms of the verb *iri* with the infinitive of the verb conjugated.[4]

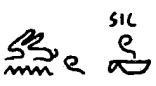
d). Erman's suggestion[5] that ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ is *i.iri.f stp.f* must be discarded; the latter form has been satisfactorily explained by Polotsky[6] and is of a completely different nature. It is a 'that' form, giving emphasis to an adverbial adjunct.

e). The Coptic substitute for *i.iri.f stp.f* of the past, namely ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ [7]. must be *nty i.iri.f stp*. The relative adjective ⲛⲧ-, *nty*, and the past tense ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ had been adopted by the language after the 'that' form proper had been lost. An **nty iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* is impossible,[8]. and therefore ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ in ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ can not be *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f*.

14.2. The perfect active *stp.f* in the non-literary texts of the 20th. Dynasty is limited to transitive verbs.[9].

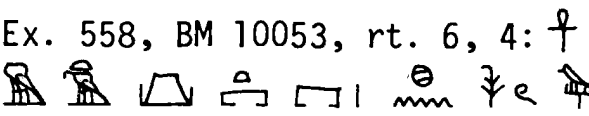
A *stp.f* formation indicating past tense and filling an initial syntactic position is very rarely used in Middle Egyptian. However, the Middle Egyptian *iw stp.n.f* formation is capable of indicating past tense and of filling an initial syntactic position. It has been suggested, for this reason, that the Late Egyptian *stp.f* of the past derived its past meaning from the Middle Egyptian *iw stp.n.f* formation, a form which had become extinct in Late Egyptian. It certainly seems probable that the Late Egyptian *stp.f* had been influenced by Middle Egyptian *iw stp.n.f*, but it is difficult to say in what way this happened, whether, as it fell into disuse, *iw stp.n.f* passed on its past function or whether it gradually merged into *stp.f* by absorption of the characteristic formatives *iw* and *n*. One must also bear in mind that the formation *iw stp.n.f*, like the Late Egyptian *stp.f* of the past, is restricted to transitive verbs. Thus the following verbal formations are not to be classified as perfect active *stp.f*'s.

a).  , in Mayer A, 4, 19, cannot be classified as a *stp.f* form, *šm(.i)*.

b).  , *wn.k*, in BM 10052, 1, 6, cannot be classified as a *stp.f* form. That the *wn.f* of the past should not be identified with the *stp.f* form is indicated by the fact that the

former is negated by *bn .... (iwn3)* (see below Ex. 864), and the latter by *bwpw.f stp.f*.

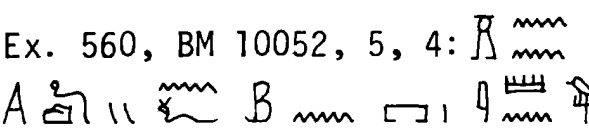
Obs. The verb *ḥmsi*, although an intransitive verb, sometimes takes an obscure *stp.f* form of the past; see 10.

Ex. 558, BM 10053, rt. 6, 4:  , *'nḫ-n-niw.t A ḥmsi.s m t3-šnw.t pr-ḥnsw*, The citizeness A, who is living (lit. 'sat') in the granary of the Temple of Khons.

However, since the perfect active *stp.f* cannot be preceded by *nty*, but the *ḥmsi.f* formation can, the latter, even when indicating past time, is not to be considered the same formation as the perfect active *stp.f*; see

Ex. 559, *LRL*, 45, 7-8: ,
ḫr wnn tw.i (m) n'.t m niw.t (r) in.t n3-rmṯ nty ḥmsi.w im, Now, as I was going from Thebes to bring back the men who had been living there ....

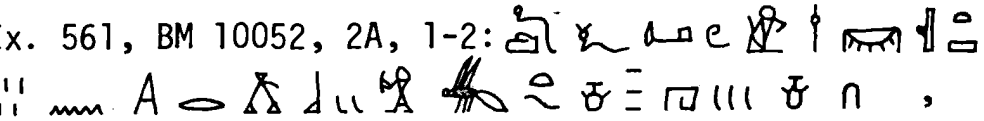
Obs. Since *dd.tw* in the construction *dd.tw n.f* indicates the present tense, it should not be indentified with the perfect active *stp.f*; see

Ex. 560, BM 10052, 5, 4:  , *ini sntr A dd.tw n.f B n pr-imn*, The incense-burner A, called B, of the Temple of Amon, was brought.

14.3. The perfect active *stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality.

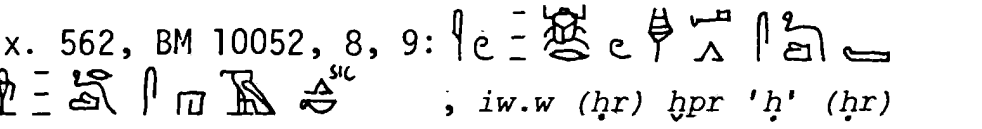
14.3.1. After a verbal formation both composed of theverb *dd* and indicating past tense:

After a *dd.f* formation:

Ex. 561, BM 10052, 2A, 1-2:  , *dd.f di.i ḥd qd.t 5 n A r-ḏb3 bi.t ḥn 10*, He said, "I gave 5 *qite* of silver to A in exchange for 10 *hin* of honey."

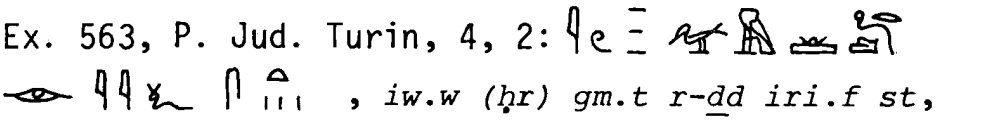
14.3.2. After *r-dd*:

I. .... *sdd* .... *r-dd*:

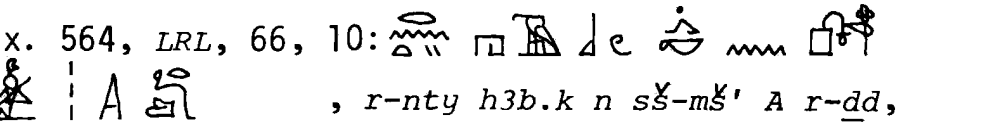
Ex. 562, BM 10052, 8, 9:  , *iw.w (ḥr) ḫpr 'ḥ' (ḥr) sdd r-dd sh3.k*, They were standing quarrelling, saying, "You have cheated".

Note that a perfect active *stp.f (sh3.k)* is not necessarily followed by a direct object; it may convey the notion of an activity as such.

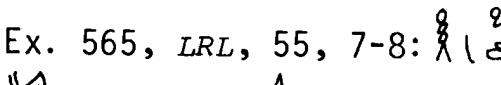
II. .... *gmi* .... *r-dd*:

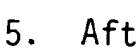
Ex. 563, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2:  , *iw.w (ḥr) gm.t r-dd iri.f st*, They found that he had (lit. 'They found: He had') committed them (the crimes).

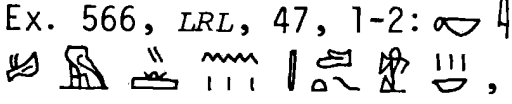
14.3.3. After , *r-nty*, 'to the effect that':

Ex. 564, *LRL*, 66, 10:  , *r-nty ḥ3b.k n sš-mš' A r-dd*, To the effect that you wrote to the scribe of the army, A, saying ....

14.3.4. After *ḥn'-dd* plus *r-nty*:

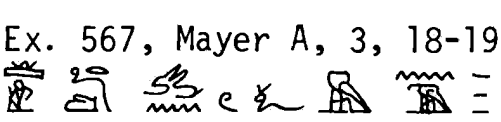
Ex. 565, *LRL*, 55, 7-8:  , *ḥn'-dd r-nty ḥ3b idnw A*, And further; The deputy A sent (a letter).

14.3.5. After  , *ky-dd*, 'further', 'another matter':

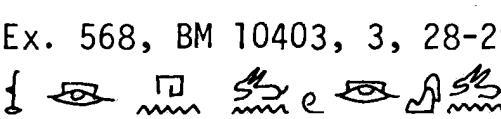
Ex. 566, *LRL*, 47, 1-2:  , *ky-dd n rmṯ-is.t .... sdm.n md.t nb*, Another communication from the workmen .... 'We have taken note of every matter'.

14.4. The perfect active *stp.f* after the indirect indicators of syntactic initiality.

14.4.1. After the dependent *iw* indicating the pluperfect tense (see below 63.2.8.):

Ex. 567, Mayer A, 3, 18-19:  , *ini A iw dd B sdm.i r-dd wn.f m n3-s.wt*, There was brought A, since B had said, "I heard that he was in the places".

14.4.2. After *wn* (see below 62.6.1.):

Ex. 568, BM 10403, 3, 28-29:  , *dd.s bwpwy.i ptr ḥn wn ptr.i wn iw.i r dd.f n.k*, She said, "I did not see (anything); if I had seen (anything), I would tell you".

Note that the perfect active *stp.f* and *nty* are mutually exclusive; **nty stp.f* is non-existent. The relative form fills the gap.

14.5. The tense indication of the perfect active *stp.f*.

14. THE PERFECT ACTIVE *STP.F*

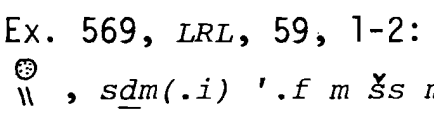
Stricker[11.] and de Buck[12.] have pointed out that in sentences relating to the past the first tense used is the *stp.f* form, and the subsequent verbal formations are all *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f*, while Erman[13.] only says that the *stp.f* form is an 'Aussage', and the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* is an 'historische Erzählung'. Both Stricker and de Buck try to keep Erman's terminology, and de Buck thinks he has succeeded, by attributing to the *stp.f* the meaning of 'I have chosen', which is an 'Aussage', and to *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* that of 'I heard'.

If de Buck is right, the *stp.f* form means 'I have chosen' and is a present perfect. The difference between the present perfect ('I have chosen') and the past tense ('I chose') is not that the former expresses a statement ('Aussage') and the latter a historical fact, for such a difference would be a relative one; any statement regarding the past can be regarded as historical narrative. The characteristic feature of the present perfect is that it covers the whole past, up to the present moment, a feature which can indeed be seen from its form, which contains a present ('I have') and a past participle ('chosen'). The past tense, on the contrary, picks up from the whole past a period of greater or lesser length, a period which can be specified more precisely by an adverb or an adverbial phrase, a specification impossible with the present perfect. There are languages in which the notion of a present perfect tense is entirely absent; others, having developed it, have dropped it again. The Latin perfect becomes the simple past in Romance languages, and this tense, in its turn disappears from spoken French, giving way to a present perfect, 'j'ai vu'. Such an obliteration of the original meaning of the present perfect must also be presumed to have taken place in Dutch.

The *stp.f* form in Late Egyptian does not always denote a present perfect, for cases where it is used accompanied by a

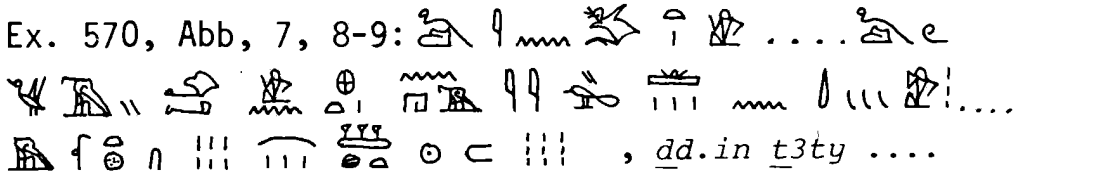
date or time expression can be cited.[14.] There are cases, however, where it undoubtedly must be translated as a present perfect or pluperfect. We can therefore deduce that the perfect active *stp.f* corresponds both to the present perfect, and to the past tense, and also occasionally to the pluperfect tense. That is to say, in Late Egyptian there was, in fact, no real differentiation between the concepts, *stp.f* being *par excellence*, the form used for denoting actions in the past. The more specific time connotation of the perfect active *stp.f* is to be determined by its syntactic context.

14.6. The Present Perfect Tense.

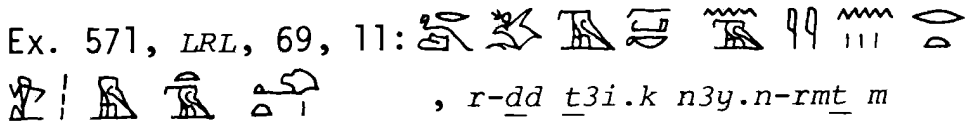
Ex. 569, *LRL*, 59, 1-2:  , *sḏm(.i) '.f m šs m šs*, I have heard (that) his condition is very good.

14.7. The Past Tense.

The perfect active *stp.f* followed by a date:

Ex. 570, Abb, 7, 8-9:  , *ḏd.in t3ty .... ḏd p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t nh3y n md.wt .... m ḥsb.t(?) 16 3bd 3 3ḫ.t sw 19*, The vizier said .... "This mayor of Thebes made certain charges .... in Year 16, third month of innundation, day 19".

14.8. The Pluperfect Tense.

Ex. 571, *LRL*, 69, 11:  , *r-ḏd t3i.k n3y.n-rmṯ m t3-ḥ3.t*, You had robbed our people before.

14.9. Verbal formations capable of following the perfect active *stp.f*.

14.9.1. The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.

It must be pointed out that in a series of verbs which all refer to the past, it is usually only the first verb which takes the perfect active *stp.f* formation; all the subsequent verbs take the form of the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formation, the equivalent of the Middle Egyptian narrative *stp.n.f*. When such a series is interrupted by the conjunction , *ḫr*, 'and then', which indicates a pause or interval in a series of happenings, the *stp.f* form is again used. Any further verbs again take the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* form; i.e., *stp.f .... iw.f (ḥr) stp.f .... iw.f (ḥr) stp.f .... ḫr stp.f .... iw.f (ḥr) stp.f.*

The classification of the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formation which acts as a successive form to a perfect active *stp.f* as a *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, and not as a circumstantial first present, is justified by the fact that it is made negative by *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* (see below Chapter 39) and not by *iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f.*

a). In court reports:

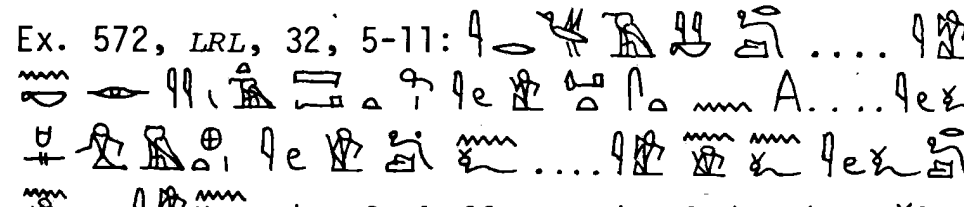
As a general rule, it can be stated that in the complex *stp.f .... iw.f (ḥr) stp.f .... iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* the initial *stp.f* expresses the past tense.

Ex. 572, Adoption, rt. 16-19:

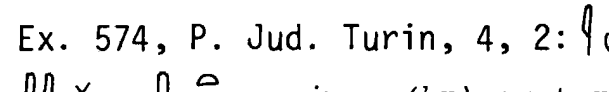
ini.n ḥm.t A r-swn iw.s (ḥr) ms.t p3y-3 ḫrd.w .... iw.i (ḥr) it3.t.w iw.i (ḥr) s'nḫ.w .... iw.w (ḥr) tm ir.t bin ḥr.i, We purchased the female slave A and

she gave birth to three children, ... And I took them and nourished them .... and they did not do any evil towards me.

b). In letters and reports:

Ex. 572, *LRL*, 32, 5-11: 
ir p3y.k-dd .... i.n.k iry.i t3-š'.t iw.i (ḥr) di.t.s n A .... iw.f ḫmsi m niw.t iw.i (ḥr) dd n.f .... i.n.i n.f iw.f (ḥr) dd n.i .... i.n.f,
As for your saying .... so you said. I wrote the letter and I gave it to A .... while he was dwelling in Thebes, and I said to him .... so I said to him, and he answered me .... so he answered.

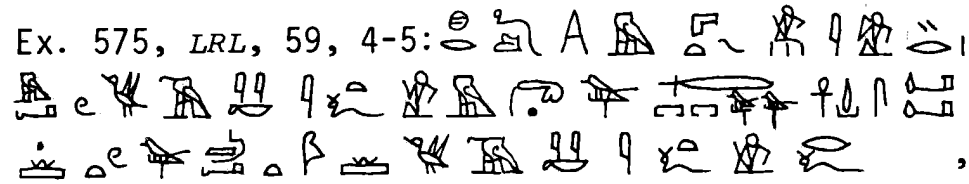
Note that when the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past is followed by *r-dd* the verbal formation which follows *r-dd* is the perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 574, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2: 
iw.w (ḥr) gm.t r-dd iry.f st, They found that he had committed them (=crimes).

Conclusion: The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past is incompatible with *r-dd* (see below Chapters 37-38).

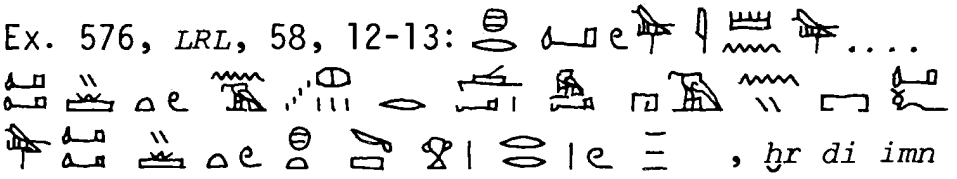
14.9.2. A perfect active *stp.f* formation followed by other perfect active *stp.f* formations.

a). A succession of *stp.f* formations within the framework of the formal court procedure

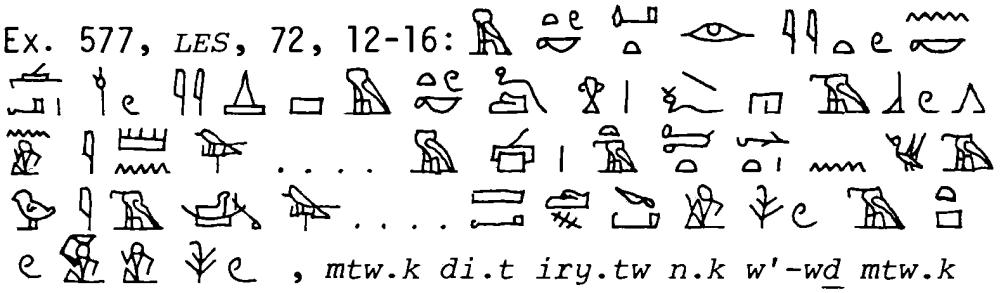
Ex. 575, *LRL*, 59, 4-5: 
ḫr dd A m qnb.t irm p3y.k-it m-b3ḥ pr-'3 '.w.s.

dd.tw m3'.t p3y.k-it r.f, And A contended in court with your father in the presence of Pharoah, l.p.h.. The king (lit. 'one') caused your father to be justified against him.

b). A succession of *stp.f* formations as short communications in letters.

Ex. 576, *LRL*, 58, 12-13:  , *ḫr di imn .... dd.tw n3-it r w' mhny di.f dd.tw ḫt ḥr.w*, And Amon .... had the barley (or 'grain') put in a granary, and the doors sealed (lit. 'had a seal put on them').[15.]

c). A succession of *stp.f* formations in an autobiographical inscription on a stela.

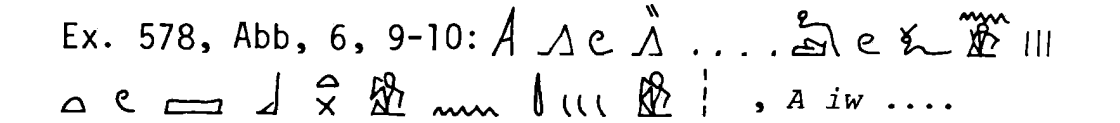
Ex. 577, *LES*, 72, 12-16:  , *mtw.k di.t iry.tw n.k w'-wḏ mtw.k ḏd ḥr.f h3b n.i imn .... m-s3 t3-tt n p3-wi3 .... s'd.i sw 3tp.i sw*, You will have a stela made for yourself, and say on it, "Amon .... sent to me .... after the woodwork for the .... barque .... I cut it down. I loaded it."

Note that when Wenamun reports his own experiences the complexes *stp.f .... iw.f (ḥr) stp.f ....* occur, but when he describes an autobiographical inscription written on a stela, the complexes *stp.f .... stp.f ....* occur; i.e. our distinction between literary and non-literary texts finds its justification

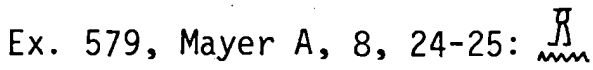
in the report of Wenamun.

14.10. Verbal formations which can precede the perfect active *stp.f*.

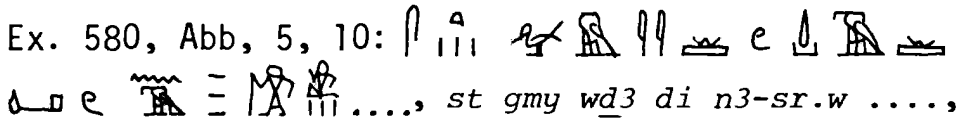
14.10.1. A first present pattern with the stative of a verb of motion:

Ex. 578, Abb, 6, 9-10:  *A iw .... dd.f n.i 3.t wšb.t n md.wt*, A came .... He made three very serious charges to me.

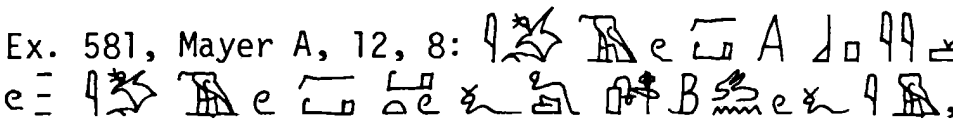
14.10.2. A passive perfect *stp.f* (see below Chapter 16):

Ex. 579, Mayer A, 8, 24-25:  *ini A iry.f s'ḥ'.f*, A was brought. He accused him.

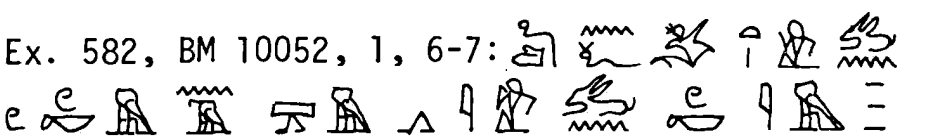
14.10.3. A first present pattern with the stative of a transitive verb (see below 19.8.1.):

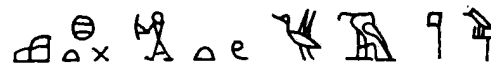
Ex. 580, Abb, 5, 10:  *st gmy wd3 di n3-sr.w ....*, They were found intact. The magistrates caused ....

14.10.4. A *bwpw.f stp.f* formation (see below Chapter 15).

Ex. 581, Mayer A, 12, 8:  *it3 A bwpwy.w it3.t.f dd sš B wn.f im*, The thief A. They did not catch him, (but) the scribe B said he was there.

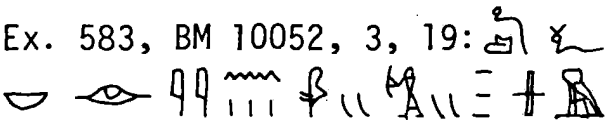
14.10.5. *wn.f* + Adv. (see below 19.13.7.-19.13.12.).

Ex. 582, BM 10052, 1, 6-7: 



, *dd n.f t3ty wn.k m n3-šm i.wn.k im.w sḫt tw p3-ntr*, The vizier said to him, "You were going about your own business (lit. 'the journeys in which you were involved') and the god caught you."

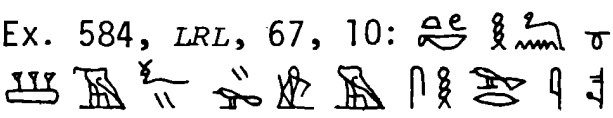
14.10.6. A first present pattern in which the first position is filled by the participle of the verb *wn*:

Ex. 583, BM 10052, 3, 19: 

, *dd.f wn (ḥr) sp.t n.n s nb iry.n šw.t.w (r) wnm st*, He said, "We had some left, each man, and we traded it in order to consume it".

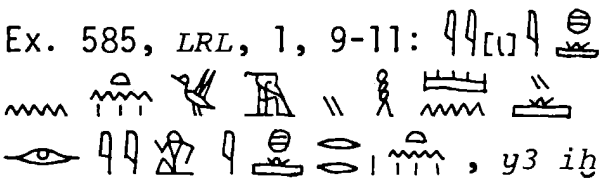
wn is here a bare participle acting as the nominal actor expression of *(ḥr) sp.t*.

14.10.7. A first present pattern with the stative of an adjective verb (see below Ex. 752):

Ex. 584, *LRL*, 67, 10: 

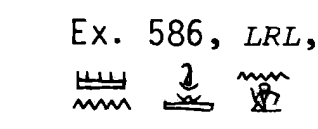
, *tw.k ḥdn.tw di.k š3fy.i m shwr.w*, You are angry (and) you have put fatal curses on me (lit. 'caused that I shall die, by curses').

14.10.8. A first present pattern *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* (see below 19.4.-19.6.):

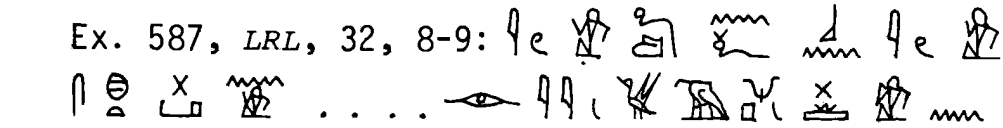
Ex. 585, *LRL*, 1, 9-11: 

, *y3 iḫ tw.i (ḥr) di.t ini.tw n.tn p3y-ḥmn n š'.t .... iry.i iḫ r.tn*, What is the good of my having all these letters delivered to you .... What have I done to you (lit. 'been doing to you')?

14.10.9. A *bw iri.f stp.f* formation (see below 20.7.):

Ex. 586, *LRL*, 18, 1-2: 
bw iri.f nn.t n.i di.f mn n.i w'-mḏq.t r-iwd 5 hrw, He does not neglect me. He has caused that a *mḏq.t* - jar should be fixed for me every five days.

14.10.10. A negative third future.

Ex. 587, *LRL*, 32, 8-9: 
iw.i (ḥr) ḏd n.f bn iw.i (r) sḫt n.i .... iry(.i) p3-wpw n ni.w, I said to him, "I will not forge myself .... I have carried out the job of the spears.

14.10.11. A negative imperative.

Ex. 588, *LRL*, 8, 5-6:
.ḫr m dy ḥ3ty.k m-s3.i iry n.i p3y.i-ḥry nfr nb, And don't worry about me; my master has done me every favour (lit. 'good thing').

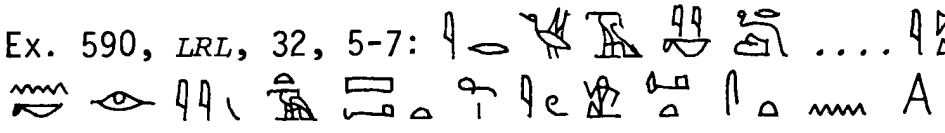
Conclusion: The perfect active *stp.f* can follow verbal formations indicating past, present, and future tenses.

14.11. Non-verbal constructions which can precede the perfect active *stp.f*.

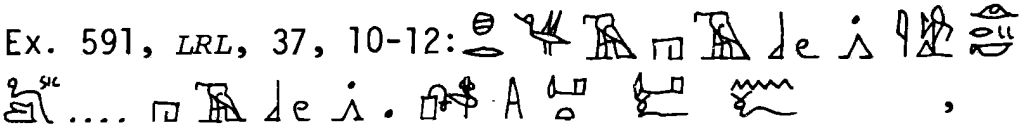
14.11.1. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ḫr ir*:

Ex. 589, *LRL*, 20, 14-15:
ḫr ir p3-ḫt .... di(.i) sw im 'n, As for the wood .... (I) have put it in there already (again?).

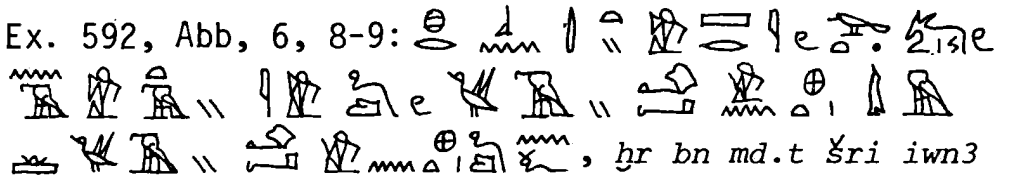
14.11.2. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*:

Ex. 590, *LRL*, 32, 5-7:  *ir p3y.k-dd.... i.n.k iry(.i) t3-š'.t iw.i (ḥr) di.t.s n A*, As for your saying .... so you said, I wrote a letter and gave it to A.

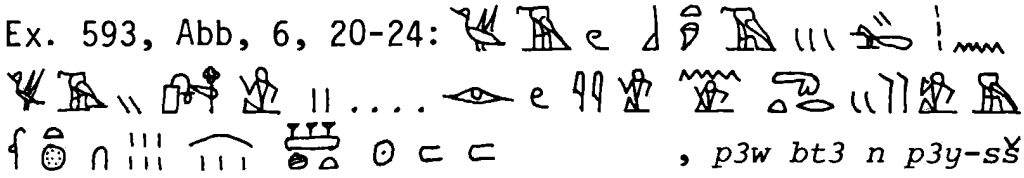
14.11.3. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ḥr*:

Ex. 591, *LRL*, 37, 10-12:  *ḥr p3-h3b i.iri.k (r-)dd .... h3b(.i) n sš A (r) di.t di.f n.f*, As for the letter you have written saying ...., (I) wrote to the scribe A in order to cause that he should give it to him.

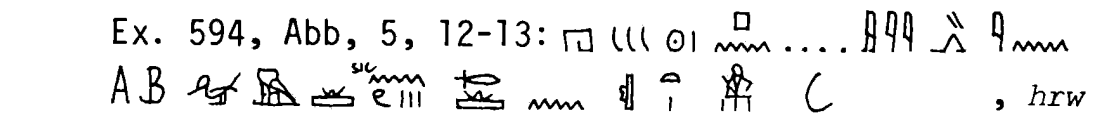
14.11.4. A negative cleft sentence:

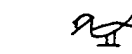
Ex. 592, Abb, 6, 8-9:  *ḥr bn md.t šri iwn3 t3y i.dd p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t wḥm p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t dd n.f*, But truly, it is no light accusation which this Mayor of Thebes made. And this Mayor of Thebes spoke to him again.

14.11.5. A nominal sentence pattern:

Ex. 593, Abb, 6, 20-24:  *p3w bt3 n p3y-sš 2 .... iry.i n.i mtr.t m ḥsb.t(?) 16 3bd 3 3ḫ.t sw 20*, It was an offence on the part of these two scribes .... I gave evidence on my own behalf (lit. 'for myself') in year 16, 3rd. month of the inundation season, day 20.

14.11.6. An infinitive followed by *in A:*

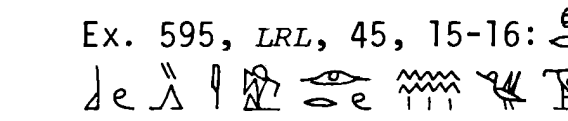
Ex. 594, Abb, 5, 12-13:  , *hrw pn .... iy in A B gm.w '3-n-is.t C*, A and B came that day. They met C, the chief workman. (Lit. "On that day there came A and B. They met the chief workman C.').

 is not an example of the *stp.n.f* form, but rather the *gmi.f* form. The *n* indicates that the *m* of the stem was already pronounced as *n*. *hrw pn* is a substitute for a date in the past.

Conclusion: Frontal extrapositions are not indicators of subordination.

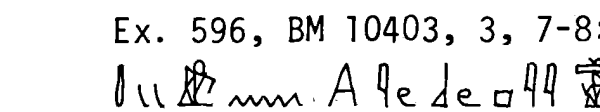
14.12. The Perfect Active *stp.f* after Particles.

14.12.1. After *ḫr*:

Ex. 595, *LRL*, 45, 15-16:  , *ḫr sḏm.n p3-h3b i.iri n.n p3y.n-nb r-ḏd ....*, And we have noted our lord's having written to us, saying ....

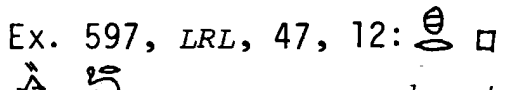
Conclusion: Since *ḫr* + the perfect active *stp.f* conveys neither the simple present tense nor the notion of 'can' or 'could', it should not be identified either with Demotic *ḫr-stp.f* nor with Coptic ϩⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ie. *ḫr* is a free element (see above 9.2.3.).

14.12.2. After *ptr*:

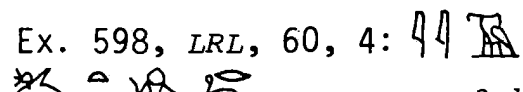
Ex. 596, BM 10403, 3, 7-8:  , *ptr ḏd.f t3-md.t n A iw bwpw.i ḏd.s*, Behold, he told A about it, not I.

(Lit. 'Behold, he told the matter to A. I did not tell it.').

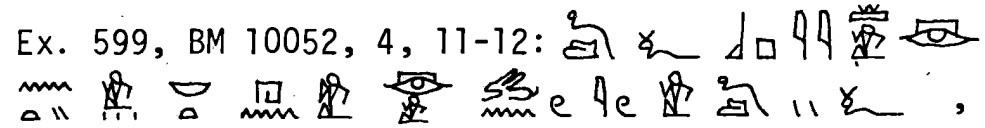
14.12.3. After *ḫr ptr*:

Ex. 597, *LRL*, 47, 12:  , *ḫr ptr h3b.k r-dd* ...., And behold, you have written that ....

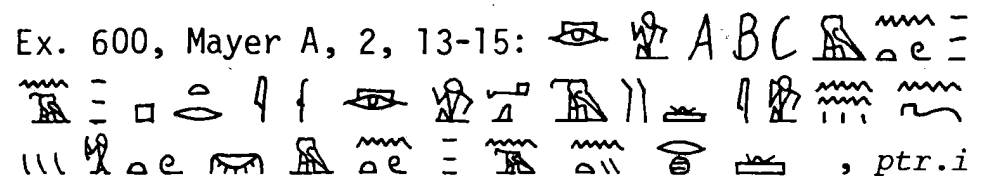
14.12.4. After *y3*:

Ex. 598, *LRL*, 60, 4:  , *y3 h3b n.i t3ty r-dd* ....,
The vizier has indeed written to me saying ....

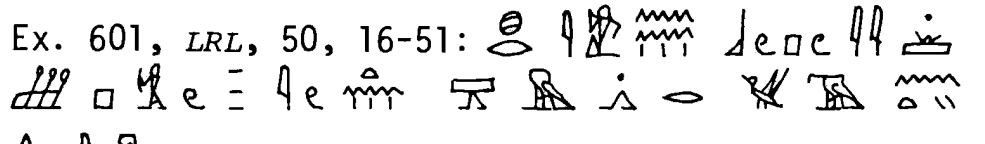
14.12.5. After *hn* (see below 62.6.1.):

Ex. 599, BM 10052, 4, 11-12:  ,
dd.f bwpwy.i ptr nty-nb hn ptr.i wn iw.i (r) dd.f,
He said, "I saw no-one at all. If I had seen (anyone) I would say so".

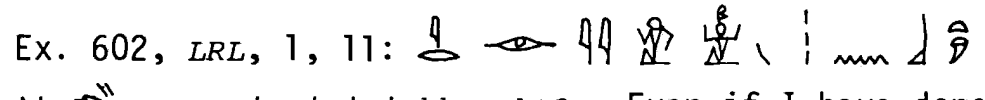
14.12.6. After *inn* (see below Exx. 1609-1610):

Ex. 600, Mayer A, 2, 13-15:  , *ptr.i A B C ntw n3-ptr.i 'q3 inn nw.tw nbw ntw n3-nty rḫ*,
I saw A B and C. These are precisely the ones I saw.
If gold was collected, they are the ones who know.

That a *stp.f* formation, which on the one hand is preceded by *inn*, and on the other hand is followed by a *iw.f (r) stp.f* formation, is the perfect active *stp.f* is indicated by the fact that it is made negative by the *bwpw.f stp.f* formation.

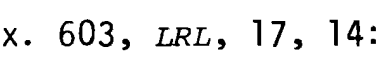
Ex. 601, *LRL*, 50, 16-51:  , *ḫr inn bwpwy.tn šsp.w iw.tn (r) šm r p3-nty A im*, And if you have not received them, you shall go to the place where A is.

14.12.7. After *ir* (see below Ex. 1605):

Ex. 602, *LRL*, 1, 11:  , *ir iri.i ḥḥ n bt3*, Even if I have done millions of wrongs.

inn stp.f denotes 'if' or 'whether', whereas *ir stp.f* denotes here 'even if'.

14.12.8. After the interrogative *(i)n* (see below Ex. 1589):

Ex. 603, *LRL*, 17, 14:  , *(i)n pḫ.w r.k*, Have they reached you?

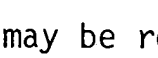
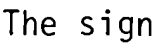
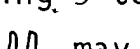
14.13. Bibliography and references.

1. As Steindorff, *Grammatik*, 270, Anm. and 296 correctly observed.
2. See Korostovtsev, *JEA* 49 (1963), 173-175, and Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 90, n.1.
3. See Parker, *JNES* 20 (1961), 180-187.
4. See Griffith, *Stories*, pp. 101-102, note 1. 32. However, see Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 7 (1904), 199; *OLZ* 25 (1922), 399, note 3; Sottas, *Pap.dém. de Lille*, 38; *Revue Egyptologique*, N.S. 2, Fasc. 3-4 (1924), 13-16. But Spiegelberg afterwards withdrew his support, for which see *Grammatik*, 188, Anm. Also Edgerton, *JAOS* 55 (1935), 257-261.
5. See Erman, *AZ* 22 (1884), 33 and Stern, *Grammatik*, 374; but also Stern, *AZ* 24 (1886), 133.
6. Polotsky, *Papers*, 33-37 (= *Ann. Serv.*, 40 (1940), 241-245).
7. Polotsky, *Papers*, 173-201 (= *Études*, 69-97).
8. See Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 93-97.
9. See Sethe, *ZDMG* 79 (1925), 312, and Groll *JNES* 28 (1969), 185.
10. See also Abb. Dockets, A, 17; BM 10052, 4, 28; BM 10053, rt. 4, 10; 13; 7, 1; 12; 14; 16; 18. Also Wolf, *AZ* 69 (1933), 112, n. 847; Grapow, *AZ* 73 (1937), 52, n.1; Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 26, Anm. 1; Groll, *Negative*, 37-37b.
11. Stricker, *Acta Or.* 16 (1938), 81-83.
12. de Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 161.
13. Erman, *NAG*, 286.
14. Abb, 7, 8 and BM 10052, 8, 19.
15. See Wente, *LRL*, 72.

CHAPTER 15. THE *BWPW.F STP.F* FORMATION

15.1. Etymology.

Von Calice[1] has sought to show that the base of the negative of the Coptic first perfect tense ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ, in Late Egyptian , owes its origin to a postulated . In opposition to this thesis, Gardiner[2] tried to establish the correctness of another derivation long ago proposed by Erman.[3]

Gardiner writes[4] that the original form of ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ may be reconstructed as *  ie. the auxiliary verb *p3* preceded by the Late Egyptian negative element . The significance of ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ and  in making negative the perfect tense is a strong argument in favour of Erman's hypothesis. As for the presence of the letter , *y*, in , it can be suggested (1). that the weak *3* of the stem *p3w*, *p3y*, may have been equivalent to, or have changed into, a *y*; or (2). the final weak radical may have assimilated the preceding *3* to itself, and have persisted for this reason; or (3). may be due to the combination of the nominal ending *-w* with the weak letters of the stem. Thus, if the presence of *y* in  is no strong support of the thesis here upheld, it is at least no hinderance to its plausibility.

Thus the conclusion that ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ contains the old verb *p3y* must be regarded, if not as proven up to the hilt, yet as exceedingly plausible and likely.

Thus the probable etymology of *bwpw.f stp.f* is ; that is, *bw* = Middle Egyptian , *pw* = Middle Egyptian , and is an infinitive.

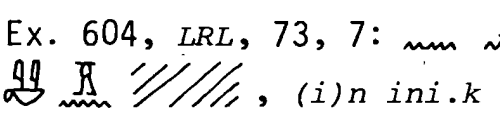
15.2. *bwpw.f stp.f* as a negative counterpart.

15. THE *BWPW.F STP.F* FORMATION

The statement that *bwpw.f stp.f* is the negative counterpart of the perfect active *stp.f* is based on the following observations:

On the one hand the perfect active *stp.f* cannot be preceded by any free negative element; ie. there exists no **bn stp.f* indicating both past time and the active mood; therefore the perfect active *stp.f* itself cannot be made negative. Thus one has to look for its corresponding negative verbal formation. The incompatibility of the perfect active *stp.f* with the free element *bn* can perhaps be explained by the fact that *bn* is used in the framework of forms indicating the immediate present or the future tenses;[5.] on the other hand *bwpw.f stp.f* is the only negative pattern which can express past time, while functioning syntactically as an initial main clause.

That *bwpw.f stp.f* is the negative counterpart of the perfect active *stp.f* is illustrated well by the following:

Ex. 604, *LRL*, 73, 7: 
(i)n ini.k sw (i)n bwpwy.k in.t ///,
Have you brought it? Or have you not brought (it)?

ini.k and *bwpw.k in.t* express the same time, the same idea, the same aspect and the same mode of action in the same syntactic framework, only one is affirmative, and the other is negative.

Thus three main common features are needed in order to state that two formations are counterparts:

1. Syntactic capabilities.
2. Time indication.
3. Identity of aspect (see above 10.8.), and mode of action (see above 10.9.).

15.3. The *bwpw.f stp.f* is a tripartite conjugation pattern.

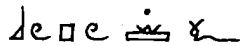
i). First part: *bwpw* constitutes the conjugation base.

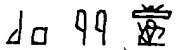
ii). Second part: either a pronominal suffix or a noun constitutes the actor expression.

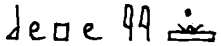
iii). Third part: *stp(.f)* (an infinitive) constitutes the action expression.

15.4. The forms of the conjugation base.

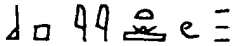
The conjugation base can take the following forms:

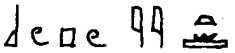
 (see Ex. 636).

 (see Exx. 610, 613).

 (see Ex. 607).

(see Ex. 632).

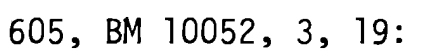
 (see Ex. 624).

 (see Ex. 635).

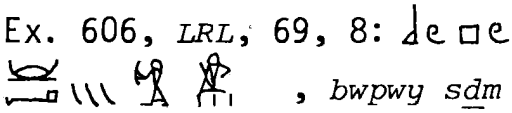
15.5. The peculiarities of the nominal subject.

15.5.1. The nominal subject can take the following forms:

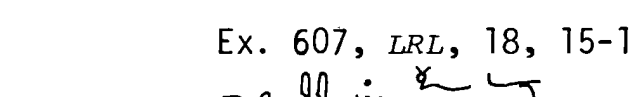
1. A defined noun (see Ex. 632).
2. A proper name (see Ex. 620).
3. A bare noun (see Ex. 635).
4. A bare participle.

   Ex. 605, BM 10052, 3, 19:  , *bwpwy wn sp n.tn*, You had none left.

15.5.2. Occasionally the nominal subject follows the infinitive; i.e. it occupies the third position, not the second.

Ex. 606, *LRL*, 69, 8:  , *bwpwy sḏm n.i n3-wḥ'.w*, The fishermen have not obeyed me.

15.5.3. The omission of both the pronominal and nominal subject is an indicator of the passive mood.

Ex. 607, *LRL*, 18, 15-16:  , *iw.n (ḥr) gm.t.w r-dd bwpwy.ø ft*, And we found them, that (they) were not erased.

15.5.4. The peculiarities of the infinitive of *bwpw.f*.

Since the perfect active *stp.f* is restricted to transitive verbs, the *bwpw.f šm* formation (i.e. a pattern in which the third position is filled by an intransitive verb) should not be classified as the negative counterpart of the perfect active *stp.f*, but should be regarded as the negative counterpart of other verbal formations (see below 20.5.3.). Since the infinitive must be transitive when the *bwpw.f stp.f* functions as the negative counterpart of the perfect active *stp.f*, the question arises, 'Is the expression of the direct object also necessary?'

15.5.5. The preculiarities of the direct object expression of the *bwpw.f stp.f* formation.

a). The pronominal direct object.

This takes the form of the pronominal suffix.

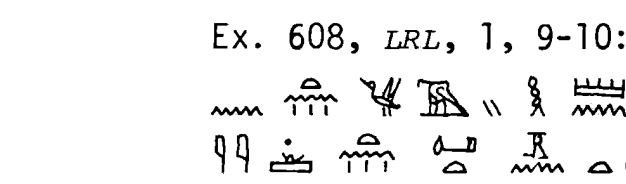
b). The nominal direct object.

This can take the form of

1. A defined noun (see Ex. 640).

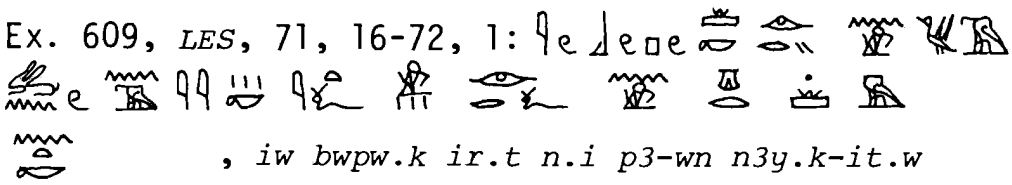
2. A bare noun (see Ex. 624).

3. The number, *w'*:

Ex. 608, *LRL*, 1, 9-10:  , *y(3) iḫ tw.i (ḥr) di.t ini.tw n.tn p3y-ḥmn n š'.t iw bwpwy.tn di.t ini.tw w'*, What does it mean, that I have been sending

you this amount of letters, while you have not sent back even one?

4. A defined relative form:

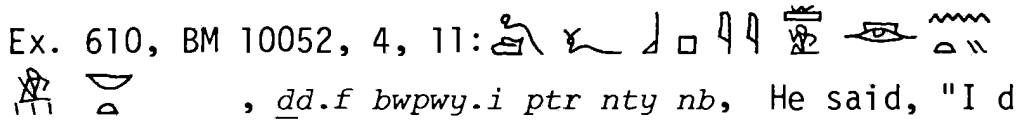
Ex. 609, *LES*, 71, 16-72, 1:  , *iw bwpw.k ir.t n.i p3-wn n3y.k-it.w (ḥr) ir.t.f n.i gr ntk*, While you did not do for me that which your fathers did, you also.

Note that a participle of *wn*, when functioning as a subject, is undefined, whereas a relative form of *wn*, when functioning as a direct object, is always defined (see above Ex. 639).

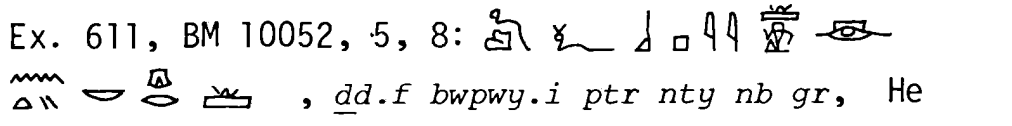
c). 'Anyone', 'anything' as direct object.

Since the pronominal suffix *.tw*, 'one', is incapable of functioning as the direct object of an infinitive, the notion 'anyone' or 'anything' is expressed in various ways:

1. by the expression *nty nb*:

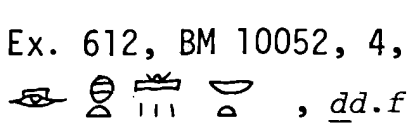
Ex. 610, BM 10052, 4, 11:  , *ḏd.f bwpwy.i ptr nty nb*, He said, "I did not see anyone."

Also with the addition of *gr*:

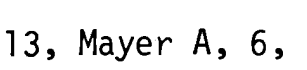
Ex. 611, BM 10052, 5, 8:  , *ḏd.f bwpwy.i ptr nty nb gr*, He said, "I did not see anything else".

Note that *nty nb* in connection with *bwpw.f stp* and other negative constructions, does not denote 'everyone', 'everything', but rather 'anyone','anything'; i.e. *nb* in negative constructions does not always define its preceding noun.

2. by the expression *ḥ.t nb*:

Ex. 612, BM 10052, 4, 12-13:  , *dd.f bwpwy.i ptr ḫ.t nb*, He said, "I did not see anything".

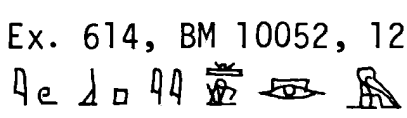
3. by dropping the direct object expression:

Ex. 613, Mayer A, 6, 25:  , *bwpwy.i ptr-ø gr*, I did not see (anything) further.

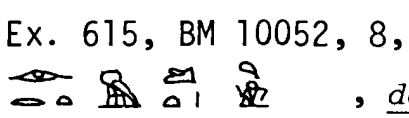
Thus the omission of the direct object is here a way of expressing the notion of' anything'; i.e. one cannot conclude from this example that the direct object in the *bwpw.f stp* pattern is an optional element.

15.5.6. The omission of the direct object.

The direct object is occasionally dropped in the following cases:

Ex. 614, BM 10052, 12, 19-20:  , *dd.f sdm.i A B C D iw bwpwy.i ptr m ir.t.i*, He said, "I heard of A, B, C, and D although I did not see (them) myself (lit. 'with my eye')."

sdm and *ptr* are both verbs of perception: since the direct object is mentioned in the case of *sdm*, one does not repeat it in the case of *ptr*; i.e. verbs belonging to the same category can share their direct object, by mentioning it only once.

Ex. 615, BM 10052, 8, 20-21:  , *dd.f .... ḫr bwpwy.i ir.t m dr.t.i*, He said, "....And I did not act myself (lit. 'with my hand')."

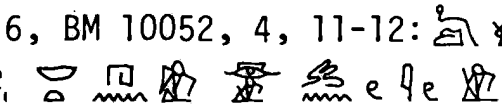
The omission of the direct object after *ir.t* changes the meaning of *ir.t*. In this case *ir.t* denotes the general idea

of 'acting', and not a specific performance of a certain activity; ie. it becomes intransitive.

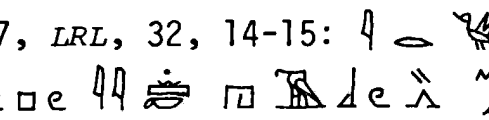
Thus, one may conclude that the direct object in the pattern *bwpw.f stp.f* is not an optional element, but rather a necessary element.

15.6. The *bwpw.f stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality:

15.6.1. At the beginning of a statement, after :

Ex. 616, BM 10052, 4, 11-12:  ,
dd.f bwpwy.i ptr nty nb hn ptr.i wn iw.i (r) dd.f,
He said, "I did not see anyone. If I had seen (someone) I would have told it."[6].

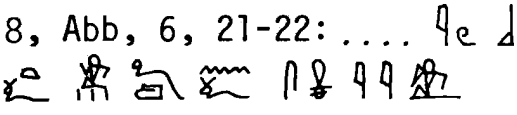
15.6.2. At the beginning of a statement, after *r-dd*:

Ex. 617, *LRL*, 32, 14-15:  , *ir p3y.k-dd .... r-dd bwpwy.k h3b n.i*, As for your telling (me) .... saying, "You have not written to me," ....

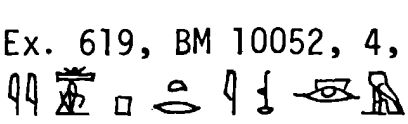
15.7. The *bwpw.f stp.f* after the indirect indicators of initiality.

15.7.1. After the dependent *iw*:

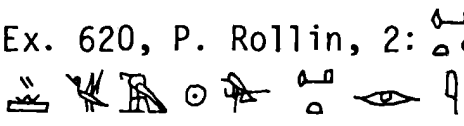
a). Indicating the pluperfect tense:

Ex. 618, Abb, 6, 21-22: ....  , ... *iw bwpw n3y.w-it.w dd n.f smy*, ...although their predecessors had never reported.

b). Indicating the simultaneous past:

Ex. 619, BM 10052, 4, 3-4:  , *dd.f sdm.i A iw bwpwy.i ptr m ir.t.i*, He said, "I heard of A, but I did not see (him) myself (lit. 'with my eye')."

15.7.2. After *nty*:

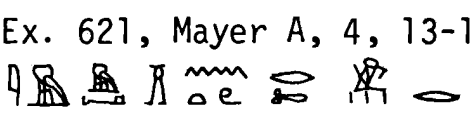
Ex. 620, P. Rollin, 2:  , *di.tw.w m-dr.t A nty bwpwy p3-r' di.t iry.f '3-n-'.t*, They were placed in the hands of A, whom Pre had never allowed to be chief of the chamber.

Note that *bwpw.f stp.f* cannot be preceded by *wn*.

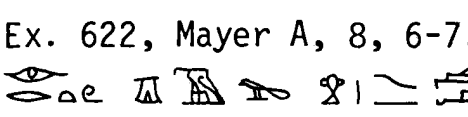
15.8. Verbal formations which can follow *bwpw.f stp.f*.

15.8.1. Initial main clauses.

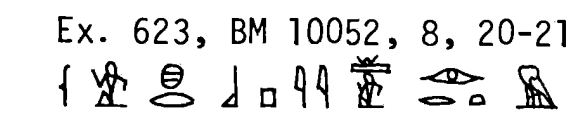
a). An imperative:

Ex. 621, Mayer A, 4, 13-14:  , *dd.f bwpwy.i ptr imi ini.tw rmt r s'ḥ'.i*, He said, "I did not see (anything). Have somebody brought to accuse me."

b). An emphatic formation:

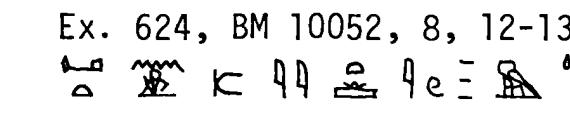
Ex. 622, Mayer A, 8, 6-7:  , *dd.f bwpwy.i ptr i.iri.tw g3i ḥr w'-pr ink*, He said, "I did not see (anything). It is because of a house of mine that one lied".

c). *bwpw.f stp.f* introduced by *ḥr*:

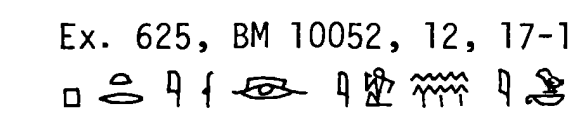
Ex. 623, BM 10052, 8, 20-21:  , *dd.f bwpwy.i ptr ḫr bwpwy.i ir.t m dr.t.i*, He said, "I did not see anything and also I did not act myself (lit. 'with my hand')".

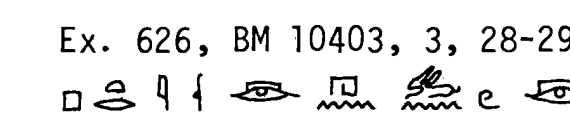
15.8.2. Non-initial non-prepositional subordinate clauses.

The circumstantial first present:

Ex. 624, BM 10052, 8, 12-13:  , *dd.f bwpwy.w di.t n.i dny.t iw.w m-di.i n iḫ*, He said, "They did not give me a share, and (anyway) what are they to me(?)? (lit. 'they are with me for what?')"

15.8.3. Subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions.

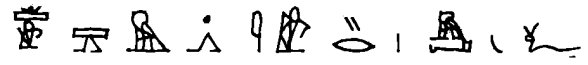
Ex. 625, BM 10052, 12, 17-18:  , *dd.f bwpwy.i ptr inn iw.k (r) dd i.g3i g3y.i*, He said, "I did not see (anything). If you bid (me) lie, I will lie".

Ex. 626, BM 10403, 3, 28-29:  , *dd.s bwpwy.i ptr hn wn ptr.i wn iw.i (r) dd.f n.k*, She said, "I did not see (anything). Had I seen I would have told you".

15.9. Verbal formations which can precede the *bwpw.f stp.f* formation.

15.9.1. A *bwpw.f stp.f* formation:

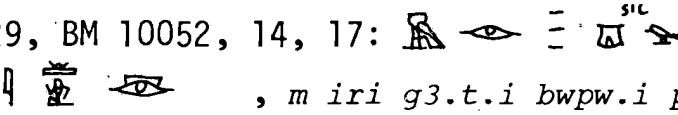
Ex. 627, Mayer A, 5, 18-19:


, *'d3 bwpwy.i ptr.f bwpwy.i šm irm.f*, Not true! I didn't see him. I didn't go with him.

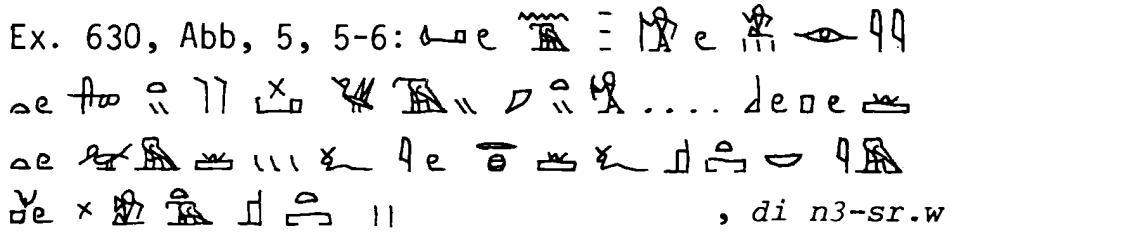
15.9.2. An imperative:

Ex. 628, Mayer A, 8, 4:
, *dd.tw n.k i.dd p3-sḫr šm i.iri.k bwpwy.k dd* ////, They said to you, "Tell the story of your going, you have never told (it)".

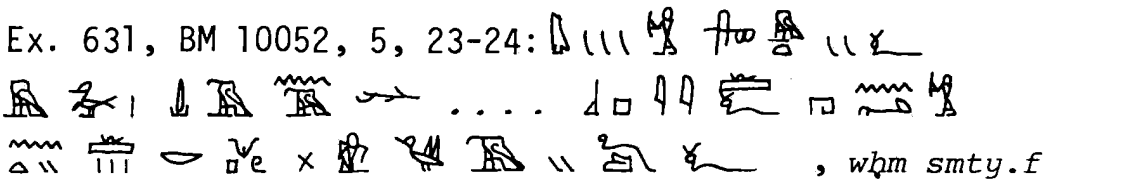
15.9.3. A negative imperative:

Ex. 629, BM 10052, 14, 17: 
, *m iri g3.t.i bwpw.i ptr-ø*, Do not lie about me(?)! I did not see (anything).

15.9.4. A perfect active *stp.f* in legal reports:

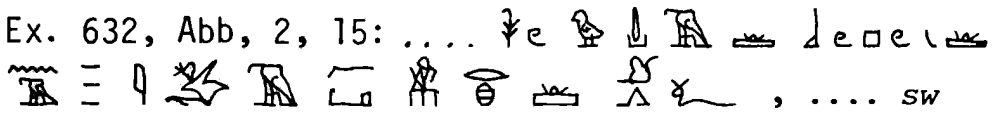
Ex. 630, Abb, 5, 5-6: 
, *di n3-sr.w iry.tw smty p3y-ḫmty .... bwpw.tw gm.t.f iw rḫ.f s.t nb im wpw(-ḥr) t3-s.t 2*, The magistrates caused this coppersmith to be examined .... but it could not be found that he knew of any place save the two places.

15.9.5. A perfect passive *stp.f* in legal reports:

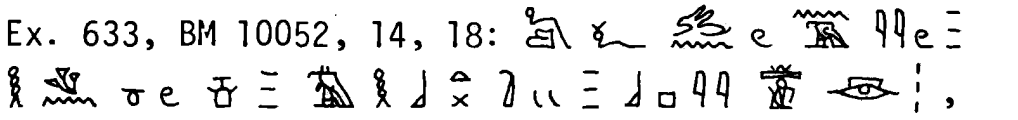
Ex. 631, BM 10052, 5, 23-24: 
, *wḫm smty.f m bdn .... bwpwy.f hn nty nb wpw(-ḥr) p3y-dd.f*, He

was examined again with a stick .... He did not confess anything beyond what he had said.

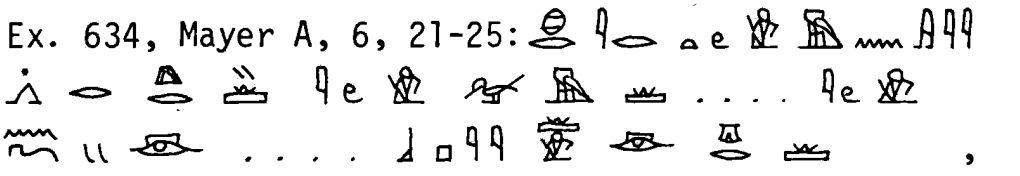
15.9.6. A first present with the stative of an intransitive verb, in legal reports.

Ex. 632, Abb, 2, 15: ....  , ... *sw wd3 bwpw n3-it3.w rḫ pḥ.f*, ... It is intact; the thieves had not succeeded in penetrating it.

15.9.7. *wn.f* + adverb.

Ex. 633, BM 10052, 14, 18:  , *dd.f wn n3y.w-ḥnw.w (ḥr) nḥb.t.w bwpwy.i ptr.w*, He said, "Their belongings were on their backs. I could not see them".

15.9.8. A narrative complex *ḫr ir* + the first present followed by successive *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formations.

Ex. 634, Mayer A, 6, 21-25:  , *ḫr ir tw.i m iy r-ḫry iw.i (ḥr) gm.t .... iw.i (ḥr) nw .... bwpwy.i ptr gr*, When I went down, I found .... I saw .... I did not see (anything) further.[7.]

15.10. Non-verbal complexes which are capable of preceding a *bwpw.f stp.f* formation.

15.10.1. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

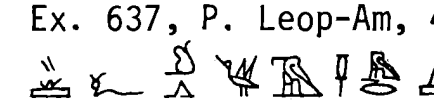
Ex. 635, *LRL*, 32, 12-13: ,

ir p3y.k-dd t3-md.t md3i A bwpwy rmṯ md.t m-di.f,
As for what you said about (lit. 'as for your statement in the matter of') the policeman A, nobody spoke to (lit. 'a person did not speak with') him.

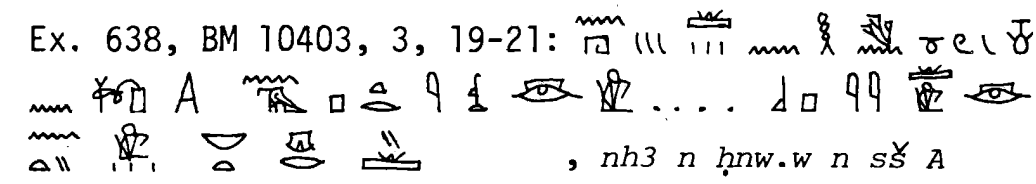
15.10.2. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ḫr m-di*.

Ex. 636, *LRL*, 15, 5-7: , *ḫr m-dy p3-h3b i.iri.k n.i (ḥr) t3-md.t n p3y-ny .... bwpw.f 3q st m-di.i*, As for the letter you have sent me about the matter of this crown .... It has not perished; it is with me. (Lit. 'as for the sending which you did ....'.)

15.10.3. A frontal extraposition with no introductory particle.

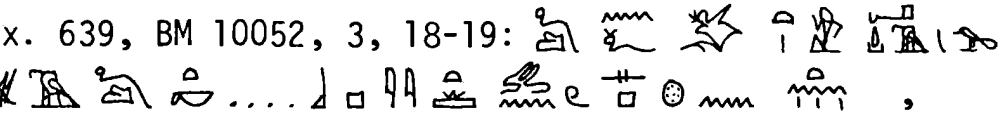
Ex. 637, P. Leop-Am, 4, 7-8:  , *k3my A .... bwpw.f pḥ p3-mr*, The gardener A .... He had not penetrated into the pyramid.

15.10.4. A nominal cleft sentence.

Ex. 638, BM 10403, 3, 19-21:  , *nh3 n ḫnw.w n sš A n3-ptr.i .... bwpwy.i ptr nty.nb gr*, What I saw were some things belonging to the scribe A .... I did not see anything else.

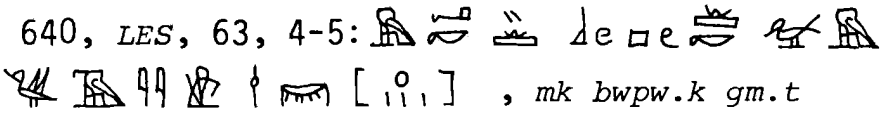
15.10.5. A one-membral adjectival sentence (see above Ex. 627).

15.10.6. A succession of non-verbal sentences (see below Ex. 1510).

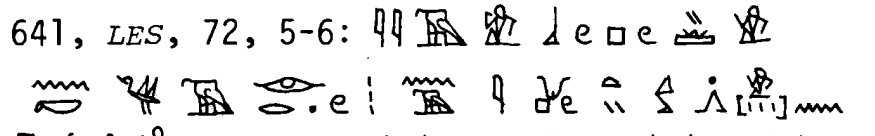
Ex. 639, BM 10052, 3, 18-19: 
dd n.f t3ty 'd3 p3-dd.k bwpwy wn sp n.tn, "You were lying," the vizier told him, "When you claimed .... that there was nothing left for you." (Lit. 'The vizier said to him, "What you said is false ...."')

15.11. The *bwpw.f stp.f* formation following particles belonging to the framework of direct speech.

15.11.1. After *mk*:

Ex. 640, *LES*, 63, 4-5: 
mk bwpw.k gm.t p3y.i-ḥd, Look, you have not found my money.

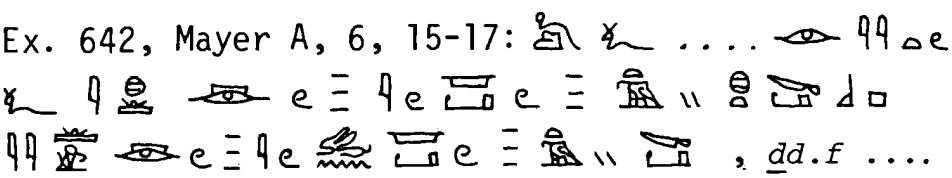
15.11.2. After *y3*:

Ex. 641, *LES*, 72, 5-6: 
y3 bwpw.i ir.t n.k p3-iri.w (n) n3-ipwty.w n ḫ'-m-w3s.t, Verily, I have not done to you what they did to the envoys of Khaemwise.

15.11.3. After *inn* (see above, Ex. 1610).

15.11.4. After the interrogative *in* (see below, Ex. 1589).

15.11.5. After *iry.tw.f iḫ stp*:

Ex. 642, Mayer A, 6, 15-17: 
dd.f ....

iry.tw.f iḫ ptr.w iw wn.w t3y-ḫt bwpwy.i ptr.w iw wn.w t3y-ḫt, He said .... 'What do you mean (by saying) that they were seen while they opened this seal? I did not see them opening it (lit. 'this seal').'

15.12. *bwpw.f stp.f* can be preceded by the conjunction *ḫr* (see above Ex. 615).

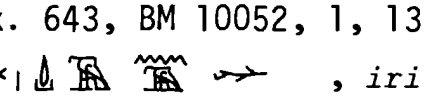
15.13. Bibliography and references.

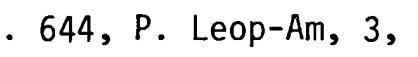
1. *AZ* 42 (1905), 137-139.
2. *AZ* 45 (1908) 73-79; Stricker, *Acta Or.* 16 (1938), 81-83.
3. *AZ* 20 (1882) 7.
4. *AZ* 45 (1908), 77-78.
5. Groll, *Negative*, Section 24.
6. Similarly BM 10052, 4, 12-13.
7. See Groll, *Negative*, Ex. 15; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 252-253.

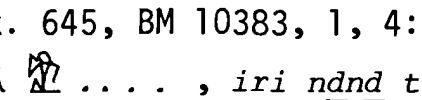
CHAPTER 16. THE PERFECT PASSIVE *STP.F*

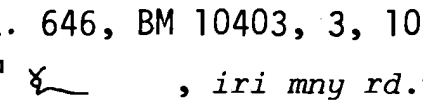
16.1.1. Only a few verbs can take the form of the perfect passive *stp.f*. It is a form which was dying out in Late Egyptian, being replaced by the first present patterns, in which the predicate is the stative of a transitive verb. However, the perfect passive *stp.f* still existed with a limited number of verbs, and especially in the framework of the court proceedings (ie., legalistic terms).

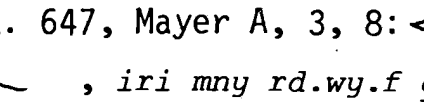
16.1.2. The perfect passive *stp.f* of the verb *iri* appears in the following forms:

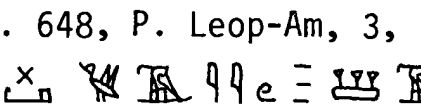
Ex. 643, BM 10052, 1, 13:  , *iri smty.f m bdn*, He was examined (lit. 'His examination was made') with the stick.

Ex. 644, P. Leop-Am, 3, 16:  , *iri smtr.w*, Their examination was effected.

Ex. 645, BM 10383, 1, 4:  , *iri ndnd t3-md.t ....*, . The matter... was examined.

Ex. 646, BM 10403, 3, 10:  , *iri mny rd.wy.f dr.t.f*, His feet and hands were twisted.

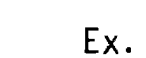
Ex. 647, Mayer A, 3, 8:  , *iri mny rd.wy.f dr.t.f*, His feet and hands were twisted.

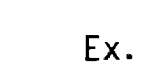
Ex. 648, P. Leop-Am, 3, 19:  , *iri p3y.w smty p3y.w-šȝw.t m sš*, Record was made

in writing of their examination and their condemnation.

16.1.3. The perfect passive *stp.f* of the verb *ini* appears in the following forms:

Ex. 649, BM 10052, 1, 6: , *ini A*, A was brought in.

Ex. 650, BM 10052, 2A, 8:  , *ini A*, A was brought in.

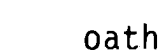
Ex. 651, BM 10052, 16, 20:  , *ini A*, A was brought in.

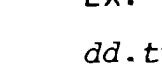
Ex. 652, BM 10053, vs. 4, 5: , *ini A*, A was brought in.

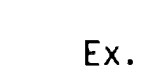
Ex. 653, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 3: , *ḫrw '3 A .... ini.tw.f ....*, The great criminal A .... he was brought in ....

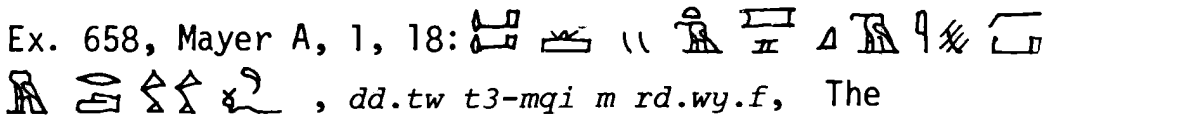
16.1.4. The perfect passive *stp.f* of the verb *di* appears in the following forms:

Ex. 654, BM 10052, 4, 22: , *dd n.f 'nḫ n nb '.w.s.*, There was given to him the oath by the Ruler, l.p.h. .

Ex. 655, BM 10052, 5, 4:  , *dd.tw n.f 'nḫ n nb '.w.s.*, There was given to him the oath by the Ruler, l.p.h. .

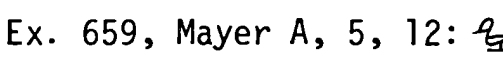
Ex. 656, BM 10052, 4, 14:  , *dd.tw n.f p3-t3w*, He was set at liberty (lit. the breath of air)

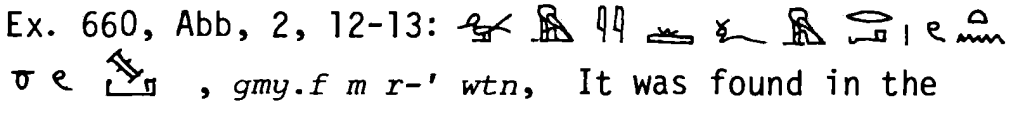
Ex. 657, BM 10052, 7, 9:  , *dd.tw iry.f 'nḫ n nb '.w.s.*, There was given to him the oath by the Ruler, l.p.h..

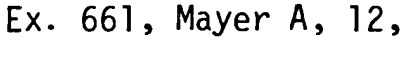
Ex. 658, Mayer A, 1, 18:  , *dd.tw t3-mqi m rd.wy.f*, The screw was put very tight on his feet.

Perhaps the fact that the element *.tw* does not occur in the form of Ex. 654 indicates that the second is the carrier of the passive mood. If this so, it is not a geminated form; it is, rather, a *stp.tw.tw* formation, where the first *tw* is the marker of the passive mood, and the second *tw* is the pronominal suffix.

16.1.5. The verb *gmi*:

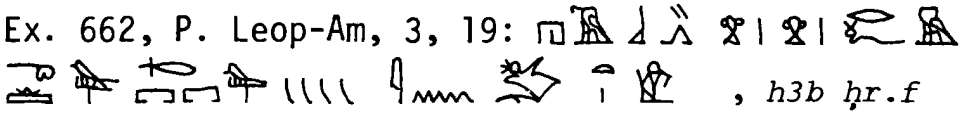
Ex. 659, Mayer A, 5, 12:  , *gmy nbw qd.t 2*, Two *qite* of gold were found.

Ex. 660, Abb, 2, 12-13:  , *gmy.f m r-' wtn*, It was found in the course of being bored into.

Ex. 661, Mayer A, 12, 20:  ,*gmy A*, A was found.

16.1.6. The verb *h3b*:

The verb *h3b* occurs without an immediate actor expression:

Ex. 662, P. Leop-Am, 3, 19:  , *h3b ḥr.f m-b3ḥ pr-'3 '.w.s. in t3ty*, Report was sent about it into the presence of Pharoah l.p.h. by the vizier.

16.1.7. The verb *mḥ*:

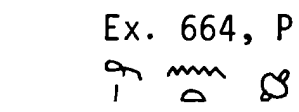
The verb *mḥ* occurs without an actor expression:

Ex. 663, Abb, 4, 9-10:

, ... *di A p3-rn-rn n n3-it̲3.w .... mḥ im.w st d̲dḥ*, ... A placed the list of thieves .... They were siezed and imprisoned.

16.1.8. The verb *sš*:

The verb *sš* occurs without an actor expression:

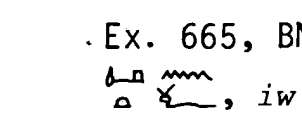
Ex. 664, P. Leop-Am, 4, 3:  , *sš n.w ḥr 'wty n.t*, It was written for them on a roll of papyrus.

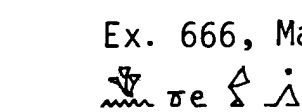
16.1.9. Other verbs:

Other verbs when taking the form of the perfect passive *stp.f* show no specific characteristics.

16.2. The perfect passive *stp.f* after the direct indicators of syntactic initiality.

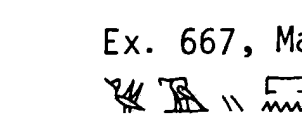
After *d̲d*:

Ex. 665, BM 10052, 2A, 11-12:  , *iw A (ḥr) d̲d wḥm di.t n.f*, Now A said there was given to him (lit. 'the giving was repeated to him of') .... .

Ex. 666, Mayer A, 6, 15:  ,*d̲d.f ptr.w iw.w ḥn*, He said, "They were seen hastening".

16.3. The perfect passive *stp.f* after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After *iw*:

Ex. 667, Mayer A, 6, 8-9:  , *iw iri*

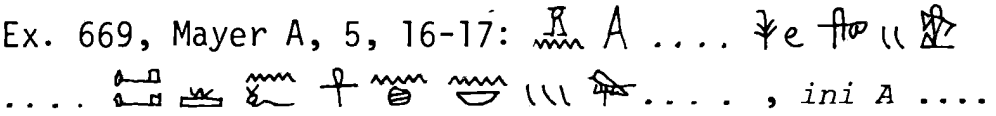
h3w p3y-pr-n-st3 iw dd.tw ḫt im.f, When this portable shrine had been dealt with and set fire to ....

16.4. Verbal formations which can precede the perfect passive *stp.f*.

16.4.1. A perfect active *stp.f*:

Ex. 668, Abb, 7, 12:
gmi.n st wd3 gmy 'd3 m p3y-dd.f nb, We found them intact; all that he said was found false.

16.4.2. A first present formation with the stative of a transitive verb:

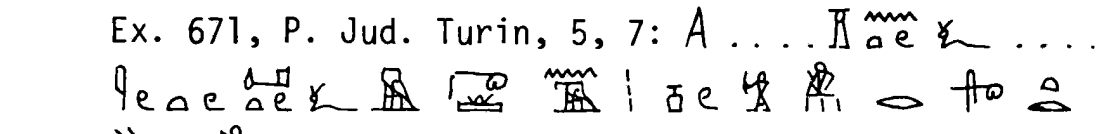
Ex. 669, Mayer A, 5, 16-17: 
sw smty .... dd n.f 'nḫ n nb '.w.s. ...., A was brought in. He was examined .... An oath was administered to him ....

16.4.3. An emphatic *i.iri.f stp.f* formation preceded by *inn*, the perfect passive *stp.f* acting as apodosis.

Ex. 670, Abb, 6, 2-3:
i.iri.tn nhm r p3y-wn.tn im .... th3y (sḫm-r'-šd t3.wy) '.w.s., If you are rejoicing concerning this (tomb) in which you have been .... still, (King) Sekhemreshedtaui, l.p.h., has been violated.

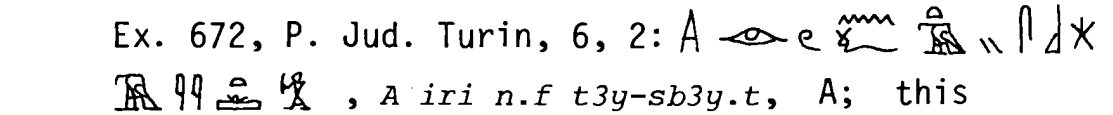
16.5. Verbal formations which can follow a perfect passive *stp.f*.

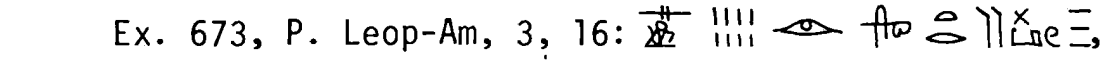
A *iw.tw (ḥr) stp.f* of the past:

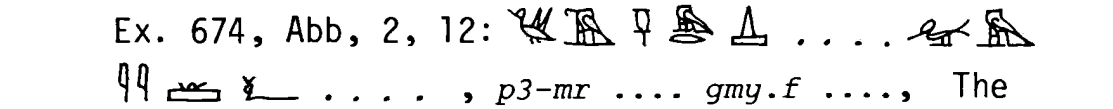
Ex. 671, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 7:  , *A .... ini.tw.f .... iw.tw (ḥr) di.t.f m-b3ḥ n3-wdpw.w r smtr.f*, He was brought .... He was put before the butlers in order to be examined.

16.6. Non-verbal formations which can precede a perfect passive *stp.f*.

A noun or proper name:

Ex. 672, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 2:  , *A iri n.f t3y-sb3y.t*, A; this punishment was done to him.

Ex. 673, P. Leop-Am, 3, 16:  , *s 8 iri smtr.w*, 8 people; they were investigated.

Ex. 674, Abb, 2, 12:  , *p3-mr .... gmy.f ....*, The pyramid ....; it was found ....

16.7. Note that the perfect passive *stp.f* can not be made negative by a specific verbal formation. It is negated by the *bwpw.tw stp.f* formation.

CHAPTER 17. THE AFFIRMATIVE THIRD FUTURE

17.1. Form.

17.1.1. The third future = *iw.f (r) stp.f*. It is a quadripartite formation.

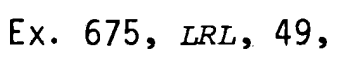
Part I. The *iw* of the future.
Part II. The actor expression, which is either a pronominal suffix or a noun.
Part III. The preposition *r*, which precedes the infinitive.
Part IV. The infinitive, either of a transitive or of an intransitive verb.

17.1.2. The peculiarities of the four parts of the third future.

Part I. The *iw* of the future

a). takes the form of *iri* ( ) when preceding a nominal subject.[1]. However, in certain negative constructions it does not take the form *iri* (see below Ex. 730);[2].

b). can be used outside the third future formation, preceding adverbial phrases;

Ex. 675, *LRL*, 49, 9:  , *iw.s n A*, It is for A.

c). can follow the negative element *bn*; thus the *iw* in every *bn iw* combination is the *iw* of the third future;

d). can follow the relative adjective *nty*; thus the *iw* in every *nty iw* combination is the *iw* of the third future;

e). can follow the *wn* of the past and the *wnn* of the future; thus the *iw* in every *wn iw* or *wnn iw* combination is the *iw* of the third future;

f). can be preceded by the dependent *iw*; thus the second *iw* in every *iw iw* combination is the *iw* of the third future.

g). can follow the direct indicators of initiality.

17.1.3. Part II. The nominal subject can be

a). a defined noun (see Ex. 732);

b). a noun followed by a pronominal suffix;[3.]

c). a personal name.[4.]

17.1.4. Part III. The preposition *r* is very often omitted[5.] (see Ex. 679), and since the preposition *ḥr* of the circumstantial first present, the *iw.f ḥr stp.f* of the future and the *iw.f ḥr stp.f* of the past is also omitted, there is the difficulty of distinguishing between the *iw.f ḥr stp.f* of the relative present (see below 19.13.3.), of the future (see below Chapter 40) and of the past (see below Chapter 38), and the *iw.f r stp.f* of the future.

It is only by syntactical analysis that one can single out the distinctive formations.

One must bear in mind that the dependent *iw* (ie. the circumstantial *iw*) in contradistinction to the *iw* of the third future, cannot

1. follow the negative element *bn*, but can only precede it;

2. follow *nty*;

3. follow the *wn* of the past, but only precede it;

4. follow the direct indicators of initiality (ie. *iw* in the combinations *r-dd iw*, *ky-dd iw*, and *r-nty iw* is always the *iw* of the third future. Thus, although the circumstantial *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f*, the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future, the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past and the third future are outwardly very often identical, they are distinguishable by their different syntactical occurrences.)

17.1.5. Part IV. The infinitive of the third future can be that of a transitive (see Ex.677)or an intransitive verb (see Ex. 682).

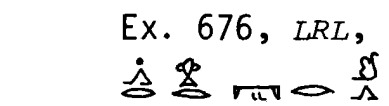
17.2. The time indication of the third future.

1. The immediate future (see Ex. 1032).

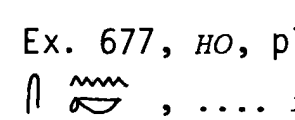
2. The distant future (see Exx. 708, 724).

17.3. The third future after the direct indicators of initiality.

17.3.1. After a verbal formation composed with the verb *dd*.

Ex. 676, *LRL*, 7, 16- 8, 1:  , *ḫr sw (ḥr) dd iw.i (r) ts.t r-ḥry r pḥ A .... ḫr.f*, And he keeps saying, "I shall go up to attack A ...." so he keeps saying.

17.3.2. After *r-dd*:

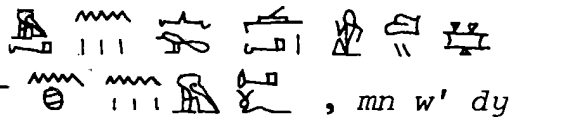
Ex. 677, *HO*, pl. LXXVII, rt. 3:  , ... *r-dd iw.i r in.t.s n.k*, ... saying,

"I shall bring her to you".

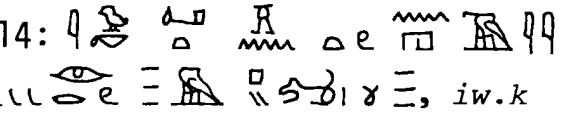
17.4. The third future after the indirect indicators of initiality.

17.4.1. After the dependent *iw*.[6.]

a). *iw iw.f (r) stp.f* as a virtual relative clause (see below 54.3.):

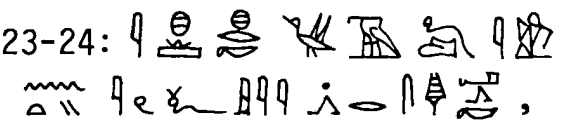
Ex. 678, *LRL*, 29, 16:  , *mn w' dy iw iw.n (r) ndnd 'nḫ.n m-di.f*, There is no-one here from whom we will take advice about our life sustenance.

b). *iw iw.f (r) stp.f* as a circumstantial clause indicating future perfect tense:

Ex. 679, *LRL*, 35, 13-14:  , *iw.k (r) di.t ini.tw nh3y n ḥbs .... iw iw.tw (r) ir.t.w m pyr*, You shall send some cloth .... made into bandages (lit. 'after one shall have made it as bandages').

17.4.2. After *nty*.

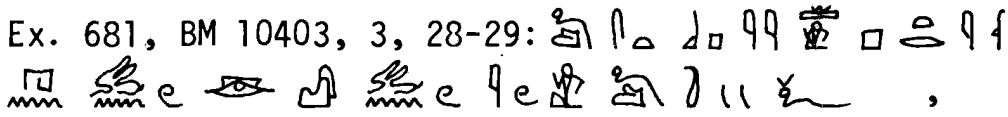
The statement that every *iw* following *nty* is the *iw* of the future is based on the fact that there exists neither the pattern **nty iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* nor the pattern **nty iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f*.

Ex. 680, Mayer A, 8, 23-24:  , *iḫ ḫr.k p3-dd i.iri nfw A .... nty iw.f (r) iy r s'ḥ'.k*, What have you to say regarding the statement of the sailor A .... who will come to accuse you?

17.4.3. After the *wn* of the past.

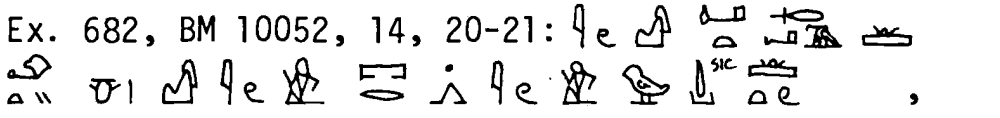
The statement that every *iw* which follows the *wn* of the past is the *iw* of the future is based on the fact there exists no **wn iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f* formation, but that *wn bn iw.f (r) stp.f* does exist. (I.e., the *iw* which follows *wn* is not the circumstantial *iw*. It is, rather, the *iw* which can follow the negative element *bn*, hence the *iw* of the third future.)

In the apodosis of an unfulfilled conditional sentence.

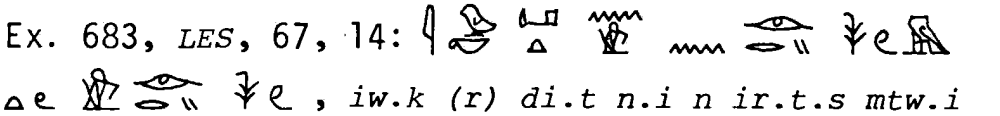
Ex. 681, BM 10403, 3, 28-29:  *dd.s bwpwy.i ptr hn wn ptr.i wn iw.i (r) dd.f*, She said, "I did not see (anything). If I had seen (something), I would have said so".

17.5. Verbal formations which can follow a third future formation.

17.5.1. Another third future.

Ex. 682, BM 10052, 14, 20-21:  *iw.t (r) di.t '3 ḥ3ty.t iw.i (r) pr.t iw.i wd3.tw*, If you keep a stout heart,[8] I will get off safe.

17.5.2. A conjunctive:

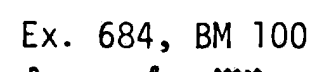
Ex. 683, *LES*, 67, 14:  *iw.k (r) di.t n.i n ir.t.s mtw.i ir.t.s*, If you pay (lit. 'give to') me for doing it, then I will do it.

17.5.3. The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past:

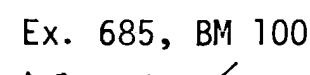
The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past can follow a third future

formation used in direct speech without being preceded by the formulae for ending quotations (see above 10.3.).

Compare

Ex. 684, BM 10052, 4, 9-10:  ...., *iw.i (ḥr) dd n.f iw.w (r) š'd.k .... iw.f (ḥr) dd n.i ....*, I said to him, "They will mutilate you ...." and he said to me ....;

with

Ex. 685, BM 10052, 10, 7-8:  , *i.gr tw iw.n (r) di.t n.k w'-d3iw i.n.w n.f iw.w (ḥr) di.t n.f w'-d3iw*, "Shut up! We will give you a *d3iw*-cloth," so they said to him. And they gave him a *d3iw*-cloth.

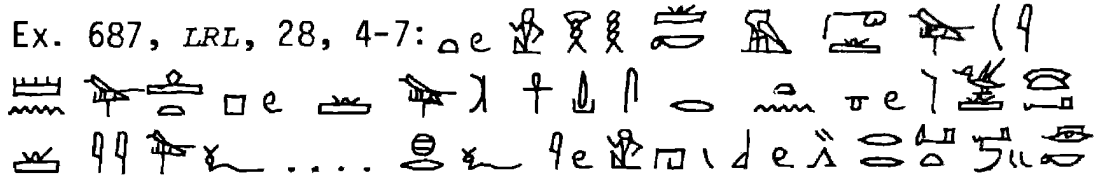
17.5.4. The first present.

Note that a first present formation can follow a third future used in direct speech without being preceded by the formulae for ending quotations. Instead the first present is preceded by a particle.

Ex. 686, BM 10383, 3, 6-7: , *iw p3-ḥ3ty-'(ḥr) dd iw.i (r) di.t.f ptr sw w3ḥ (ḥr-)'.wy A .... m p3-hrw*, The mayor said, "I will give it". Behold, it is lying in the possession of A .... today.

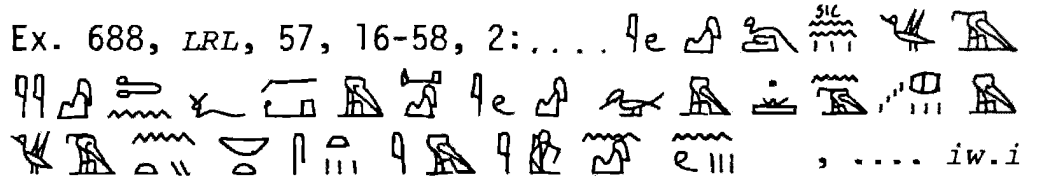
17.6. Verbal sentence patterns which are capable of preceding a third future formation.

17.6.1. A first present formation which indicates the simple present tense.

Ex. 687, *LRL*, 28, 4-7: 

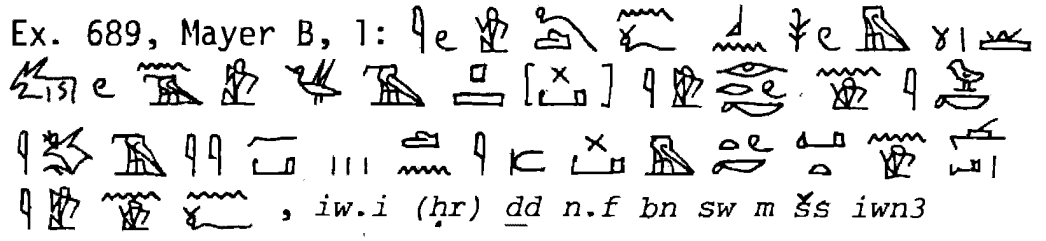
tw.i (ḥr) w3ḥ.k m-b3ḥ (imn-ḥtp '.w.s. r-ṯnw ḫ'y.f .... ḫr.f iw.i (r) h3b r di.t 'm3.k, "I put you before Amonhotep every time he appears ...." so he keeps saying. I will write to let you know.

17.6.2. A first present, the second position of which is filled by an adverbial phrase.

Ex. 688, *LRL*, 57, 16-58, 2: 

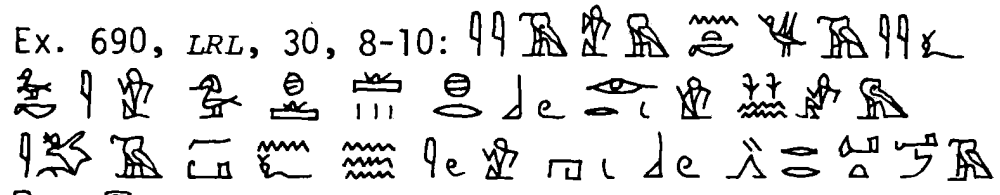
iw.i (ḥr) dd n.w p3y.i-ṯnf m-di.i iw.i (r) gm.t n3-it m p3-nty nb st im i.n.i n.w, I said to them, "I have the right to check (lit. 'my check is with me'); I will find the barley wherever it is, " so I said to them.

17.6.3. A negative first present formation.

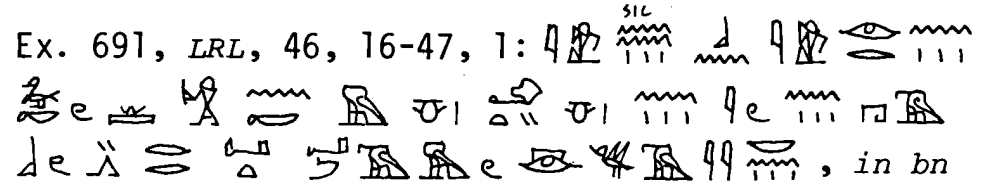
Ex. 689, Mayer B, 1: 

iw.i (ḥr) dd n.f bn sw m šs iwn3 p3-pš i.iri.k n.i iw.k (r) it3.t 3 dni.t mtw.k di.t n.i w' i.n.i n.f, "The share you have given me is not at all fair. (Lit. 'It is not all right, this division which you have made for me'.) You intend to take three parts and to leave me one". (Lit. 'You will take ....') So I said to him.

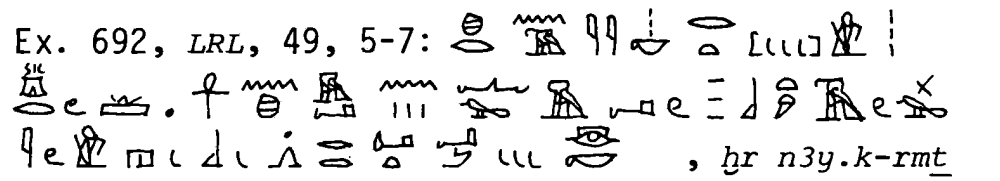
17.6.4. A *bw iri.f stp.f* formation.

Ex. 690, *LRL*, 30, 8-10:  , *y3 ntk p3y.f-b3k 3ḥ ḫr bw iri.i nn.t m it3.t n.f mw iw.i (r) h3b r di.t 'm3.k*, Indeed you are his efficient servant. (And) I do not neglect taking water to him. I will write to inform you.

17.6.5. An emphatic formation which indicates the simple present tense.

Ex. 691, *LRL*, 46, 16-47, 1:  , *in bn i.iri.n b3k n.k m ib ḥ3ty.n iw.n (r) h3b r di.t 'm3 p3y.n-nb*, Is it not with our whole heart (lit. from the bottom of our heart), that we serve you? We will write to inform our lord.

17.6.6. After a *mn m-di.f ø-A* construction.

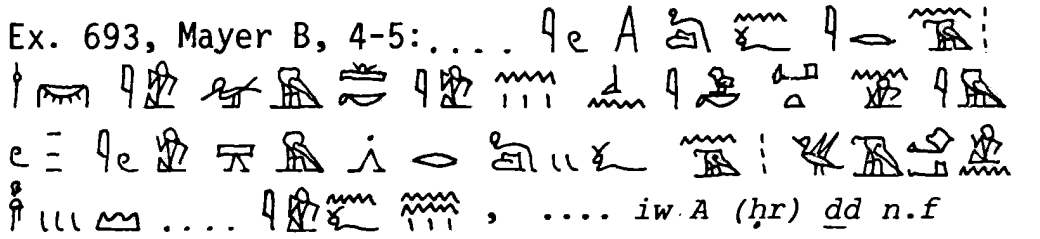
Ex. 692, *LRL*, 49, 5-7:  , *ḫr n3y.k-rmt ḏr.w 'nḫ mn m-di.w bt3 iw.i (r) h3b r di.t 'm3.k*, All your people are alive. There is nothing wrong with them. I will write to inform you.

17.7. Non-verbal sentence patterns capable of preceding a third future formation.

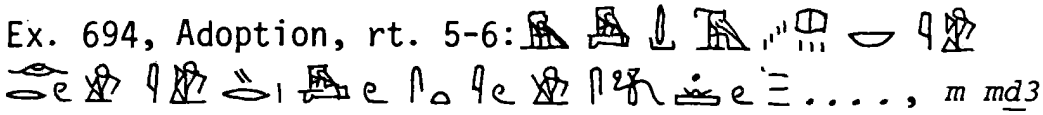
17.7.1. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

That an *iw.f stp.f* formation after a frontal extraposition

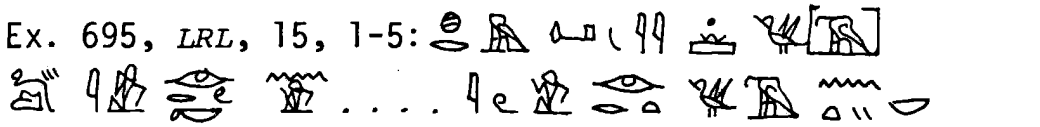
indicating future time is the third future is shown by the following example:

Ex. 693, Mayer B, 4-5:  .... *iw A (ḥr) dd n.f ir n3-ḥd i.gmi.k inn bn iw.k (r) di.t n.i im.w iw.i (r) šm r dd.f (n) n3(-n)-p3-ḥ3ty-' n imnt.t .... i.n.f n.n*, ... And A said to him, "As for the silver which you found, if you do not give me some of it, I shall go to tell it to the men of the Mayor of the West ...." So he said to us.

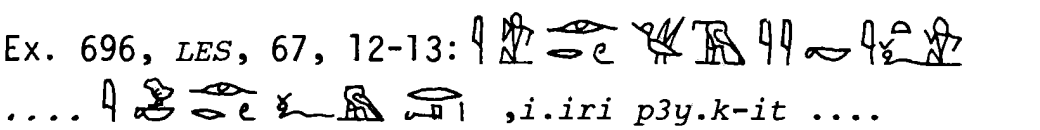
17.7.2. A frontal extraposition introduced by *m*.

Ex. 694, Adoption, rt. 5-6:  *m md3 nb i.iri.i irm.s iw.i (r) swḏ.w ...*, All profit that I have made with her, I will bequeath it ....

17.7.3. A frontal extraposition introduced by *ḫr m-dy*.

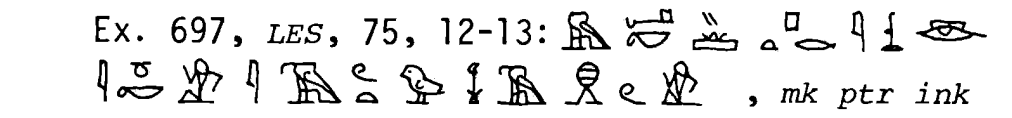
Ex. 695, *LRL*, 15, 1-5:  *ḫr m-dy p(3)-dd i.iri.k n.i .... iw.i (r) ir.t p3-nty nb iw.k (r) dd.f*, As for what you said to me.... I shall do everything you shall tell me.

17.7.4. A frontal extraposition with no introductory particle.

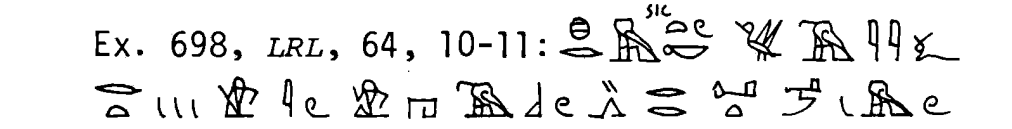
Ex. 696, *LES*, 67, 12-13:  *,i.iri p3y.k-it .... iw.k (r) ir.t.f m r-'*, The thing which your

father did .... you will do it also.

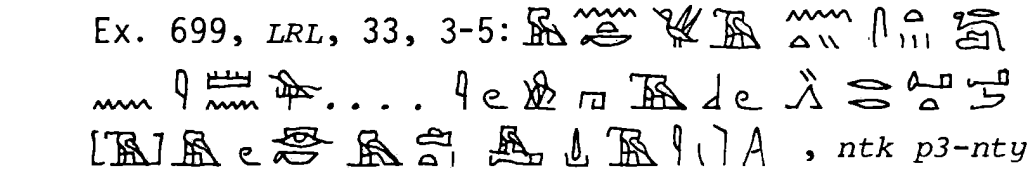
17.7.5. A frontal extraposition consisting of the independent pronoun.

Ex. 697, *LES*, 75, 12-13:  , *mk ptr ink iw.tw (r) wḫ3.i*, Look now, as for me, they will look for me.

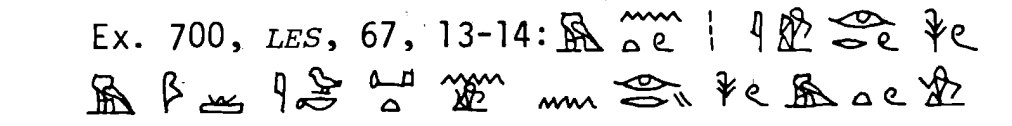
17.7.6. A bimembral nominal sentence.

Ex. 698, *LRL*, 64, 10-11:  , *ḫr ntk p3y.f-rmṯ iw.i (r) h3b r di.t 'm3.k m ḏr.t A*, You are his father (lit. 'person'). I will write to inform you through A.

17.7.7. A nominal cleft sentence indicating the simple present.

Ex. 699, *LRL*, 33, 3-5:  , *ntk p3-nty st (ḥr) ḏd n imn .... iw.i (r) h3b r di.t 'm3.k m-ḏr.t mḏ3i A*, You are the one whom they tell Amon .... I will write to let you know through the policeman A.

17.7.8. A participial sentence.

Ex. 700, *LES*, 67, 13-14:  , *ntw i.iri sw m m3'.t iw.k (r) di.t n.i n ir.t.s mtw.i ir.t.s*, Truly, it is they who

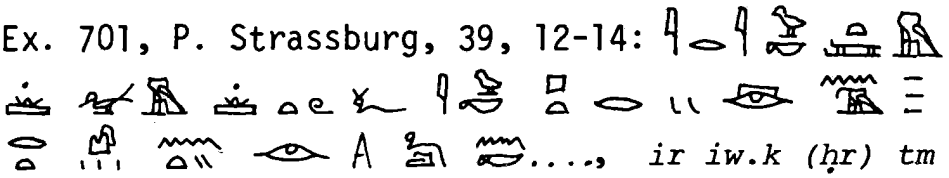
performed it. (If) you pay me for doing it, I will do it.

17.8. The *iw.f (r) stp.f* after particles. Introduction.

Since not every *iw.f stp.f* formation which indicates future tense is a *iw.f (r) stp.f* formation, one must look for negative constructions in order to classify the grammatical rules involved.

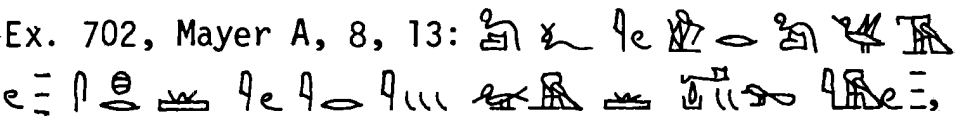
17.9. Particles which are not followed by the *iw* of the third future.

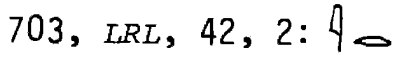
17.9.1. *ir*, "If'.

Ex. 701, P. Strassburg, 39, 12-14: 
ir iw.k (ḥr) tm gm.t iw.k (r) ptr n3-rmṯ nty iri A (r) ḏd n.k ...., If you find him, you will look up the people about whom A will say to you, ...

Conclusion. Since the *ir iw.f stp.f* construction is here made negative by *ir iw.f tm stp.f* and not by **ir bn iw.f stp.f* nor by **ir iw bn sw stp.f*, the *iw* following *ir* has to be classified as the successive *iw* of the future (see below 37.3. and 40.2.); i.e. it is neither the *iw* of the third future, nor the circumstantial *iw*.

Thus, the following formations are the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future:

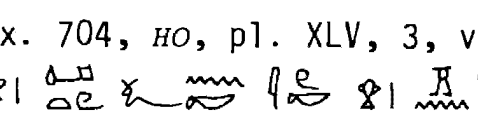
Ex. 702, Mayer A, 8, 13: 
ḏd.f iw.i r ḏd p3y.w-sḫr iw ir iw.tw (ḥr) gm.t 'ḏ3 im.w ...., He said, "I will tell their history, but if falsehood is found in it ...."

Ex. 703, *LRL*, 42, 2:  ...., *ir iw.i (ḥr) gm.t r-dd* ...., If I find that ....

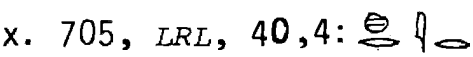
However, it would appear that in Ex. 1608, *ir* is followed by the circumstantial *iw*.

17.9.2. *ḫr ir*, 'And if'.

The *iw* which follows *ḫr ir* is the dependent *iw*:

Ex. 704, *HO*, pl. XLV, 3, vs. 1-3:  , *ḫr ir iw bn sw ḥr di.t.f n.k iw.k ḥr in.t n.i* ...., And if he does not give it to you, you will bring me ....

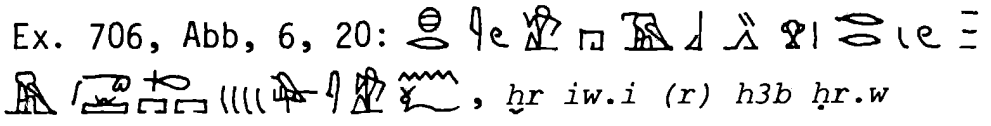
Since the *iw* here precedes *bn*, one may assume that a *iw* which follows *ḫr ir* is the circumstantial *iw*. Thus the following *iw.i 'm3* is the *iw.i (ḥr) 'm3* of the circumstantial first present.

Ex. 705, *LRL*, 40,4:  , *ḫr ir iw.i (ḥr) 'm3 r-dd* ...., And if I come to know that ....

Conclusion: Thus, *iw* which follows *ir* can be both the dependent *iw* and the successive *iw* of the future. However, the successive *iw* of the future can be followed only by infinitives, whereas the dependent *iw* can be followed by infinitives, statives, and adverbial phrases.

17.9.3. *ḫr*, "And'.

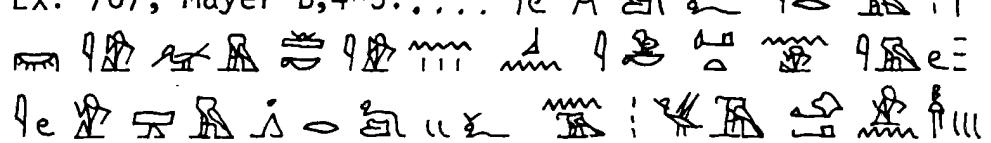
Since *ḫr* + the dependent *iw* indicates the notion of 'although',[9.] one can assume that when it indicates both succession and future time, one is not dealing with the dependent *iw*, which is reserved for the 'although' notion, but rather with the *iw.f (r) stp.f* formation.

Ex. 706, Abb, 6, 20:  , *ḫr iw.i (r) ḥ3b ḫr.w m-b3ḥ pr-'3 '.w.s. i.n.f*, "And I will write about them to Pharoah, l.p.h.," so he said.

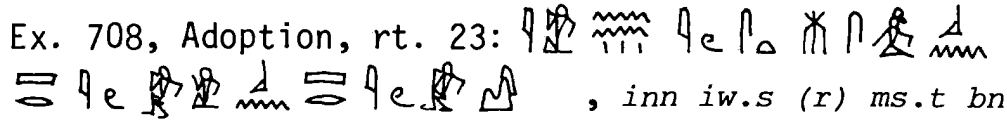
17.10. Particles which, when followed by *iw*, are apparently followed only by the *iw* of the third future.

17.10.1. *inn*, 'if', (= Hebrew).

The assumption that every *iw* following *inn* is the *iw* of the third future is based on the observation that there apparently exists neither a **inn iw bn sw (ḫr) stp.f* formation nor a **inn iw.f (ḫr) tm stp.f* formation, but a *inn bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation does exist.

Ex. 707, Mayer B,4-5:  , ... *iw A (ḫr) dd n.f ir n3-ḫd i.gmi.k inn bn iw.k (r) di.t n.i im.w iw.i (r) šm r dd.f (n) n3(-n)-p3-ḫ3ty-' n imnt.t .... i.n.f n.n*, A told him, "As for the silver which you found, if you do not give me some, I shall go and tell the men of Mayor of the West". So he said to us.

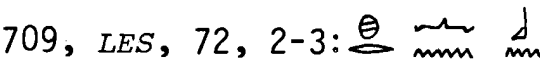
Thus, the following *inn iw.f stp.f* formations should be classified as *inn iw.f (r) stp.f*.

Ex. 708, Adoption, rt. 23:  , *inn iw.s (r) ms.t bn šri bn šri.t*, And if she bears either a son or a daughter ....

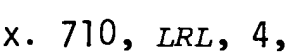
17.10.2. *in* (the interrogative particle).

The assumption that every *iw* following *in* is the *iw* of

the third future is based on the observation that there apparently exists neither a **in iw bn sw (ḫr) stp.f* nor a **in iw.f (ḫr) tm stp.f* formation but a *in bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation does exist.

Ex. 709, *LES*, 72, 2-3:  , *ḫr (i)n bn iw.w (r) di.t.s n.k ....*, Or if they will not give it to you ....[10].

Thus, the following formation should be classified as a *iw.k (r) in.t.i* formation.

Ex. 710, *LRL*, 4, 5:  , *(i)n iw.k (r) in.t.(i)*, Will you bring me back?

17.11. Sentence patterns in which the third future is used.

17.11.1. As a protasis, when following the particle *inn* (see above 17.10.1.).

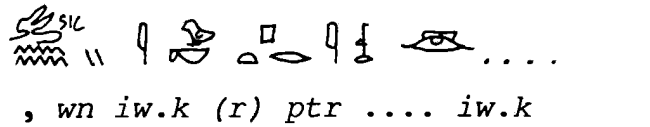
17.11.2. As a protasis following *wn*.

A double third future complex can be preceded by the *wn* of the past.

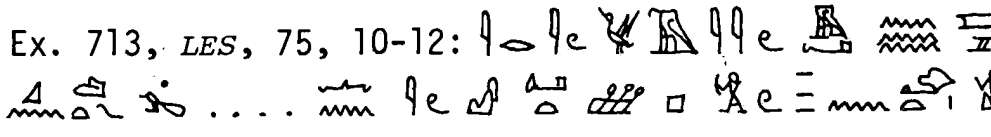
Compare

Ex. 711, BM 10052, 15, 2-3: , *wn iw.tw (r) gm.t m3'.t iw.tn (r) ir.t n.i sb3y.t nb bin*, Should it be found to be true, you may inflict on me any dreadful punishment;

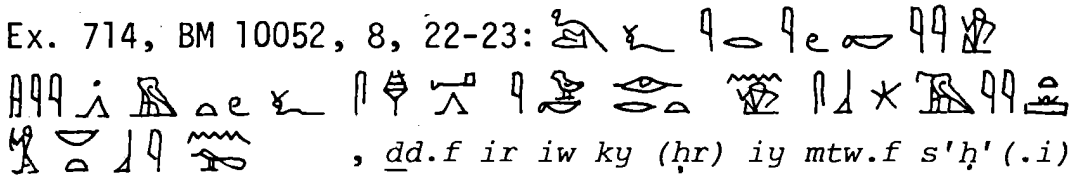
with

Ex. 712, *LES*, 72, 4-5:  , *wn iw.k (r) ptr .... iw.k (r) ptr ....*, Should you pay attention to (lit. 'see') .... you should pay attention to (lit. 'see').... .

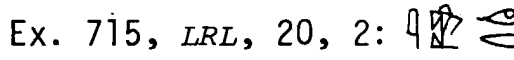
17.11.3. As an apodosis, when the protasis is introduced by *ir*.

Ex. 713, *LES*, 75, 10-12: 
ir iw p3-ym (ḥr) qnd .... (i)n iw.t (r) di.t ssp.w n ḥ3t.i, If the sea becomes stormy .... Will you let them meet me?

Since on the one hand the interrogative particle *in* (here written) has not yet been found preceding a *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* formation, and, on the other hand, it can precede a third future formation, one may assume that in the *ir iw.f (ḥr) stp.f .... iw.f stp.f* complex, the *iw.f stp.f* is the third future. Thus the following *iw.f stp.f* formation is to be classified as a third future.

Ex. 714, BM 10052, 8, 22-23: 
, *dd.f ir iw ky (ḥr) iy mtw.f s'ḥ'(.i) iw.k (r) ir.t n.i sb3y.t nb bin*, He said, "If someone else comes and accuses me, you will punish me with any dreadful punishment".

17.11.4. As an apodosis when the protasis is imperative.

Ex. 715, *LRL*, 20, 2: 
i.iri st iw.i (r) di.t n.k ...., Make it! I will pay you ....

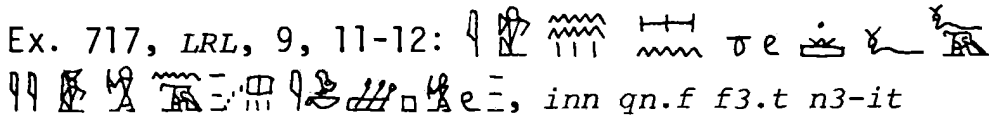
17.12. A *iw.f stp.f* formation following a *wnn.f* formation is not a third future.

Note, however, that when a *iw.f stp.f* formation functions as the apodosis of either a *wnn.f (ḥr) stp.f* protasis, or a *ḥr wnn.f (ḥr) stp.f* protasis, it is not a third future, because it is negated by the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the future (see below Chapter 41).

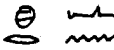
17.13. The third future as the apodosis following a protasis introduced by *inn.* + a first present formation.

Ex. 716, *LRL*, 69, 15: , *inn n3y.k-sḫn.w 'š3 r.k bn iw.k (r) rḫ šm m p3y-sḫn*, Even if your commissions are too much for you (lit. 'too many for you'), you can not give up (lit. 'leave from') this commission.

Thus the *iw.k stp.w* formation in the following example is the third future:

Ex. 717, *LRL*, 9, 11-12:  , *inn qn.f f3.t n3-it iw.k (r) šsp.w*, If he has finished transporting the grain, you shall receive them.

17.14. Bibliography and references.

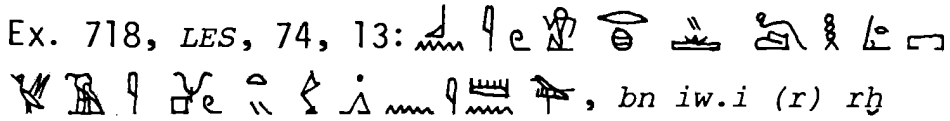
1. See Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930), 220-228; however see also Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 101.
2. See Groll, *Negative*, 136-138.
3. Mayer A, 8, 6.
4. Mayer A, 1, 3.
5. Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 227-228; Polotsky, *Papers*, 240, n.1 (= *Or.* 29 (1960), 394; Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, 53.
6. See Gardiner, *PSBA* 31 (1909), 13, n.3; *JEA* 19 (1933) 27, n. 14 and 15; Erman, *NAG*, 522; Černý, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 18-19; *JEA* 31 (1945), 41, h; Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), 120-123.
7. *LRL* 64, 13-14.
8. But see Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses*, 52-56.
9. See Gardiner, *RdE* 6 (1951) 120, n.1.
10. Taking  , *ḫr in*, as equivalent to Bohairic ⲩⲁⲛ , 'or'. Crum, 5686.

CHAPTER 18. THE NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE

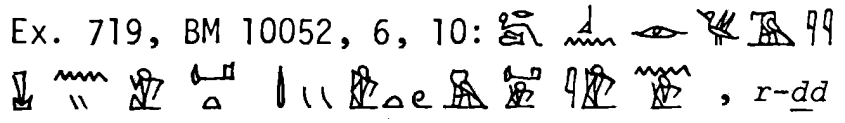
18.1. The negation of the third future.[1]

The third future is made negative by a preceding *bn*. There are in fact four ways of making a third future negative

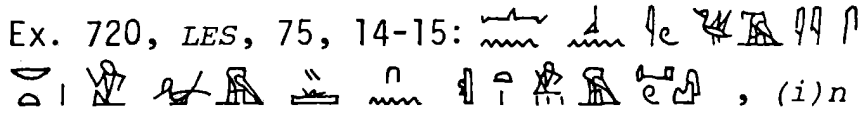
18.1.1. *bn iw.f (r) stp.f.*

Ex. 718, *LES*, 74, 13:  , *bn iw.i (r) rḫ ddḥ p3-ipwty n imn*, I cannot imprison the envoy of Amon.

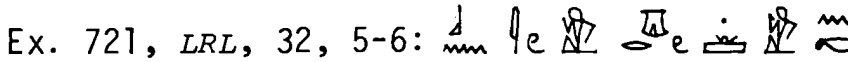
18.1.2. *bn iri A (r) stp.f* (i.e. the actor expression is a noun, preceded by *iri*).

Ex. 719, BM 10052, 6, 10:  , *r-dd bn iri p3y.i-sn (r) di.t mdw.tw m-di.i i.n.i*, Saying, "My brother will not allow me to be interfered with (lit. 'will not allow anyone to argue with me')," so I said (to them).

18.1.3. *bn iw A stp.f* (i.e. the actor expression is a noun, preceded by *iw*).

Ex. 720, *LES*, 75, 14-15:  , *(i)n bn iw p3y.s-nb gm.t 10 n is.t m-di.t*, Won't her master find ten crews belonging to you?

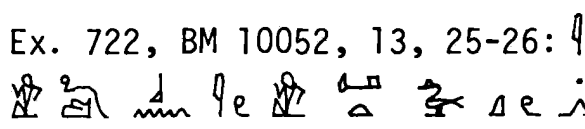
18.1.4. *bn iw.f (r) stp.f iwn3.*

Ex. 721, *LRL*, 32, 5-6: 

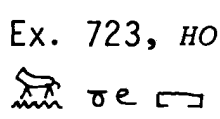
, *bn iw.i (r) gr n.k iwn3 ....*,
I will not stop mentioning to you .... .

18.2. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation after the direct indicators of initiality.

18.2.1. After a verbal formation composed with the verb *dd*.

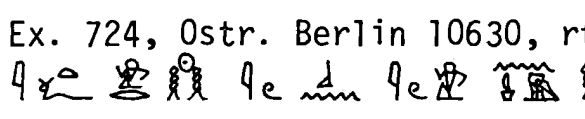
Ex. 722, BM 10052, 13, 25-26:  , *iw p3y.i-i(t) (ḥr) dd bn iw.i (r) di.t 'q p3-rmt (r) p3y.i-pr*, My father said, "I will not allow the man to enter my house".

18.2.2. After *r-dd*.

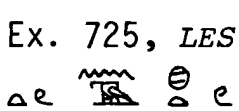
Ex. 723, *HO*, pl. LXX, 1, vs. 8:  , *r-dd bn iw.i r ḥn.t n sš-qd A m r-'*, Saying, "I shall still not (go) in to (the house of) the painter A."

18.3. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.

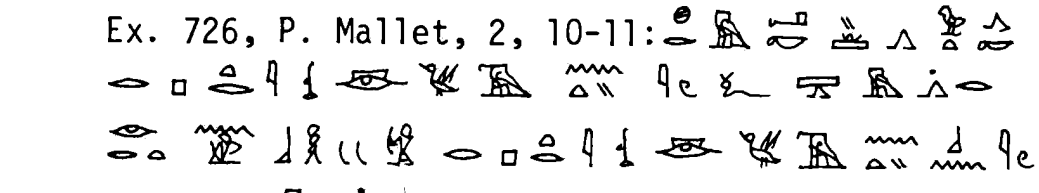
18.3.1. After *iw*.

Ex. 724, Ostr. Berlin 10630, rt. 6-8:  ,
iw.k m-di.i m it r nḥḥ iw bn iw.i (r) nmḥ im.k,
You will be my father (lit. 'a father with me') for ever, and I will never be an orphan with you.

18.3.2. After *wn*.

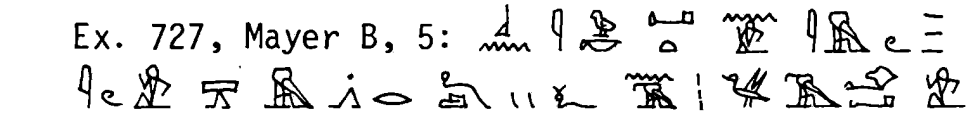
Ex. 725, *LES*, 69, 16:  , *wn bn iw.w (r) di.t ini.tw n3-ḫ.t*, They would not have sent the payments.

18.3.3. After *nty*.

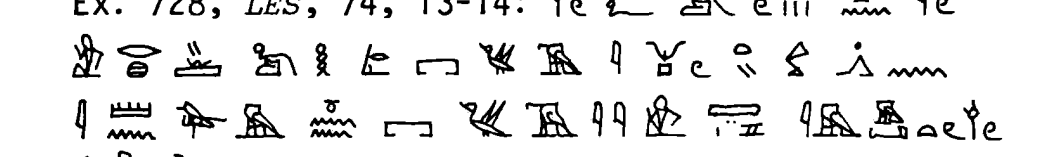
Ex. 726, P. Mallet, 2, 10-11: 
ḫr mk iw.k r ptr p3-nty iw.f (r) šm r ir.t n.i bḥ r ptr p3-nty bn iw.f r šm,
And behold, you will come to see the person who will go to do the corvée for me, and to see him who will not go.

18.4. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation can be followed by

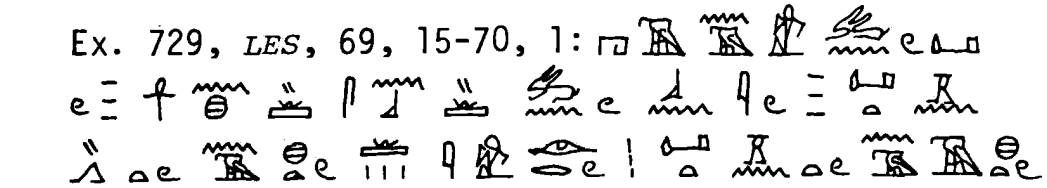
18.4.1. An affirmative third future formation.

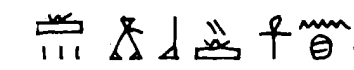
Ex. 727, Mayer B, 5: 
bn iw.k (r) di.t n.i im.w iw.i (r) šm r dd.f (n) n3(-n) p3-ḫ3ty-', If you don't give me (some) of them, I will go and tell the mayor's (men) about it.[2.]

18.4.2. An imperative.

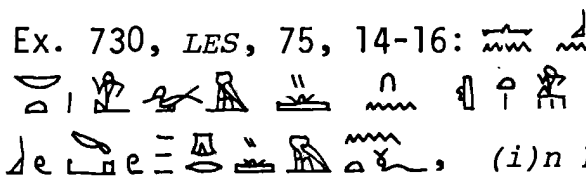
Ex. 728, *LES*, 74, 13-14: 
iw.f (ḫr) dd n.w bn iw.i (r) rḫ ddḥ p3-ipwty n imn m-ḫnw p3y.i-t3 imi tw wd.i sw, He said to them, "I can not imprison the envoy of Amon within my territory. Let me send him away."

18.4.3. An emphatic formation.

Ex. 729, *LES*, 69, 15-70, 1: 

 , *hn wn (m-)di.w 'nḫ snb wn bn iw.w (r) di.t ini.tw n3-ḫ.t i.iri.w di.t ini.tw n3-3ḫ.t (r-)db3 'nḫ snb (n) n3y.k-it.w*, Had they had life and health they would not have sent payment. Instead of the life and health for your ancestors they sent payment.

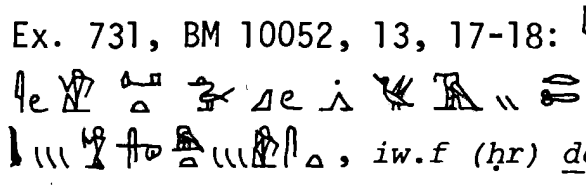
18.4.4. The conjunctive.

Ex. 730, *LES*, 75, 14-16:  , *(i)n bn iw p3y.s-nb gm.t 10 n is.t m-di.t mtw.f ḥdb.w gr ntf*, Will not its lord (be able to) find ten crews of yours, and kill them, he also.

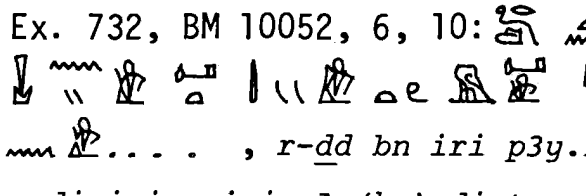
18.4.5. Indirect speech.

Note that *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* can be followed by indirect speech without the formulae for ending quotations.

Compare

Ex. 731, BM 10052, 13, 17-18:  , *iw.f (ḥr) dd n.i bn iw.i (r) di.t 'q p3y-rmt r p3y.i-pr whm smty.s*, And he said to me, "I will not let this man enter my house". They renewed her inquisition;

with

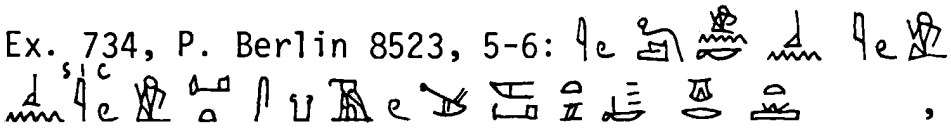
Ex. 732, BM 10052, 6, 10:  , *r-dd bn iri p3y.i-sn (r) di.t mdw.tw m-di.i i.n.i iw A (ḥr) di.t n.i ....*, Saying, "My brother will not let anyone argue with me", so I said, and A gave me ....

18.5. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* can be preceded by the following verbal formations.

18.5.1. The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.

Ex. 733, BM 10052, 12, 8: , *iw.i (ḥr) dd bn iw.i (r) šm*, (But) I said, "I will not go".

18.5.2. *iw* + the perfect active *stp.f*.

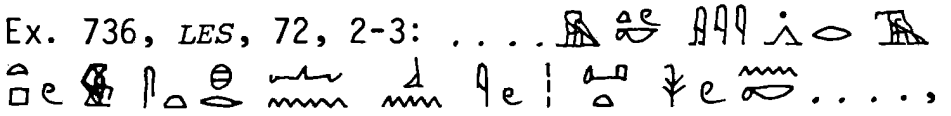
Ex. 734, P. Berlin 8523, 5-6:  ,
iw dd.i n.k bn iw.i bn iw.i (r) di.t sk3.k gr, Since I had told you, "I will not let you plough again".

In the above example the repetition of *bn iw.i* may be dittography or repetition for emphasis.

18.5.3. The initial prospective *stp.f*.

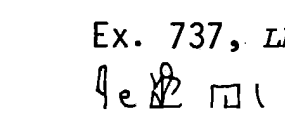
Ex. 735, *LRL*, 48, 1-2: ,
ḫr iry n.k imn-r' .... nfr nb bn iw.k (r) 3ty m (n)kt, And may Amon-re do every good for you .... and you should not be lacking in anything.[3.]

18.5.4. The conjunctive.

Ex. 736, *LES*, 72, 2-3:  ,
.... mtw.k iy r 3tp.s ḫr (i)n bn iw.w (r) di.t.s n.k ...., ... and you shall come to load it. Or, if they will not give it to you .... .

18.6. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* can follow subordinate clauses.

18.6.1. The apodosis of a conditional clause introduced by *ir* (see above 17.11.3.).

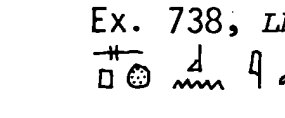
Ex. 737, *LRL*, 68, 9-10: 
ir iw.k m t3ty bn iw.i (r) h3.t r n3y.k-skty, If you were to be vizier, I would not embark on (lit. 'descend to') your ships.

18.6.2. The apodosis of a conditional clause introduced by *inn*.

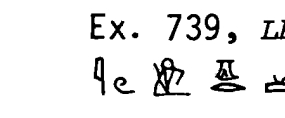
See above Ex. 716.

18.7. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation preceded by non-verbal constructions.

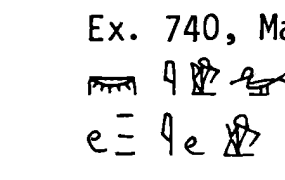
18.7.1. An adverbial phrase.

Ex. 738, *LRL*, 7, 13-14: 
iw.f (ḥr) dd n.i r-dd ky sp bn iw.k (r) ii i.n.f n.i, He said to me, "Will you not come another time?" so he said to me.

18.7.2. A bimembral nominal sentence.

Ex. 739, *LRL*, 73, 1: 
iḫ m md.t t3y bn iw.i (r) gr n.k ḥr.s, What kind of business is it? I shall not keep quiet (lit. 'be silent') about it to you.

18.7.3. A frontal extraposition.

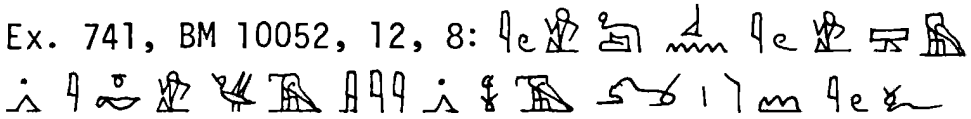
Ex. 740, Mayer B, 4-5: 

, *iw A (ḥr) dd n.f ir n3-ḥd i.gmi.k inn bn iw.k (r) di.t n.i im.w iw.i (r) šm r dd.f (n) n3-(-n)-p3-ḥ3ty-' n imnt.t .... i.n.f n.n*, A said to him, "As for the silver which you found, if you do not give some to me, I will go and tell the (men) of the mayor of the West about it ...." so he said to us.

Note that 'If you do not give ....' is an example of the future conditional. It is equivalent to Boh. ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲩ.[4]

18.8. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation followed by a non-verbal construction.

The participial statement.

Ex. 741, BM 10052, 12, 8:  , *iw.i (ḥr) dd bn iw.i (r) šm ink p3-iy ḫ3rw iw.f (r) kš*, I said, "I will not go. Am I one who has returned from Syria, en route to Kush?"

18.9. The *bn iw.f (r) stp.f* formation following particles.

18.9.1. After *inn*.

See above Ex. 707.

18.9.2. After the interrogative particle *in*.

See above Ex. 730.

18.10. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 764; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 248-249; Groll, *Negative*, Section 47; Stern, *Grammatik*, 397; Polotsky, *Papers*, 219-222 (= *Crum Studies*, 84-87).
2. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses*, 56-58.
3. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses*, 61-64.
4. Černý, *AZ* 90 (1963), 13-16.

CHAPTER 19. THE FIRST PRESENT

19.1. The time indication of the first present.

The classification of the paradigm in which the first position is filled by the pronominal preformatives *tw.i*, *tw.k*, *sw*, etc. (see above 2.6.) as 'first present' is rather misleading. Some of the first present patterns indeed express present tenses, but some of them express past tenses; however, they never express future tenses. The tense of a first present is dependent on:

1. the type of verb functioning as the predicate;

2. the type of grammatical form the predicate takes:
   a). an infinitive with *m* or *ḥr*;
   b). a stative;

3. the type of particles or conjunctions preceding it; eg. *ptr* or *ḥr ir*.

The statement that a first present can express the past and the present tenses is based on the fact that certain patterns are compatible only with certain types of adverbs of time.

One may, of course, assume that the first present is indifferent to time indication, and that it expresses only various aspects and modes of action. However, since there is evidence that not every first present pattern is compatible with every kind of adverb of time, one may assume that the first present is not indifferent to time indication. Moreover, there are strong indications that distinctive first present patterns take distinctive negative

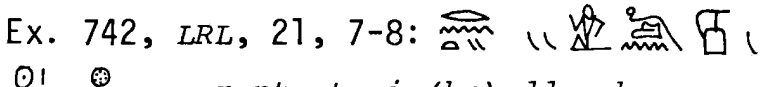
patterns (see below Chapter 20).

19.2. The adverbs of time compatible with the first present.

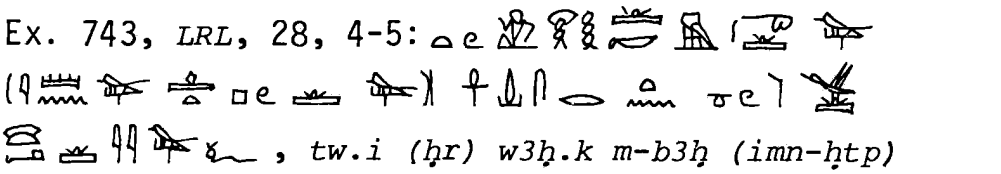
19.2.1. Adverbs of frequency (the simple present).[1]

i). *r' nb*, 'every day' occurs after *tw.i + (ḥr) +* infinitive in letters, at the beginning of the communication after the introduction, or later in the letter after *ky dd*.

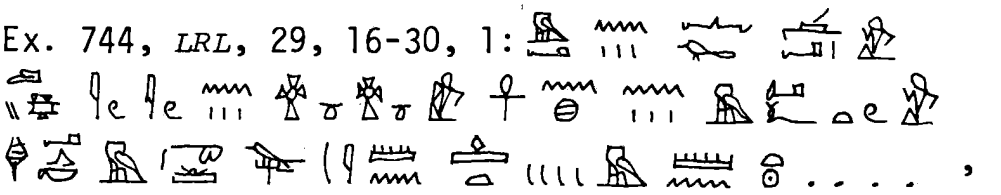
After *r-nty*:

Ex. 742, *LRL*, 21, 7-8:  , *r-nty tw.i (ḥr) dd n ḫnm .... r' nb r' nb*, I pray to Khnum .... every day, every day.

ii). *r-tnw stp.f* as an adverbial extension of *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f*:

Ex. 743, *LRL*, 28, 4-5:  , *tw.i (ḥr) w3ḥ.k m-b3ḥ (imn-ḥtp) '.w.s. r-tnw ḫ'y.f*, I ask about you before Amenophis, l.p.h., (lit. 'I place you before ...'), whenever he appears.

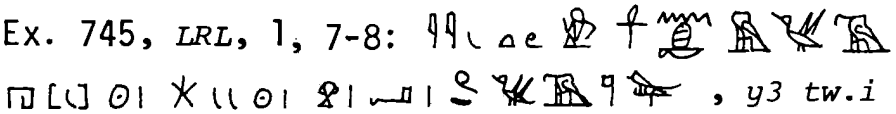
iii). *m mnt* as an adverbial extension of *tw.i 'ḥ'.kwi*:

Ex. 744, *LRL*, 29, 16-30, 1:  , *mn w' dy iw iw.n (r) ndnd 'nḫ.n m-di.f tw.i 'ḥ'.k(wi) m-b3ḥ (imn-ḥtp '.w.s. m mnt ....*, There is no-one here from whom we can ask for advice(?) (or 'from whom we shall enquire about our sustenance'). I stand in front of Amon-hotep, l.p.h., every day .... .

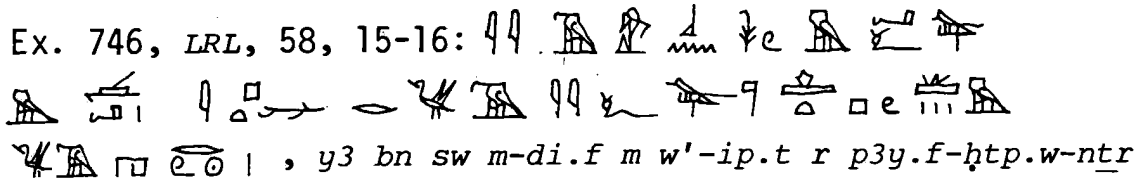
Since verbs of posture like *'ḥ'* and *ḥmsi* are compatible with both adverbs of time expressing repeated action, and adverbs like *r-ꜣ'-p3-hrw* (see Ex. 775), one is inclined to conclude that when taking the stative form, they are indifferent to time indication, the more specific time connotation being achieved by adverbs of time.

19.2.2. Adverbs of the immediate present tense.[2.]

i). *m p3-hrw* as an adverbial extension of *tw.i 'nḫ.kwi* (i.e. verbs of living and dying).

Ex. 745, *LRL*, 1, 7-8:  , *y3 tw.i 'nḫ.k(wi) m p3-hrw dw3w ḥr-'.wy p3-ntr*, Verily I am alive today; tomorrow is in the hands of the god.

ii). *m p3-hrw* as an adverbial extension of *sw* + adverbial phrase.

Ex. 746, *LRL*, 58, 15-16:  , *y3 bn sw m-di.f m w'-ip.t r p3y.f-ḥtp.w-ntr m p3-hrw*, Indeed he has not got even one *oipe* for his divine offerings today.

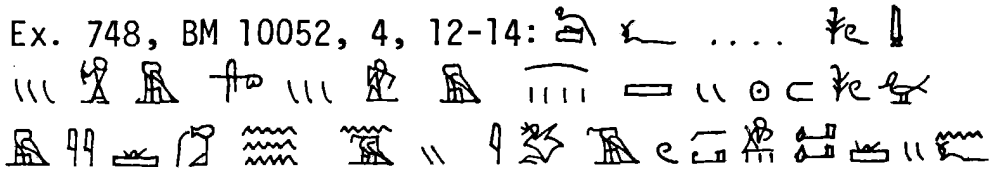
19.2.3. Adverbs of the future with the subjectless stative of a transitive verb (see above 12.6.).

r-ꜣ nḥḥ:

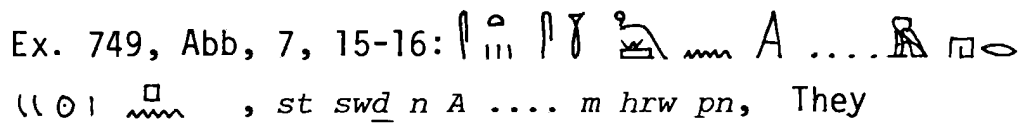
Ex. 747, Abb, 6, 6-7: , *st wd3 st ḫwy mky r-ꜣ' (n)ḥḥ*, They are intact. They have been protected and preserved for ever.

19.2.4. Adverbs of the past.[3.]

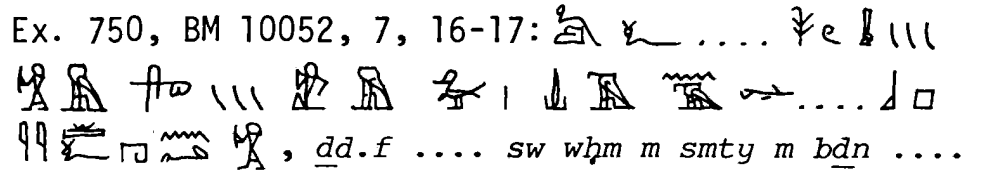
i). A date in the past as an adverbial extension of *sw stp.ø* (i.e. the stative of a transitive verb):

Ex. 748, BM 10052, 4, 12-14:  *dd.f .... sw wḥm m smty m 3bd 4 šmw sw 10 sw gmy w'b n3y-it3.w dd.tw n.f p3-t3w*, He said .... He was examined again in the 4th month of the summer season, day 10. He was found innocent of these thefts and set free.

ii). *hrw pn*:

Ex. 749, Abb, 7, 15-16:  *st swḏ n A .... m hrw pn*, They were handed over to A .... on the above mentioned day.

Also, the fact that *bwpw.f hn* in the following Ex. corresponds to *sw gmy* or *sw wḥm* indicates that *sw gmy* and *sw wḥm* here refer to the past.

Ex. 750, BM 10052, 7, 16-17:  *ḏd.f .... sw wḥm m smty m bḏn .... bwpwy.f hn*, He said, ... He was examined again with the stick ...., but he would not confess.

19.2.5. Conclusion.

Thus, since

1. The stative of a verb of motion is never followed by *r' nb*, *m mnt*, *m dwn* or *r-tnw stp.f*;

2. a *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* pattern is never followed by *hrw pn* or a date expressing past time;

and since

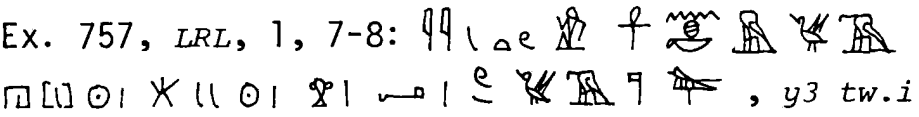
3. a *tw.i m 'q* pattern (i.e. a verb of motion preceded by *m*) is never followed by a date expressing past time, one may assume that at least some of the first present patterns are specific in their time indication.

Time indication according to type of verb, and type of grammatical form of the predicate.

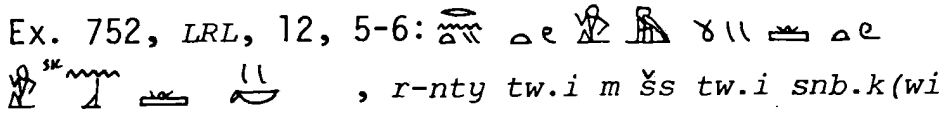
19.3. The different time indications of the first present with an adverbial predicate.

19.3.1. A state in the present

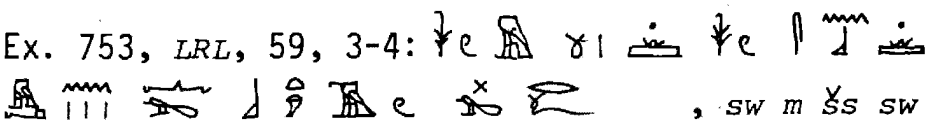
i). is compatible with *m p3-hrw*

Ex. 757, *LRL*, 1, 7-8:  , *y3 tw.i 'nḫ.k(wi) m p3-hrw dw3w ḥr '.wy p3-ntr*, I am certainly alive today; tomorrow is in the hands of the god.

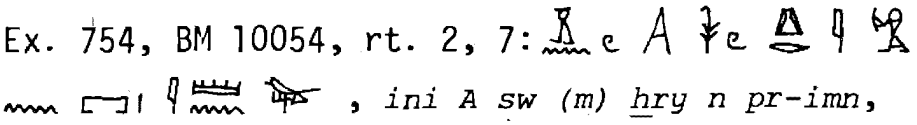
ii). covers the same time range as the stative of an adjective verb *(snb)*:

Ex. 752, *LRL*, 12, 5-6:  , *r-nty tw.i m šs tw.i snb.k(wi)*, I am all right. I am healthy.

iii). covers the same time range as *mn ø-A* (see below Chapter 29):

Ex. 753, *LRL*, 59, 3-4:  , *sw m šs sw snb mn bt3 r.f*, He is all right. He is healthy. There is nothing wrong with him.

iv). covers a different time range from the perfect passive *stp.f* (see above Chapter 16):

Ex. 754, BM 10054, rt. 2, 7:  , *ini A sw (m) ḥry n pr-imn*, A was brought ....; he is a quarryman of the temple of Amon.

Note that *sw (m) ḥry* here expresses a present state, although preceded by a verbal formation which expresses past time; i.e. the time position of *sw (m) ḥry* is not always dependent on its preceding verbal formation.

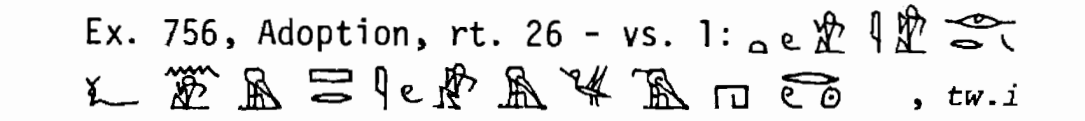
That a first present with adverbial predicate can express a state in the present, equivalent to present existence, is perhaps indicated by the following:

Ex. 755, *LRL*, 33, 1-2: , *ḫr n3-'dd.w šri m šs A t3y.s-'dd m šs mn bt3 ḥr.w*, The young children are fine. A, her young girl is fine. There is nothing wrong with them.

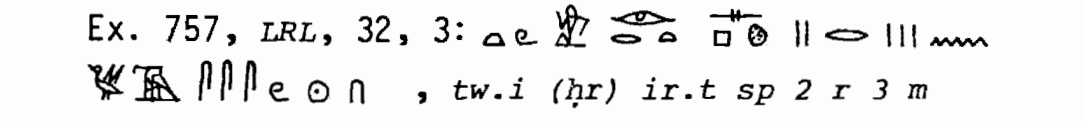
The fact that the *mn bt3 ḥr.w* is used when referring to *n3-'dd.w šri m šs* indicates very strongly that *tw.i m šs* expresses a state in the present.

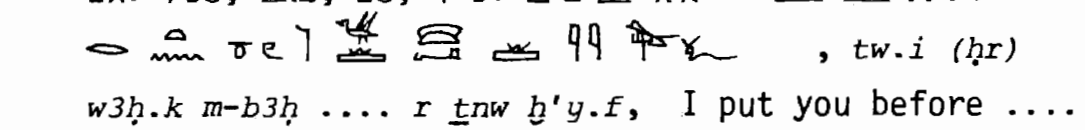
19.4. The time indication of the first present, in which the second position is filled by *ḥr* + the infinitive of a transitive verb.

19.4.1. The present continuous tense.

Ex. 756, Adoption, rt. 26 - vs. 1:  , *tw.i (ḥr) ir.t.f n.i m ø-šri m p3-hrw*, Now I am hereby making him a son of mine.

19.4.2. The simple present tense.

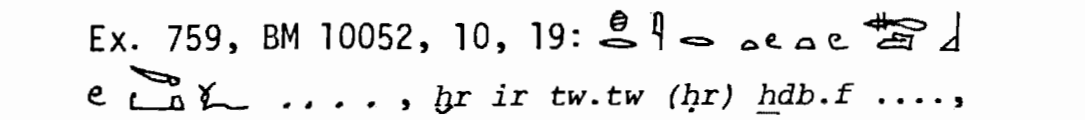
Ex. 757, *LRL*, 32, 3:  , *tw.i (ḥr) ir.t sp 2 r 3 m p3-sw 10*, I do it two or three times in a (lit. 'the') period of ten days.

Ex. 758, *LRL*, 28, 4-5:  , *tw.i (ḥr) w3ḥ.k m-b3ḥ .... r tnw ḫ'y.f*, I put you before .... whenever he appears (see Ex. 743).

19.4.3. Past time.

The *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* formation indicates past tense only when preceded by *ḫr ir*.

a). The past tense:

Ex. 759, BM 10052, 10, 19:  , *ḫr ir tw.tw (ḥr) ḥdb.f ....*, Then when he was killed.... .

b). The past continuous tense:

See below Ex. 766.

19.4.4. Conclusion.

Since *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* can express either the present continuous tense or the simple present tense, and cannot

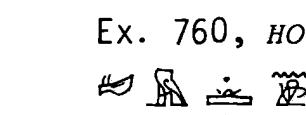
express the past tense, one has to assume that it is not indifferent to time indication; thus there are two different first present *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* patterns;

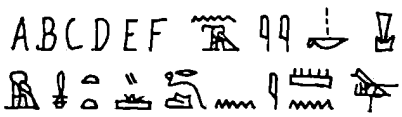
1. *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f m p3-hrw*;

2. *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f r-tnw ḫ'y.f.*

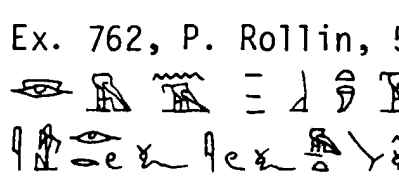
19.5. The time indication of the first present, in which the second position is filled by *ḥr* + the infinitive of non-conclusive verbs (verbs of perception and verbs of talking).

tw.i (ḥr) sḏm.f or *tw.i (ḥr) 'm3* can not express the present continuous tense; they can express either the simple present tense or the 'can' notion.

Ex. 760, *HO*, pl. LXXX, vs. 15-16:  , *inn tw.tw (ḥr) sḏm n.i p3-nty tw.t im*, If I can be heard in the place where you are. (Lit. 'If one can listen to me in the place where you are'.) (19th. Dynasty.)

Ex. 761, *LRL*, 30, 3-5 (at the beginning of the verso):  , *A B C D E F n3y.k-sn.w (r-)ḏr.w m 'ḥ3wty.w m s.t-ḥm.t m-mitt (ḥr) ḏd n imn*, A, B, C, D, E, and F, all your brothers, both male and female, pray to Amon.

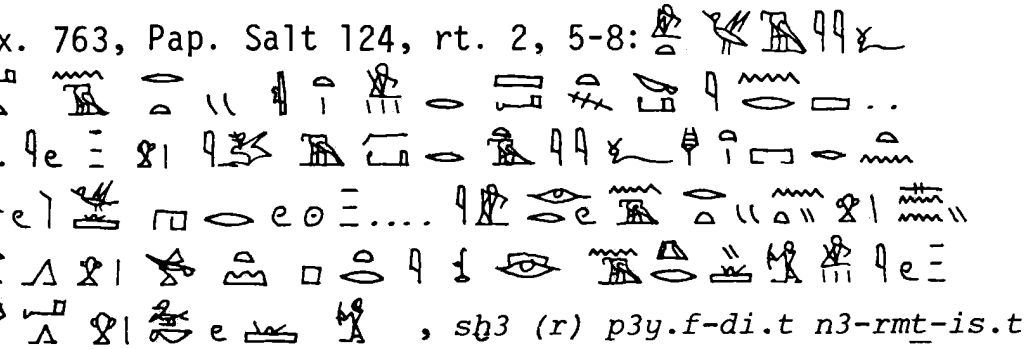
Note that the *tw.i (ḥr) 'm3* pattern can indicate past time only when preceded by *ḫr ir*:

Ex. 762, P. Rollin, 5:  , *ḫr ir sw (ḥr) 'm(3) m n3-bt3.w '3.y n mwt i.iri.f iw.f (ḥr) mwt n.f ḏs.f*, When he realised that he had committed severe

crimes which deserve the death penalty, he committed suicide.

19.6. The time indication of the first present in which the second position is filled by *ḥr* + the infinitive of a verb of motion.[4]

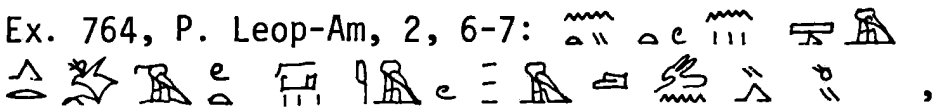
Since the second position of the first present is very often filled by unsuffixed statives and prepositionless infinitives, there is the problem of determining the exact nature of the patterns involved. In patterns where the second position is filled by a transitive verb, the infinitive form is recognisable by its active voice; that is, mainly by being followed by a nominal or pronominal direct object. The unsuffixed statives of transitive verbs are recognisable by their passive voice; that is, mainly by the lack of a following pronominal or nominal direct object. The exact nature of prepositionless infinitives and unsuffixed statives of intransitive verbs can be determined only by analogy with patterns in which the second position is filled by preposition plus infinitive and suffixed stative.

Ex. 763, Pap. Salt 124, rt. 2, 5-8: 

sḏ3 (r) p3y.f-di.t n3-rmṯ-is.t r šʿd inr .... iw.w ḥr iṯ3.t(.w) r t3y.f-(mi)ḥʿ.t r ṯnw hrw .... i.iri n3-rmṯ nty ḥr snn ḥr wʿr.t ptr n3-ḫrty.w iw.w ʿḥʿ ḥr b3k, Charge concerning his ordering the workmen to cut stones .... and their taking (them) away to his tomb every day ... It is when they are standing working .... that the people

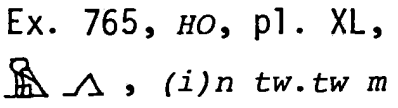
who pass nearby in the desert see the stonecutters.

Since *nty ḥr snn* here refers back to *tnw hrw*, one can conclude that it expresses the simple present tense. Thus, by analogy with Ex. 763, Ex. 764 should be classified as *nty tw.n (ḥr) šm.*

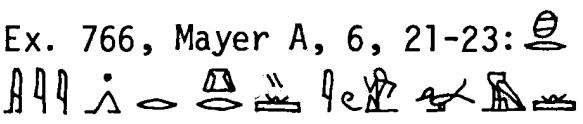
Ex. 764, P. Leop-Am, 2, 6-7:  ,
nty tw.n (ḥr) šm r t3.t im.w m dwn m dwn, Which we all set out to rob regularly.

19.7. The time indication of the first present in which the second position is filled by *m* + the infinitive of a verb of motion.[5.]

tw.i m + the infinitive of a verb of motion expresses only the present continuous tense. Thus, verbs of motion having three different marked forms, each form expressing a separate tense (see below 19.9.) shows that the distinctions among different tenses within the framework of the first present are in accordance with the Egyptian verbal system, and are not an artificial point-of-view of modern grammarians.

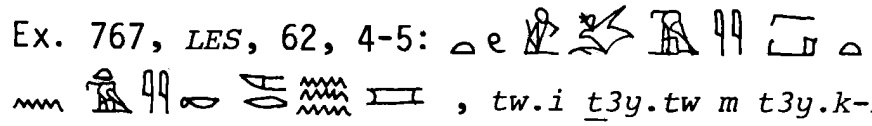
Ex. 765, *HO*, pl. XL, 6, 1:  , *(i)n tw.tw m šm*, Is one going?

Note that *tw.i m 'q* when preceded by *ḫr ir* indicates the past continuous tense:

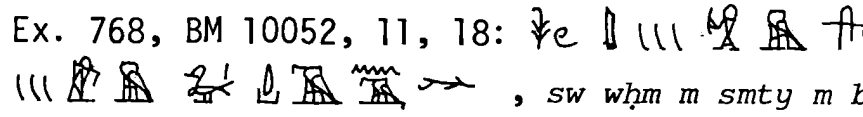
Ex. 766, Mayer A, 6, 21-23:  , *ḫr ir tw.i m iy r-ḫry iw.i (ḥr) gm.t A B*, Now, when I was going down, I found A and B.

19.8. The time indication of the first present, in which the second position is filled by the stative of a transitive verb.

19.8.1. Present perfect tense, passive voice.

Ex. 767, *LES*, 62, 4-5:  , *tw.i t3y.tw m t3y.k-mr*, I have been robbed in your harbour.

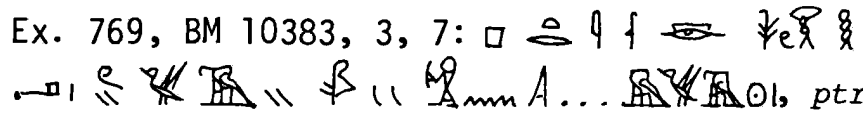
19.8.2. Past tense, passive voice.

Ex. 768, BM 10052, 11, 18:  , *sw whm m smty m bdn*, He was again examined under (the) stick.

19.8.3. Present tense indicated by a tense converter.

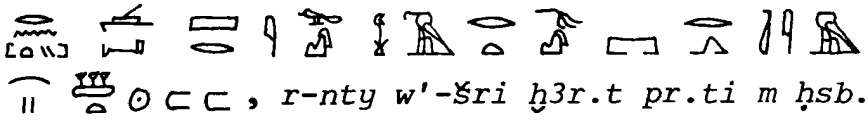
A particle as a tense converter.

ptr is a tense converter. *ptr sw w3ḥ* indicates a state in the present, and not past tense.

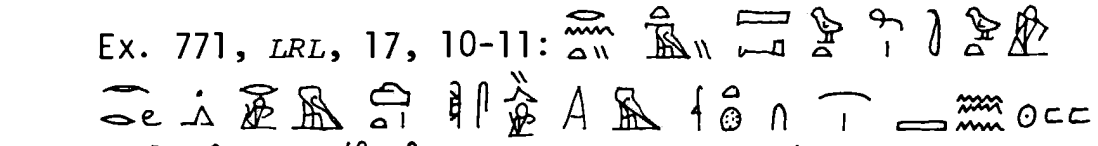
Ex. 769, BM 10383, 3, 7:  , *ptr sw w3ḥ (ḥr-)'.wy p3y-šwty n A .... m p3-hrw*, And behold, it is lying in the possession of this merchant of A .... this day.

19.9. The time indication of the first present in which the second position is filled by the stative of a verb of motion.[6.]

19.9.1. *tw.i 'q.kwi* expresses either the past tense, or the present perfect tense.

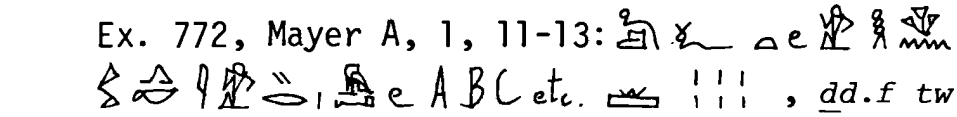
Ex. 770, Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25831, rt. 7:  , *r-nty w'-šri ḫ3r.t pr.ti m ḥsb.t(?) 1 3bd 2 3ḫ.t sw 20*, The case: a certain widow's daughter went away in regnal year one, the second month of inundation, day twenty.

Thus, by analogy with Ex. 770, *spr* in Ex. 771 should be classified as an unsuffixed stative form.

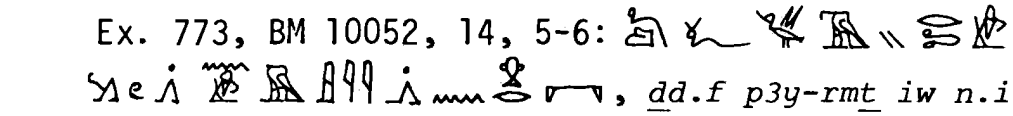
Ex. 771, *LRL*, 17, 10-11:  , *r-nty t3ỉ-š'.t twt spr.ø r.i m-dr.t šmsw A m ḥsb.t(?) 10 3bd 1 šmw sw 25 iw.i (ḥr) šsp.s*, This letter of his reached me by the hand of the retainer A, in year 10, 1st. month of the summer season, day 25, and I received it.

See also below Ex. 1457.

19.9.2. The *tw.i 'q.k* pattern, when filling a first position in legal reports.

Ex. 772, Mayer A, 1, 11-13:  , *dd.f tw.i ḥn.k(wi) irm A B C etc. dmd 6*, He said, "I went with A, B, C, etc.; Total six".

Thus, by analogy with Ex. 772, *iw* in Ex. 773 should be classified as the stative form of the verb *iỉ*.

Ex. 773, BM 10052, 14, 5-6:  , *dd.f p3ỉ-rmt iw n.i m iỉ n-ḥry*, He said, "This man came up to me as he returned from up there".

19.10. The time position of the first present in which the second position is filled by the stative of intransitive verbs (verbs of motion excluded).

Group 1. Verbs of posture, eg. *'ḥ'*, *ḥmsi*, and *sdr*.

Group 2. Adjectival verbs.

Group 3. Verbs of living and dying.

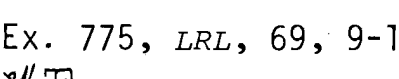
19. THE FIRST PRESENT

19.10.1. Group 1.

1). It seems that the verb *ḥmsi*, when taking the stative form and preceded by *dy*, indicates the immediate present tense.

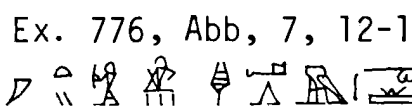
Ex. 774, *LRL*, 23, 11: , *ḫr tw.n dy ḥmsi.ti m t3-ḥw.t*, And we are dwelling (lit.'sitting) here, in 'The Temple'.

However, when not preceded by *dy*, it can be followed by the adverb *(r)-ꜥ3'-p3-hrw*.

Ex. 775, *LRL*, 69, 9-10:  , *r-dd tw.n ḥmsi.ø (r)-ꜥ3' p3-hrw*, Saying, "We have been waiting till today".

2). The stative of the verb *'ḥ'* is probably indifferent to time indication (see Ex. 744).

a). When preceded by *ḫr ptr*, it indicates the immediate present tense.

Ex. 776, Abb, 7, 12-13:  , *ḫr ptr n3-ḥmty.w 'ḥ' m-b3ḥ.tn*, Now, behold, the coppersmiths are standing before you.

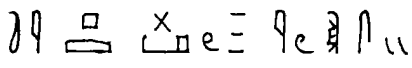
b). When followed by *m mnt* it indicates the simple present tense:

Ex. 777, *LRL*, 29, 16-30, 1: , *tw.i 'ḥ'.k(wi) .... m mnt*, I stand daily ....

tw.i 'ḥ'.k(wi) here indicates the simple present tense.

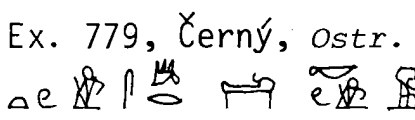
c). *tw.i 'ḥ'.k(wi)* can express the past continuous tense when preceded by *ḫr ir*.

Ex. 778, BM 10053, vs. 2, 16: ,

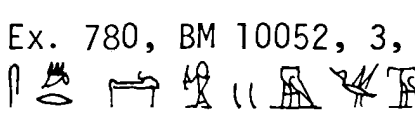

, *ḫr ir tw.n 'ḥ'.ti (ḥr) pš.w iw šmsw A (ḥr) iy*, The messenger A arrived, as we stood sharing them out.

In contradistinction to *'ḥ'* and *ḫmsi*, it seems that *sḏr*, when taking the stative form, indicates the past tense.

Compare:

Ex. 779, Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25556, 4: 
, *ir ink tw.i sḏr.kwi m t3y.i-isb.t*, As for me, I was asleep on my chair (?).

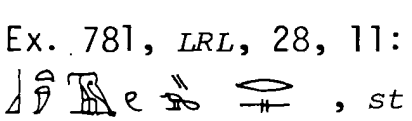
with

Ex. 780, BM 10052, 3, 2: 
, *ḏd.f ir ink wn(.i) sḏr.tw m p3y(.i)-pr*, He said, "As for me, I was asleep in my house".

One can perhaps assume that there is a semantic distinction between *tw.i sḏr.kwi* and *wn.i sḏr.kwi*. The latter is perhaps expressive of unemployment.

19.10.2. Group 2.

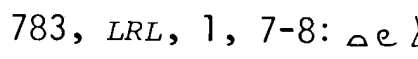
Adjectival verbs, when taking the stative form can express a state in the present.

Ex. 781, *LRL*, 28, 11: 
, *st snb.tw mn bt3 r.s*, She is in good health. There is nothing wrong with her.

Ex. 782, *LRL*, 67, 10:
, *tw.k ḫḏn.tw*, You are angry.

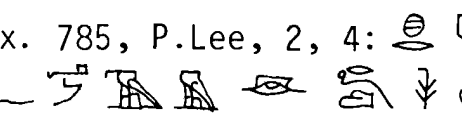
19.10.3. Group 3.

Verbs of dying and living, when taking the stative form, express a state in the present.

Ex. 783, *LRL*, 1, 7-8: 
, *tw.i 'nḫ.k(wi) m p3-hrw*, I am alive today.

Ex. 784, BM 10052, 4, 27: , *sw mwt.tw*, He is dead.

Note, however, that when the verb *mwt* takes the form of an infinitive it can express past time.[7.]

Ex. 785, P.Lee, 2, 4:  , *ḫr ir n3-sr.w nty ḥr.f (ḥr) 'm3 r-ḏd sw (ḥr) mwt ḏs.f*, And when the magistrates who were in charge of him found out that he had committed suicide....

19.11. Summary of the time indication of the first present.

a). *tw.i* + an adverb or an adverbial phrase expresses a state in the present.

b). *tw.i* + an infinitive.

i). *tw.i* + the infinitive of transitive verbs expresses either the simple present or the present continuous tense.

ii). *tw.i* + the infinitive of verbs of perception, non-conclusive verbs, and verbs of ceasing expresses either the simple present or a 'can' present tense.

iii). *tw.i + m* + the infinitive of a verb of motion can only express the immediate present tense.

iv). *tw.i* + the infinitive of a verb of motion expresses the simple present tense.

c). *tw.i* + the stative.

i). *tw.i* + the stative of transitive verbs expresses:

1. passive past action resulting in a present state;

2. passive past action.

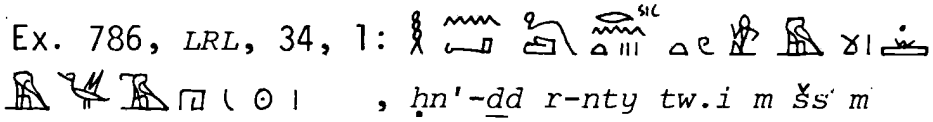
ii). *tw.i* + the stative of intransitive verbs varies from verb to verb, but generally indicates a state in the present.

iii). *tw.i* + the stative of verbs of motion expresses past motion, resulting in either present or past state.

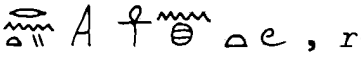
Note that every first present pattern preceded by *ḫr ir* indicates past tense.

19.12. The first present after the direct indicators of initiality.

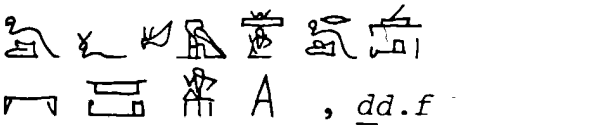
19.12.1. After *ḥn'-dd r-nty*:

Ex. 786, *LRL*, 34, 1:  , *ḥn'-dd r-nty tw.i m šs m p3-hrw*, And to the effect that I am all right today.

19.12.2. After *r-nty*:

Ex. 787, *LRL*, 40, 2:  , *r-nty A 'nḫ.tw*, To the effect that A is alive.

19.12.3. After *r-dd*:

Ex. 788, BM 10052, 3, 20:  , *dd.f sdm.i r-dd w'-ksks.t .... m-di ḥry-'3 A*, He said, "I have heard that a basket (?) ... is in the possession of the chief porter A".

19.13. The first present after the indirect indicators of initiality.

19.13.1. After *iw*:

Although the combination **iw tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* does not exist, one is entitled to assume that the *iw* and the first present are compatible. This is based on the following observations.

1. The first present pattern, in which the first position is filled by a noun can be preceded by *iw*; i.e. the pattern *iw p3-A (ḥr) stp.f* does exist. Thus since *p3-A (ḥr) stp.f* and *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* belong to the same paradigm, one may state that *iw* is compatible with at least one of the first present patterns.

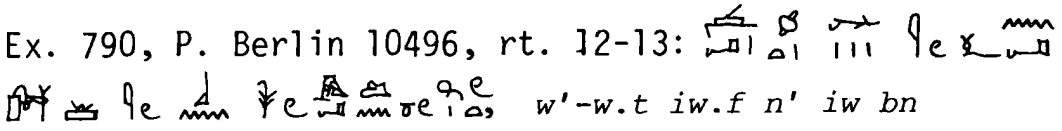
2. The negative first present can be preceded by *iw*; i.e. the pattern *iw bn tw.i stp.kwi* exists.

Ex. 789, P. DM, 8, rt. 2-3 (= Černý MSS. Notebook 113):

, *ir p3-nty tw.i (ḥr) (h3b ḥr).f iw bn sw grg bn n3y.k-iry im r-dr.w*, As for what I have (written about), that it is not ready, and that all your friends are not there ....

Thus, one may assume that there is an affirmative equivalent to *iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f*, although it does not take the outward form of **iw sw (ḥr) stp.f*.[8.]

3. An affirmative virtual relative clause takes the form *w'-A iw.f (ḥr) stp.f*, whereas a negative virtual relative clause takes the form *w'-A iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f*; thus *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* and *iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f* fulfil the same syntactic function.

Ex. 790, P. Berlin 10496, rt. 12-13:  *w'-w.t iw.f n' iw bn sw mdn.tw*, A coffin which is smooth, and which is not painted.

iw.f n' and *iw bn sw mdn.tw* have here the following elements in common: *iw* and the statives *n'* and *mdn.tw*.[9] However the subject of the former takes the form of the pronominal suffix *.f*, while that of the latter takes the form of the pronominal preformative of the first present, *sw*. Thus, since both patterns qualify the same noun, *w'-w.t*, and both are composed of *iw* with a stative as predicate, it is only good common sense to conclude that *iw.f n'* is the affirmative formation corresponding to *iw bn sw mdn.tw*; i.e. when *iw* precedes an affirmative first present pattern the pronominal preformatives interchange with the pronominal suffixes.[10]

Conclusions: the following formations, when functioning as non-initial subordinate clauses, are, in fact, first present patterns preceded by the dependent *iw*:

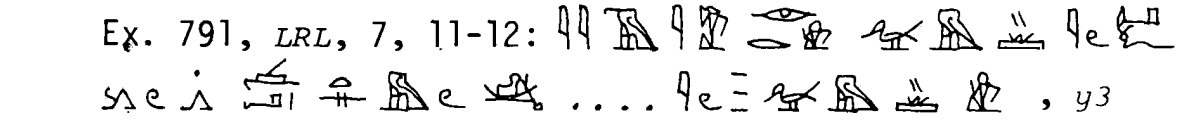
Pattern I. .... *iw.i (ḥr) stp.f.*
Pattern II. .... *iw.i m 'q* (i.e. a verb of motion).
Pattern III. .... *iw.i stp.kwi*
Pattern IV. .... *iw.i dy* (i.e. an adverb or adverbial phrase).

19.13.2. The time indication of the first present patterns preceded by *iw*.

The circumstantial first present has no time indication of its own. It borrows its time indication from the preceding governing sentence pattern; i.e. it expresses the relative present tense. For example:

19.13.3. Pattern I.

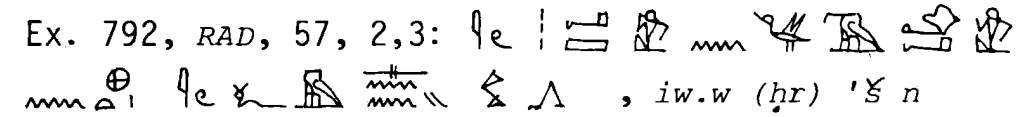
The .... *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* as an adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation.

Ex. 791, *LRL*, 7, 11-12:  *y3 i.iri.i gm.t iw di.f iw w'-tsm .... iw.w (ḥr) gm.t.i*, Indeed it was only when they met me, that I found out that they had sent a boat.

iw.w (ḥr) gm.t.i is the adverbial predicate of *iri.i gm.t*. Since the emphatic formation here refers to past time, *iw.w (ḥr) gm.t.i* refers to past time also.

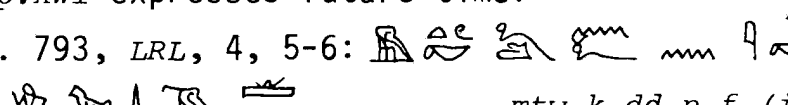
19.13.4. Pattern II.

The .... *iw.i m 'q* formation, after a *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past; the *iw.i m 'q* expresses the past continuous tense.

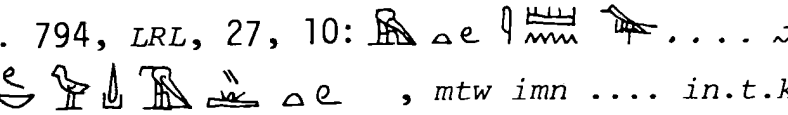
Ex. 792, *RAD*, 57, 2,3:  *iw.w (ḥr) 'š n p3-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t iw.f m snn*, And the mayor of Thebes was shouted at when he was passing by.

19.13.5. Pattern III.

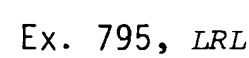
a). The .... *iw.i stp.kwi* formation after a third future; the *iw.i stp.kwi* expresses future time.

Ex. 793, *LRL*, 4, 5-6:  *mtw.k dd n.f (i)n iw.k (r) in.t(.i) iw.i wḏ3.k(wi)*, ... and you should ask him, "Will you bring me back prospering (lit. 'while I shall be prospering')?"

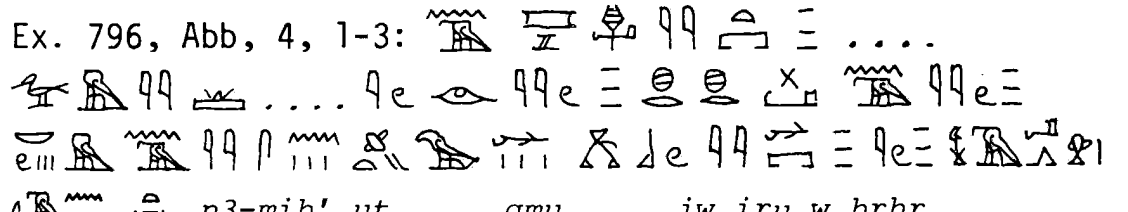
b). The .... *iw.i stp.kwi* formation after the conjunctive, indicating future time.

Ex. 794, *LRL*, 27, 10:  *mtw imn .... in.t.k iw.k wḏ3.tw*, And Amon .... will bring you (back) safe (lit. 'you being safe (in the future)').

c). The .... *iw.i stp.kwi* formation after an imperative formation; the *iw.i stp.kwi* expresses future time.

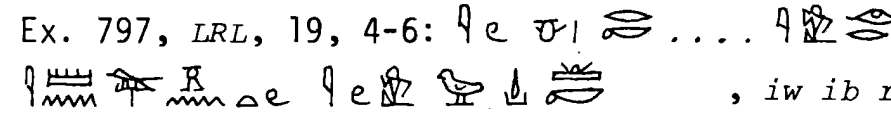
Ex. 795, *LRL*, 2, 2:  , *ini wi iw.i 'nḫ.k(wi)*, Bring me (back) alive.

d). The .... *iw.i stp.kwi* formation after *iw* + the perfect active *stp.f*; the *iw.i stp.kwi* expresses the pluperfect tense.

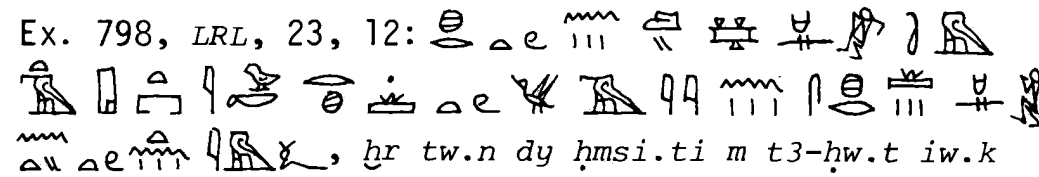
Ex. 796, Abb, 4, 1-3:  , *n3-miḥ'.yt .... gmy .... iw iry.w ḫrḫr n3y.w-nb.w m n3y.sn-w.wt ḏb3.yw iw.w ḫ3' ḥr ql*, The tombs .... were found .... after they had dragged their owners from their inner coffins and their outer coffins, so that they had been left on the desert.

iw iry.w ḫrḫr and *iw.w ḫ3'* took place before the activity expressed by *n3-miḥ'.yt .... gmy* was performed; i.e. both express the pluperfect tense.

e). The .... *iw.i stp.kwi* formation after a *i.iri.t.f stp.f* formation; the *iw.i stp.kwi* expresses future time.

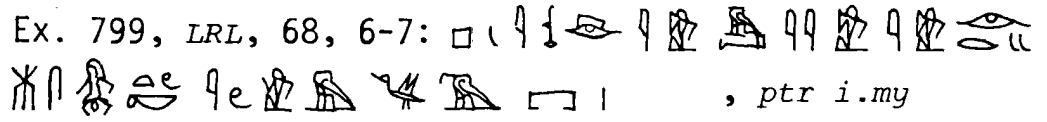
Ex. 797, *LRL*, 19, 4-6:  , *iw ib r.k .... i.iri.t imn in.t(.i) iw.i wḏ3.k(wi)*, And take care .... until Amon brings me (back) safe.

f). The .... *iw.i rḫ.tw* formation after a first present indicating the immediate present tense; the *iw.i rḫ.tw* expresses the simple present tense.

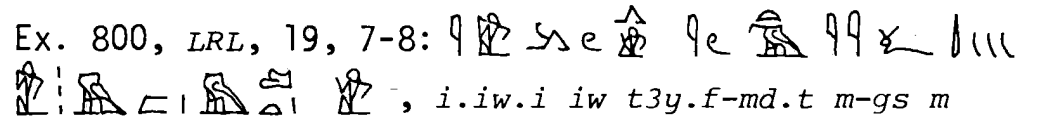
Ex. 798, *LRL*, 23, 12:  , *ḫr tw.n dy ḥmsi.ti m t3-ḥw.t iw.k rḫ.tw p3y.n-sḫr ḥms.t nty tw.n im.f*, Now we are dwelling here in 'The Temple' and you know the conditions (lit. 'manner') in which we live.

19.13.6. Pattern IV.

a). The .... *iw.f* + adv. (or adv. phrase) formation after an emphatic formation which indicates past time; the *iw.f* + adv. expresses past time also.

Ex. 799, *LRL*, 68, 6-7:  , *ptr i.my i.iri.tw ms.t.k iw.i m p3-pr*, Look, I was at home when you were born.

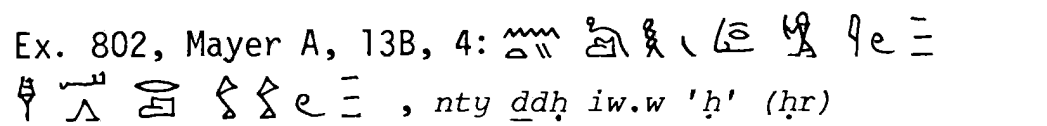
b). The .... *iw.f* + adv. (or adv. phrase) formation after the emphatic *i.stp.f* formation which indicates future time; the *iw.f* + adv. indicates future time also.

Ex. 800, *LRL*, 19, 7-8:  , *i.iw.i iw t3y.f-md.t m-gs m dr.t.i*, When his affair is partly settled, (lit. 'his affair will be half in my hand'), I shall return.

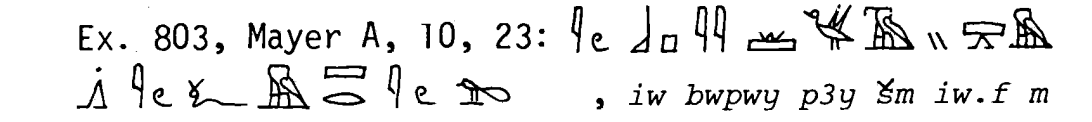
c). The *iw.f* + adv. formation after the *i.stp.f* formation which indicates the simple past tense; the *iw.f* + adv. indicates the simple past also.

Ex. 801, Abb, 6, 22: , *iw i.dd.w smy n t3ty iw.f m ' rsy*, But they used to report to the vizier when he happened to be in the southern district.

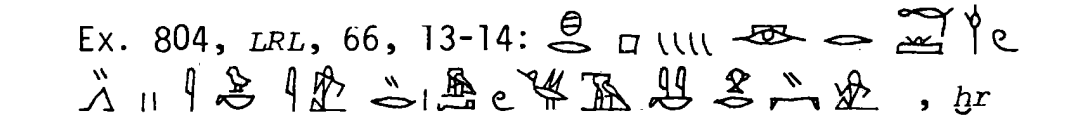
d). The .... *iw.f* + adv. (or adv. phrase) formation after an *nty A* + stative formation.

Ex. 802, Mayer A, 13B, 4:  , *nty ddḥ iw.w 'ḥ' (ḥr) rd.wy.w*, Those who were imprisoned while committing their crime (lit. 'while standing on their feet').

e). The .... *iw.f* + adv. (or adv. phrase) formation after a *iw bwpw.f stp.f*, both indicating past time.

Ex. 803, Mayer A, 10, 23:  , *iw bwpwy p3y šm iw.f m šri*, Though this (man) (i.e. A) did not go, he being a child.

f). The .... *iw.f* + adv. (or adv. phrase) formation as the second member of a cleft sentence, indicating the immediate present tense.

Ex. 804, *LRL*, 66, 13-14:  , *ḫr ptr r mḥ wḏ 2 iw.k irm p3y.k-ḫry*, Now see, it is (the) second journey which you are on with your superiors.

wḏ is a bare infinitive, and *iw.k irm* is a virtual relative clause, functioning as the second member of a cleft sentence.

19.13.7. The first present after the indirect indicator of initiality, *wn*.

Since the combinations **wn tw.i (ḫr) stp.f* or **wn sw (ḫr) stp.f* do not exist, one is inclined to conclude that the first present and the *wn* of the past are mutually exclusive. However, the fact that a *wn p3-A (ḫr) stp.f* formation exists indicates that at least one of the first present patterns can be preceded by *wn*; i.e. *wn* and the first present are partly compatible. Thus, here again one can perhaps conclude that the preformatives of the first present, when preceded by the *wn* of the past interchange with the pronominal suffixes.

Thus the following patterns should be considered as first

present patterns preceded by the converter *wn* of the past:

Pattern I. *wn.f* + adv. (or adv. pnrase).
Pattern II. *wn.f* + stative.
Pattern III. *wn.f + (hr)* + infinitive.

Obs. Although the dependent *iw* and the *wn* of the past share the same feature of incompatibility with the pronominal preformatives of the first present, they should not be classified in the same morpho-syntactic category:

The dependent *iw* can convert every initial main clause into a non-initial subordinate clause; hence it is a 'subordinizer'.

Obs. In verbal formations specified in time indication which can be subordinated by *iw*, the *iw* is also a relative-tense converter; e.g:

1). The first present when preceded by *iw* becomes a circumstantial subordinate clause, indicating the relative present tense (see above 19.13.2.).

2). The third future, when preceded by *iw*, becomes a circumstantial subordinate clause indicating the future - perfect tense (see above Ex. 679 and below 63.4.).

3). The perfect active *stp.f*, when preceded by *iw*, becomes a circumstantial clause indicating the relative past tense (see below 63.2.8.).

Conclusion: The syntactic subordination and the relative tense indication are dependent.

In contradistinction to *iw*, the *wn* of the past is not a subordinizer, and therefore does not convert verbal formations to relative-tense indication. In the framework of the first present, *wn* always expresses the past tense (very often a repeated past action),[11] and never the present perfect tense,

whereas when preceding other verbal formations, it can express various notions of the past; i.e. its main function is the conversion of time-tense indication.[12.] Thus, in contradistinction to verbal formations introduced by *iw*, a *wn.f (ḥr) stp.f* is an initial main clause which can be preceded by the direct or indirect indicators of initiality.

19.13.8. The morphological nature of *wn.f*.

There are at least two different *wn* forms in Late Egyptian:

a). the *wn* of the past, which can be followed by either a pronominal suffix or a defined noun (Coptic ⲚⲈ).

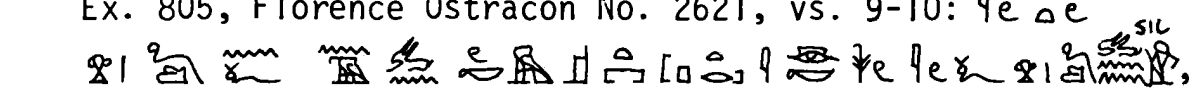
b). the *wn* of existence, which can precede only bare or undefined nouns (Coptic ⲞⲨⲚ̄).

This statement is based on the following observations:

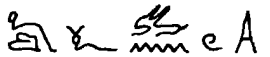
1. the *wn* of the past is made negative by *bn .... iwn3* (see below Ex. 864), whereas the *wn* of existence is made negative by *mn* (see below Chapter 29);

2. the *wn* of the past can take the form of either a relative form (see below 51.6.7.) or a participle (see below Exx. 1319 and 1320), whereas the *wn* of existence is preceded by *nty*, and can not take the form of a relative form or participle.

3. the *wn* of the past has still its full meaning, even when not followed by a stative, an infinitive or an adverbial phrase.

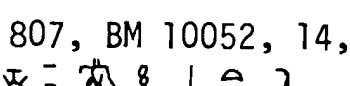
Ex. 805, Florence Ostracon No. 2621, vs. 9-10: 

iw.tw ḥr dd n.f (i)n wn.k m s.t ptr.k st iw.f ḥr dd wn.i, And it was said to him, "Were you in (the) place? Did you see it?" He answered, "I was".

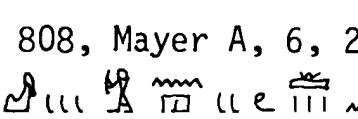
Ex. 806, BM 10052, 4, 18-20: 

dd.f wn A B C, He said, "There were A, B, (and) C".

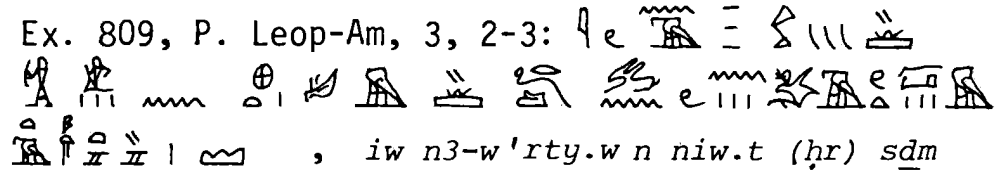
19.13.9. Pattern I after the direct indicators of initiality.

Ex. 807, BM 10052, 14, 18:  , *dd.f wn n3y.w-ḥnw.w (ḥr) nḥb.wt.w*, He said, "Their things were on their backs".

19.13.10. Pattern II after the direct indicators of initiality.

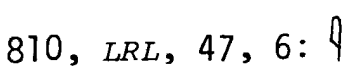
Ex. 808, Mayer A, 6, 21:  , *dd.f wn.i ḥmsi.k(wi) r s3w nh3 n it irm A*, He said, "I was sitting guarding some corn with A".

19.13.11. Pattern III after the direct indicators of initiality. After *r-dd*:

Ex. 809, P. Leop-Am, 3, 2-3:  , *iw n3-w'rty.w n niw.t (ḥr) sdm r-dd wn.n (ḥr) t3.t m t3-imnt.t*, The district superintendents of Thebes heard that we had been stealing in the West.

Note that *tw.n (ḥr) t3.t* conveys either the simple present or the present continuous tense (see above 19.4.-19.6.). Thus, in order to convey a repeated action in the past the construction with *wn* is needed.

19.13.12. The *wn.f* .... formation after the indirect indicators of initiality. After *iw*:

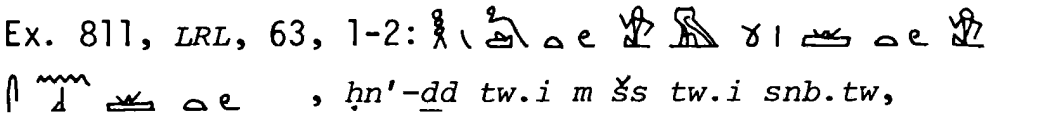
Ex. 810, *LRL*, 47, 6:  , *iw wn.tn im.f 'n*, Since you had already been there.

19.13.13. The first present after *nty*:

See below 53.9.-53.10.

19.14. Verbal formations which can precede first present patterns.

19.14.1. First present patterns.

Ex. 811, *LRL*, 63, 1-2:  , *ḥn'-dd tw.i m šs tw.i snb.tw*, Furthermore I am all right, I am well.

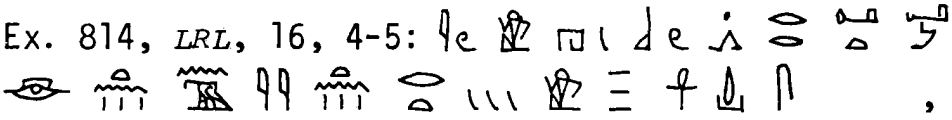
19.14.2. A perfect active *stp.f* formation.

Ex. 812, Abb, 5, 8-10: .... , *sip n3-sr.w n3-ḫt .... st gmy wd3*, The notables examined the seals .... They were found intact.

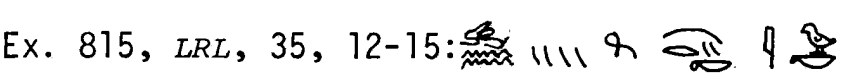
19.14.3. A perfect passive *stp.f*.

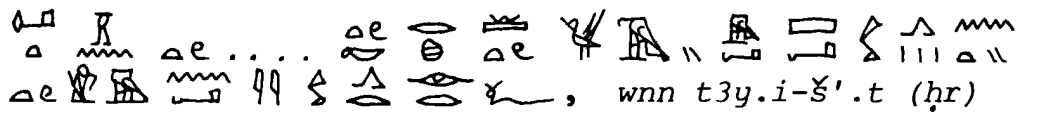
Ex. 813, Abb, 7, 13-14: , *gmy n3-rmṯ iw bwpw.w rḫ s.t nb .... sw iri m 'd3 im.s*, The men were found to know no tomb .... He was placed in the wrong concerning it.

19.14.4. A third future formation.

Ex. 814, *LRL*, 16, 4-5:  , *iw.i (r) h3b r di.t 'm3.tn n3y.tn-rmṯ '.w.s.*, I will write to let you know your people are l.p.h..

19.14.5. After the *iw.f (ḫr) stp.f* of the future.

Ex. 815, *LRL*, 35, 12-15: 

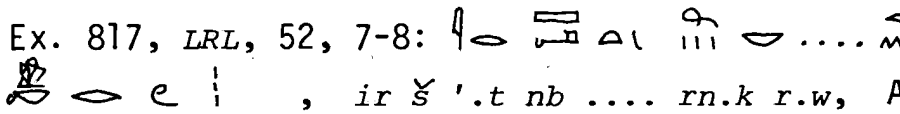

wnn t3y.i-š'.t (ḥr) spr (r).k iw.k (ḥr) di.t ini.tw .... tw.k rḫ.tw p3y-mš' nty tw.i m n'y r ir.t.f, When my letter reaches you, you will send .... You know about the journey which I am going to make.

19.14.6. A negative imperative.

Ex. 816, *LRL*, 27, 14-15:
m dy ḥ3ty.k m-s3.w st 'nḫ m p3-hrw, Do not be anxious about them. They are alive today.

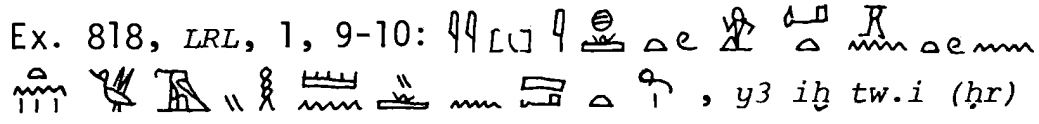
19.15. Non-verbal constructions which can precede a first present pattern.

A frontal extraposition, introduced by *ir*:

Ex. 817, *LRL*, 52, 7-8: 
ir š '.t nb .... rn.k r.w, As for all the letters .... your name is in (lit. 'to') (all of) them.

19.16. The first present after particles.

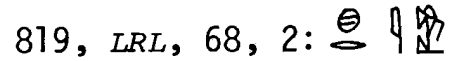
19.16.1. After *y3 iḫ*:

Ex. 818, *LRL*, 1, 9-10: 
y3 iḫ tw.i (ḥr) di.t ini.tw n.tn p3y-ḥmn n š'.t, What is the good of my sending (lit. 'causing to be delivered') to you all these letters?

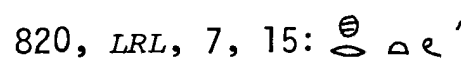
19.16.2. After *ptr*.

See above Ex. 769.

19.16.3. After *inn*.

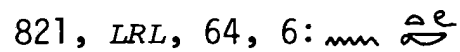
Ex. 819, *LRL*, 68, 2:  *ḫr inn tw.k (ḫr) dd* ...., And if you say ....

19.16.4. After *ḫr*.

Ex. 820, *LRL*, 7, 15:  *ḫr tw.n mni.tw*, And we are moored.

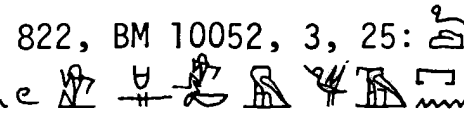
mni.tw is the stative of an intransitive verb, expressing a present state.

19.16.5. In questions introduced by *(i)n*.

Ex. 821, *LRL*, 64, 6:  *(i)n tw.k 'nḫ.tw*, Are you still alive?

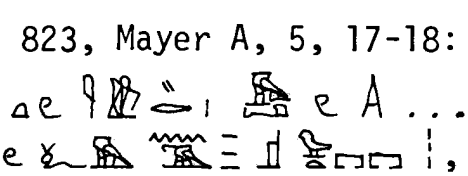
19.17. *wn.i stp.k(wi)* after non-verbal constructions.

A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

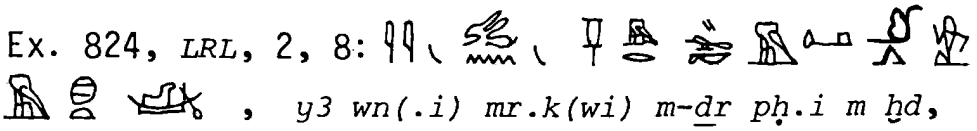
Ex. 822, BM 10052, 3, 25:  *dd.f ir ink wn.i ḫmsi.k(wi) m p3-pr n A*, He said, "As for me, I was sitting in the house of A".

19.18. *wn.f* + adv. phrase after particles.

19.18.1. After *ḫr*.

Ex. 823, Mayer A, 5, 17-18:  *dd.tw n.f wn.k ḫmsi.tw irm A .... ḫr wn.k irm.f m n3-s.wt*, They said to him, "You were dwelling with A ...., and you were with him in the places".

19.18.2. After *y3*.

Ex. 824, *LRL*, 2, 8:  , *y3 wn(.i) mr.k(wi) m-dr pḥ.i m ḫd*,
Indeed I have been ill since I went to the north.

19.19. The first present preceded by *mtw-ø ḫpr*.

See below 42.7.

19.20. Bibliography and references.

1. Young, *JNES* 20 (1961), 118, n. 17.
2. Young, *JNES* 20 (1961), 116.
3. Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 173-174.
4. Wente, *Verbs of Motion*, 96-108; Groll, *Negative*, 77-79.
5. *GG*, 331; Erman, *NAG*, 499; Wente, *Verbs of Motion*, 108-116; Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 238, 239 and 244; Polotsky, *Papers*, 236 b (= *OLZ* 56 (1959), 458).
6. Wente, *Verbs of Motion*, 57-88; Young, *JNES* 20 (1961), 117.
7. Groll, *JNES* 28 (1969), 186-187, 12 and 13.
8. However, for a different opinion see Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 227, n.73.
9. Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 91, Ex. 10.
10. Polotsky, *Papers*, 244, 12 (= *Or*. 29 (1960), 398, 12).
11. Young, *JNES* 20 (1961), 117.
12. Young, *JAOS* 89 (1969), 399-407.

CHAPTER 20. THE NEGATIVE PATTERNS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE FIRST PRESENT

20.1. Introduction.

Since on the one hand the time indication of the first present ranges from the immediate present to the past (see above 19.1.-19.2.), and on the other, the negative verbal system of Late Egyptian is visibly more sensitive to time indication than the affirmative verbal system, it is only reasonable to describe the negative patterns corresponding to the first present according to their time indication.[1.]

1. First present patterns indicating, referring to, or including the immediate present or a 'near-future' time, can be made negative by being preceded by *bn*.[1.]

2. First present patterns indicating the simple present tense are made negative by *bw iri.f stp.f*.[2.] The statement that *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f ... (r-tnw)* is made negative by *bw iri.f stp.f* is based on the observation that, within the framework of the non-prepositional initial main clauses, the only pattern which can express the affirmative simple present tense is *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f*, and the only pattern which can express the negative simple present is *bw iri.f stp.f*. Thus, the correlation between *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f ... (r-tnw)* and *bw iri.f stp.f* is based on their belonging to the same syntactic and tense categories.

However, one must bear in mind that, as far as the duration/non-duration contrast is concerned, *bw iri.f stp.f* and *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* are entirely different.

3. First present patterns composed of non-conclusive verbs and verbs of perception, i.e. verbs of knowing, feeling,

talking and stopping are made negative by *bw iri.f ptr.f* both when indicating an immediate present and when indicating the simple present tense (see below 20.7.7.-20.7.8.); e.g. *tw.i ḥr ptr.f* is made negative by *bw iri.f ptr.f*.

4. First present patterns indicating the past tense are made negative by *bwpw.tw stp.f* or *bwpw.f šm.*[3.] The statement that *tw.i šm.kwi* is made negative by *bwpw.i šm* is based on the observations:

a). the only verbal formation within the framework of the non-prepositional initial main clauses which can express the affirmative past tense of a verb of motion is *tw.i šm.kwi*.

b). the only verbal formation within the initial main clauses which can express the negative past tense of a verb of motion is *bwpw.i šm*.

In the correlation between *tw.i šm.kwi* and *bwpw.i šm*, both aspect and mode of action are different.

5. First present patterns indicating the 'not yet' connotation are negated by *bw iri.t.f stp.f*.[4.]

The *bw iri.t.f stp.f* can be classified as a lone negative pattern, since the affirmative aspect-tense connotations of 'already' are achieved by lexical means; i.e. by extensions of adverbs of time.

20.2. The *bn tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* pattern.[5.]

20.2.1. The *bn tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* pattern after the indirect indicators of initiality.

a). After the dependent *iw*.

Ex. 825, *HO*, pl. CXV, 4, vs. 1: ....

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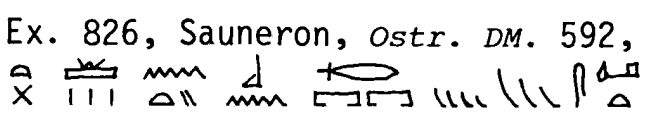
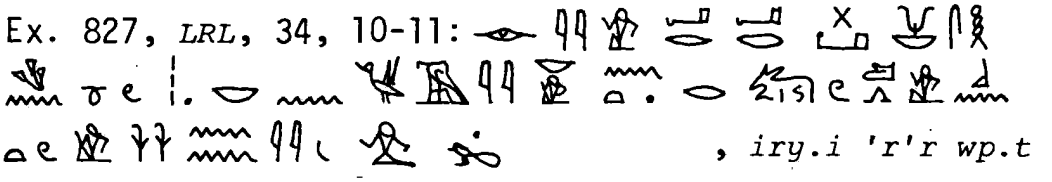
, ... *iw bn tw.n ḥr nn.t m nn.t nb*, ... so that we are not making any omission.

b). After *nty*.

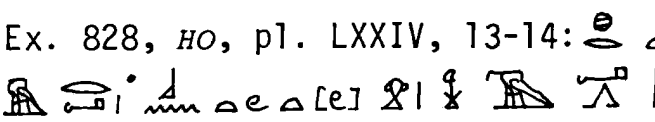
Ex. 826, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM.* 592, 6-7:  , *ir p3-nk.t nty bn pr-'3 '.w.s. (ḥr) di.t.s n.i....*, As for what Pharoah, l.p.h., is not giving to me.....

20.2.2. Verbal formations which can precede a *bn tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* formation.

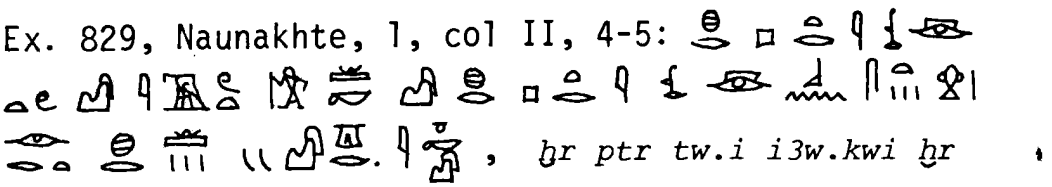
a). The perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 827, *LRL*, 34, 10-11:  , *iry.i 'r'r wp.t nb sḫn nb n p3y.i-nb nty r-iwd.i bn tw.i (ḥr) nn.t*, I carried out all the business and all the commissions of my lord which were charged to me. I am not neglectful.

b). A first present with an adverbial predicate.

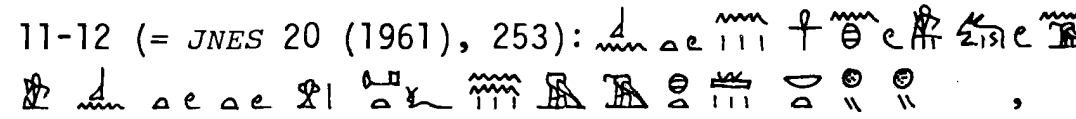
Ex. 828, *HO*, pl. LXXIV, 13-14:  , *ḥr tw.tw m-s3.s m r-' bn tw.tw ḥr ḫ3'.s*, But one is still after her; one is not leaving her in peace.

c). A first present with the stative of an adjectival verb, filling a second position.

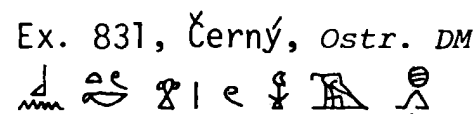
Ex. 829, Naunakhte, 1, col II, 4-5:  , *ḥr ptr tw.i i3w.kwi ḥr*

ptr bn st ḥr ir.t ḫr.t.i gr ink, See, I am old; and see, they are not looking after me in my turn.

d). A first present negated by *bn .... iwn3*.

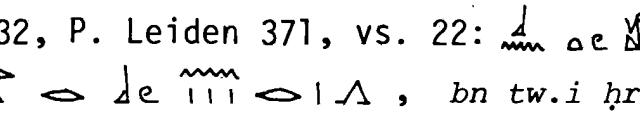
Ex. 830, Oriental Institute Ostracon No. 16991, vs. 11-12 (= *JNES* 20 (1961), 253):  , *bn tw.n (m) 'nḫ.w iwn3 bn tw.tw (ḥr) di.t.f n.n m 3ḫ.t nb m 3ḫ.t nb*, We are not among the living (if) we are given nothing at all.

e). As the apodosis of a protasis introduced by *ir wn ø-A*.

Ex. 831, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 303, 4:  , *ir wn ḥnq.t bn tw.k ḥr wḫ3(.i)*, If there is beer, you never look for me.

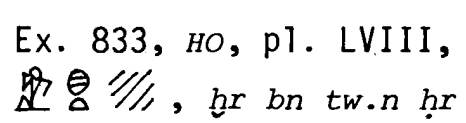
20.2.3. The *bn tw.i (ḥr) rḫ stp.f* formation.

A first present expresses inability by *bn tw.i (ḥr) rḫ stp.f*.

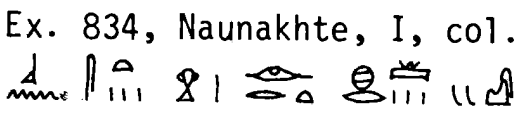
Ex. 832, P. Leiden 371, vs. 22:  , *bn tw.i ḥr rḫ pr.t r-bl*, I am unable to go out. (19th. Dynasty.)

20.2.4. The *bn tw.i (ḥr) stp.f* pattern after particles.

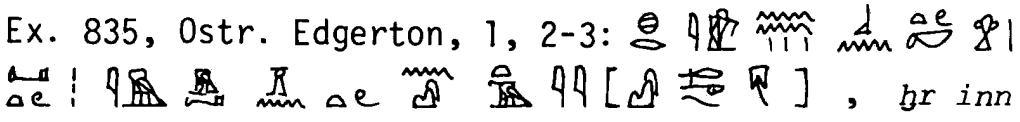
a). After *ḫr*.

Ex. 833, *HO*, pl. LVIII, 1, 3:  , *ḫr bn tw.n ḥr nd ḫ.t*, We are not asking anything. (19th. Dynasty.)

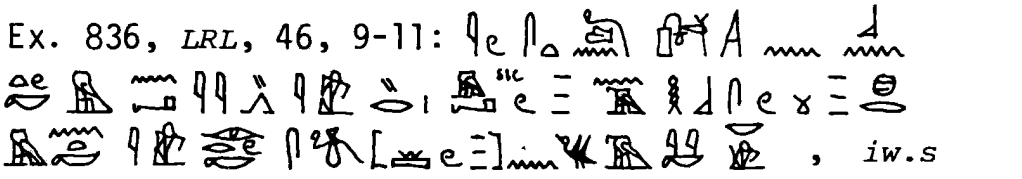
b). After *ḫr ptr*.

Ex. 834, Naunakhte, I, col. II, 5:  , *ḫr ptr bn st ḥr ir.t ḫr.t.i gr ink*, See, they are not looking after me in my turn.

c). After *ḫr inn*.

Ex. 835, Ostr. Edgerton, 1, 2-3:  , *ḫr inn bn tw.k ḥr di.t.w imi ini.tw n.i t3y (.i-'3.t)*, And if you are not giving them (to me), give me back my she-ass (lit. 'let my she-ass be returned to me').

d). After the interrogative particle.

Ex. 836, *LRL*, 46, 9-11:  , *iw.s (ḥr) ḏd n sš A (i)n bn tw.k m n'.t irm n3-ḥbs.w ḫr ntk i.iri.k swḏ(.w) n p3y.k-nb*, She asked the scribe A, "Are you not taking the clothes yourself? (Lit. 'Are you not going with the clothes yourself?') It is you who must hand them over to your master".

20.3. A first present with an adverbial phrase as predicate is negated by being preceded by *bn*.

Ex. 837, P.DM, 8, rt. 3 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113): , *bn n3y.k-iry im r-ḏr.w*, Not all your colleagues are there.

20.3.1. After the indirect indicators of initiality.

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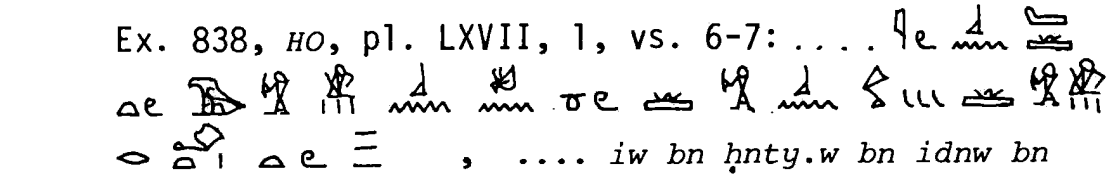
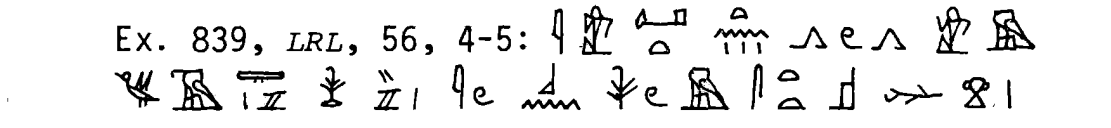
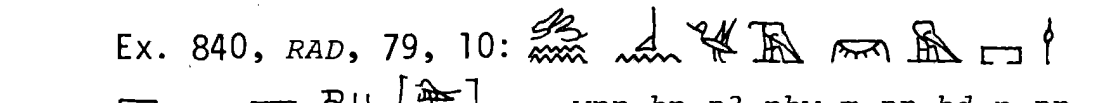
a). After *iw*.

Ex. 838, *HO*, pl. LXVII, 1, vs. 6-7: . . . .  , ... *iw bn ḥnty.w bn idnw bn w'rty.w r-ḥ3t.w*, ... having no officers, no deputy and no district officers before them.

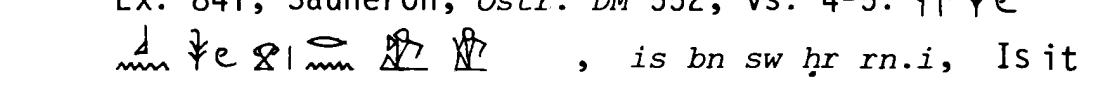
iw precedes the first noun, but *bn* precedes all three nouns.

Ex. 839, *LRL*, 56, 4-5:  , *i.di.tn iw.i m p3-t3-rsy iw bn sw m stt ḥr.s*, It is when there is no brush(?) upon it that you shall have me return from the south.

b). After *wnn*.

Ex. 840, *RAD*, 79, 10:  , *wnn bn p3-nbw m pr-ḥḏ n pr ḥnm*, So that there is none of the gold in the treasury of the temple of Khnum.

20.3.2. After particles.

Ex. 841, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM* 552, vs. 4-5:  , *is bn sw ḥr rn.i*, Is it not in my name?

20.4. The syntactic environment of the *bn sw* + adv. pattern.

20.4.1. The *bn sw* + adv. pattern can be preceded by the following verbal formations.

a). A first present pattern with the stative of a verb of motion.

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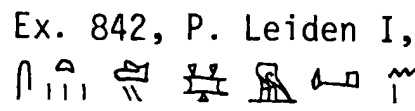
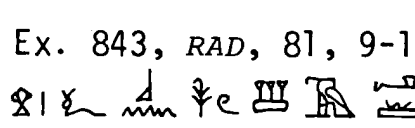
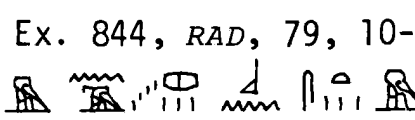
Ex. 842, P. Leiden I, 365, 7:  , *st iw n.tn bn st dy m-di.n*, They went to you. They are not here with us. (Dynasty 19.)

b). *bn sw ꜣ3' p3-hrw* in an end position after a *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past.

Ex. 843, *RAD*, 81, 9-10:  , *iw.w (ḥr) tm h3b ḥr.f bn sw (r-)ꜣ3'-(r) p3-hrw*, And they did not report about it. There is (no report) to this day.

20.4.2. Non-verbal formations which can precede *bn sw* + adv.

A frontal extraposition.

Ex. 844, *RAD*, 79, 10-11:  , *ḥr ir p3y.f-wgg m n3-it bn st m t3-šnw.t n ḫnm*, And as for its lacking grain, it is not in the granary of Khnum. (Lit. 'As for its lacking as far as grain is concerned ....')

20.4.3. The *bn sw* + adv. after particles.

After *y3*.

Ex. 845, *LRL*, 58, 15: , *y3 bn sw m-di.f*, Indeed, he has not got it.

20.5. The negation of the *tw.i stp.kwi* formation.

20.5.1. The apparent incompatibility of *bn* with .... *stp.kwi*.

The pattern *tw.i stp.kwi*, that is a first present with the stative of a transitive verb, is negated by *bn* only when *bn* is preceded by the dependent *iw*.

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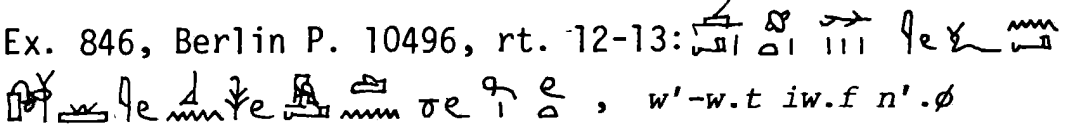
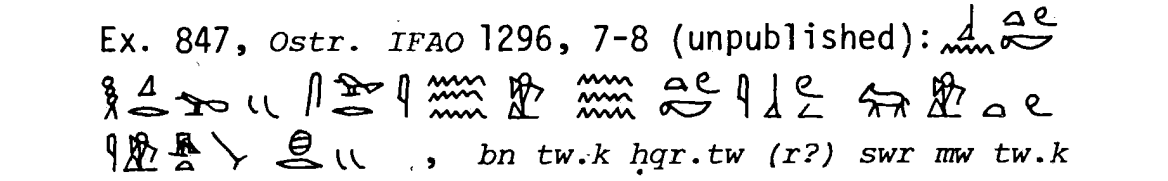
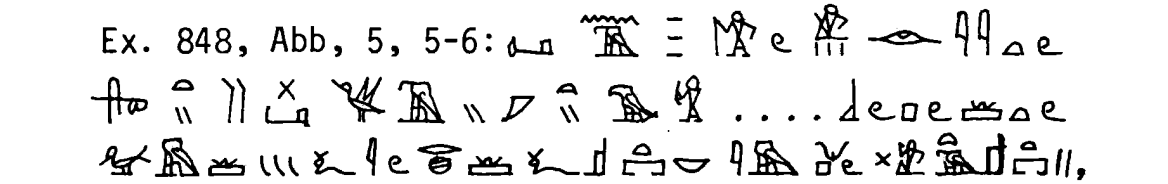
Ex. 846, Berlin P. 10496, rt. 12-13:  *w'-w.t iw.f n'.ø iw bn sw mdn.tw*, A coffin which is smooth, which is not painted.

However, a first present pattern with the stative of an intransitive verb can be preceded by *bn*.

Ex. 847, *Ostr. IFAO* 1296, 7-8 (unpublished):  *bn tw.k ḥqr.tw (r?) swr mw tw.k ib.tw r mw.t ḫr.tw*, You are not hungry to drink water (?); you are thirsty to death, so they say.

20.5.2. The apparent counterpart relationship between *bwpw.tw stp.i* and *tw.i stp.kwi*.

A first present pattern with the stative of a transitive verb, when indicating past time, is negated by *bwpw.tw stp.f* and not by **bn tw.i stp.kwi*; i.e. *tw.i stp.kwi*, when indicating past time, is incompatible with *bn*.

Ex. 848, Abb, 5, 5-6:  *di n3-sr.w iry.tw smty p3y-ḥmty .... bwpw.tw gm.t.f iw rḫ.f s.t nb im wpw(-ḥr) t3-s.t 2*, The magistrates had this coppersmith examined .... It was not found that he knew of any place there except the two places.

20.5.3. The apparent counterpart relationship between *bwpw.i* *šm* and *tw.i šm.kwi*.

When *tw.i* + the stative of a verb of motion indicates the past or the present perfect tense, its negation is *bwpw.i šm*, and not **bn tw.i šm.kwi*.[3.]

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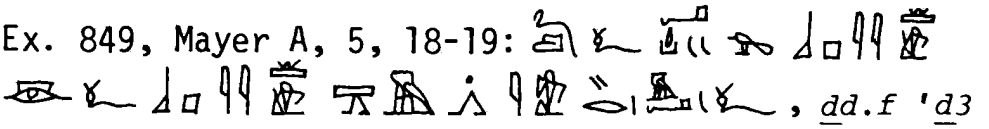
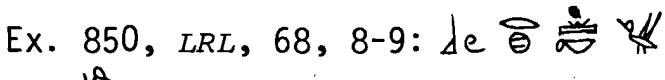
Ex. 849, Mayer A, 5, 18-19:  , *dd.f 'd3 bwpwy.i ptr.f bwpwy.i šm irm.f*, "It is not true!" he said. "I did not see him, and I did not go with him."

20.5.4. The counterpart relationship between *bw rḫ.i* and *tw.i rḫ.kwi*.

tw.i rḫ.kwi, when indicating the notion of 'knowing', is incompatible with *bn*, thus it is negated by the pattern *bw rḫ.i*.

Ex. 850, *LRL*, 68, 8-9:  , *bw rḫ.k p3-shr n ḥ3ty.i*, Don't you know the nature of my heart?

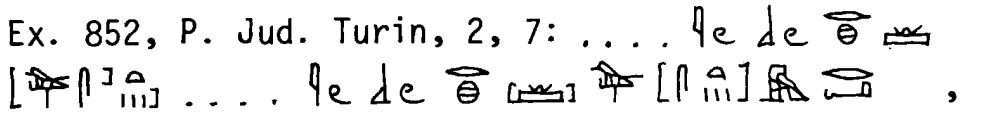
20.5.5. *bw rḫ.i* after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *r-dd*.

Ex. 851, Abb, 5, 6-7: , *iry.f 'nḫ n nb '.w.s. .... r-dd bw rḫ.i s.t nb dy m-ḥnw n3y-s.wt*, He took an oath .... saying, "I know of no place here among these tombs".

20.5.6. *bw rḫ.i* after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After the dependent *iw*.

Ex. 852, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 7:  , ... *iw bw rḫ.i st .... iw bw rḫ.i (st) m r-'*, ... although I do not know who (lit. 'them') .... although I do not know them either.

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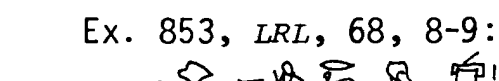
20.5.7. The *bw rḫ.i* formation is usually followed by *r-ḏd*.

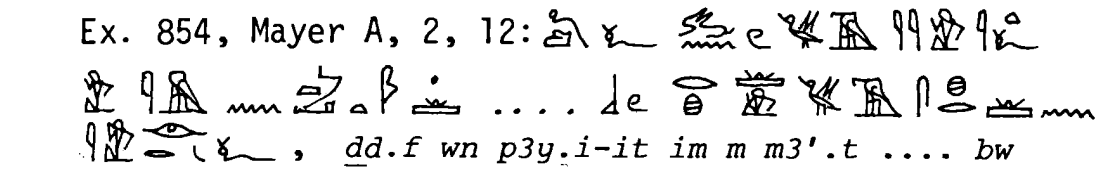
When the verbal formation which follows *r-ḏd* has an adverbial predicate *r-ḏd* very often replaces the pronominal actor expression.

Ex. 853, *LRL*, 68, 8-9:  , *bw rḫ.k p3-sḫr n ḥ3ty.i r-ḏd m-s3.k*, Don't you know the nature of my heart, that it is concerned about you?

Thus *r-ḏd* in *r-ḏd m-s3.k* replaces *sw*; i.e. *r-ḏd*, when following *bw rḫ.f* behaves syntactically as *nty*; namely, when the antecedent of the *r-ḏd m-s3.k* formation is indentical with the virtual subject of the 'that-clause', *r-ḏd* replaces the subject of the subordinate clause.

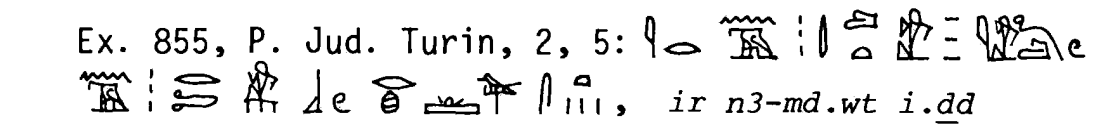
20.5.8. The *bw rḫ.f* construction can be preceded by the following verbal formation.

The *wn A* + adverbial extension.

Ex. 854, Mayer A, 2, 12:  , *ḏd.f wn p3y.i-it im m m3'.t .... bw rḫ.i p3-sḫr n i.iri.f*, He said, "My father was indeed there, ... I have no knowledge of what he did".

20.5.9. The *bw rḫ.f* formation following a non-verbal construction.

A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

Ex. 855, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 5:  , *ir n3-md.wt i.ḏd n3-rmṯ bw rḫ.i st*, As for the matters which the people reported, I do not know them.

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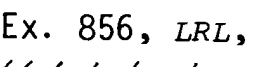
20.5.10. The *bw rḫ.i* formation after particles.

After *ḥr*.

Ex. 856, *LRL*, 72, 15-16:  *ḥr bw rḫ(.i) p3-br(?) nty /////f /////f ....*, And I don't know the boat ....

20.6. The *bn .... iwn3* formation.[6.]

The first present patterns which are negated by *bn .... iwn3*.

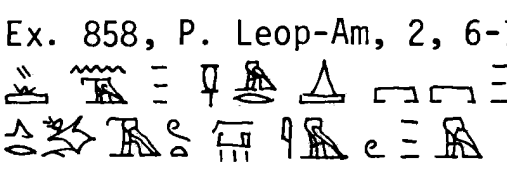
20.6.1. The *bn sw* + adv. .... *iwn3* after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *dd*.

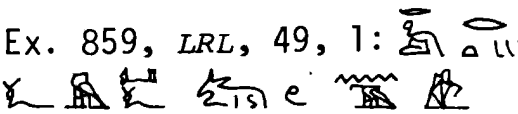
Ex. 857, Mayer B, 1: , *iw.i (ḥr) dd n.f bn sw m šs iwn3 p3-pš i.iri.k n.i*, I told him "The share you have left me isn't fair". (Lit. 'It is not fair, the division which you made for me'.)

20.6.2. After the indirect indicators of initiality.

The dependent *iw*.

Ex. 858, P. Leop-Am, 2, 6-7:  , *iw bn sw mi-qd n3-mr.w .... nty tw.n (ḥr) šm r t3.t im.w m dwn m dwn iwn3*, ... this not being like the pyramids .... which we habitually go to rob.

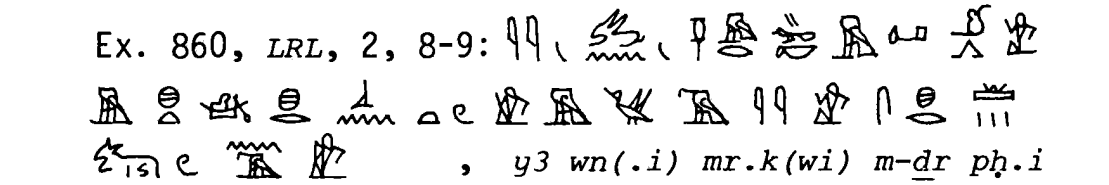
As a virtual clause.

Ex. 859, *LRL*, 49, 1:  , *ø- rmṯ iw bn '3.f m-di.f iwn3*, He is a man who has no experience (lit.

'his maturity is not in his possession').

20.6.3. The *bn .... iwn3* formation after particles.

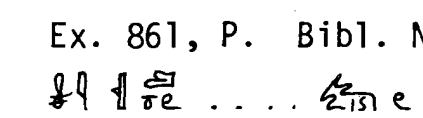
After *ḫr*.

Ex. 860, *LRL*, 2, 8-9:  , *y3 wn(.i) mr.k(wi) m-ḏr pḥ.i m ḫd ḫr bn tw.i m p3y.i-sḫr iwn3*, Really, I was ill after my journey north, and I am far from being back to my normal state of health. (Lit. 'I am not in my manner ....').

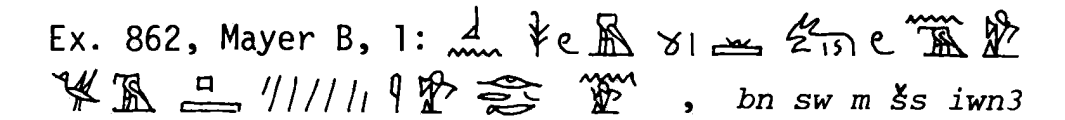
20.6.4. The occurrences of the *bn .... iwn3* formation.

It seems that *bn .... iwn3* occurs within the framework of the first present mainly with patterns with adverbial predicates. Moreover, it seems that certain adverbial elements tend to occur with *bn .... iwn3*.

1. The adverbial *mi-qd* (see above Ex. 858).

Ex. 861, P. Bibl. Nat. 237, Frag. 5, rt. 2:  , *bn st mi-qd .... iwn3*, They are not like ....[7].

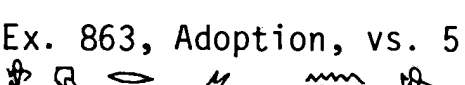
2. The adverbial *m šs* in the formation *bn sw m šs iwn3* + rear extraposition.

Ex. 862, Mayer B, 1:  , *bn sw m šs iwn3 p3-pš i.iri.k n.i*, The share you have left me isn't fair.

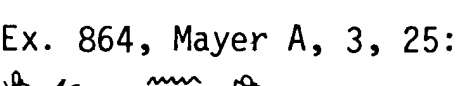
3. The adverbial *m-di A*.

20. THE NEGATIVE PATTERNS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE FIRST PRESENT

A first present with the adverbial phrase *m-di A* as predicate.

Ex. 863, Adoption, vs. 5:  , *bn st m-di.f m b3k.w m r-' iwn3*, They are not his slaves any more.

4. The converted first present with adverbial predicate.

Ex. 864, Mayer A, 3, 25:  , *bn wn.f irm.i iwn3*, He was not with me.

20.7. The *bw iri.f stp.f* formation (i.e. Coptic ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ).[8.]

20.7.1. Introduction.

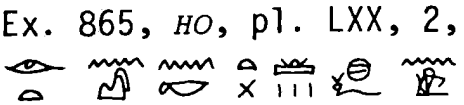
First present patterns indicating the simple present tense (i.e. an activity performed regularly and at frequent intervals) are not negated by *bn* but by *bw iri.f stp.f*.

First present patterns composed of verbs of perception, non-conclusive verbs, verbs of ceasing and verbs of talking and their substitutes, even when indicating the immediate present tense, cannot be negated by *bn*. They are negated by *bw iri.f ptr.f*. Note that these are the verbs which cannot take the form of a stative.

20.7.2. The morphology of the *bw iri.f stp.f* formation.

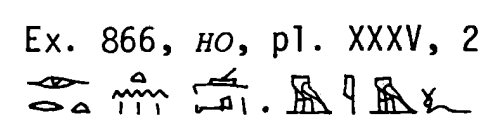
It seems that the *iri* in *bw iri.f* sometimes has its full meaning.

Compare

Ex. 865, *HO*, pl. LXX, 2, 6:  , *ḫr bw iri t3y.t-mw.t ir.t n.t nk.t ḫr.f n.i*, "Now your mother does not supply

anything to you" so he keeps telling me;

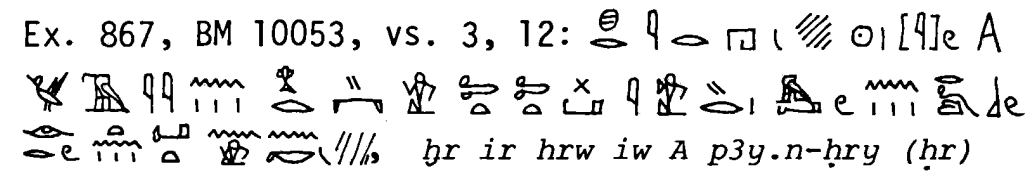
with

Ex. 866, *HO*, pl. XXXV, 2, vs. 1-2:  *ir p3-nty bw iri.tn w' im.f* ...., As for the one whom you cannot join .... .

It seems that the expression *iri w'* does not occur as **bw iri.f ir.t w'*; in this combination *iri* has its full lexical meaning.

20.7.3. *bw iri.f stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *r-dd*:

Ex. 867, BM 10053, vs. 3, 12:  *ḫr ir hrw iw A p3y.n-ḥry (ḥr) tttt irm.n r-dd bw iri.tn di.t n.i nk.t*, Now after a few days A, our chief, quarrelled with us, saying, "you never give me anything".

20.7.4. The *bw iri.f stp.f* formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.

a). After *iw*.

Ex. 868, *LRL*, 31, 11-12: *iw.i 'ḥ'.k(wi) m p3y.f-wb3 m mnt iw bw iri.i qnw*, I stand in his open courtyard daily, not getting tired.

b). After *nty*.

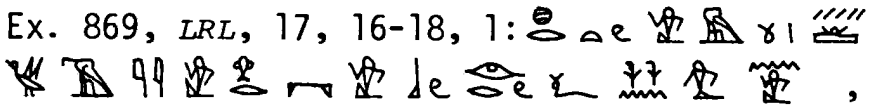
See above Ex. 866.

c). After *wn*.

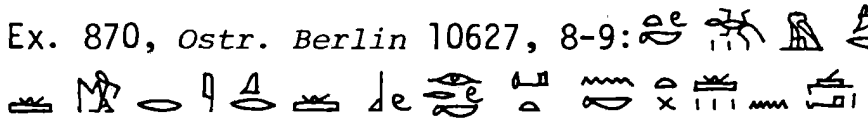
See below Ex. 1616.

20.7.5. Verbal formations which can precede a *bw iri.f stp.f* pattern.

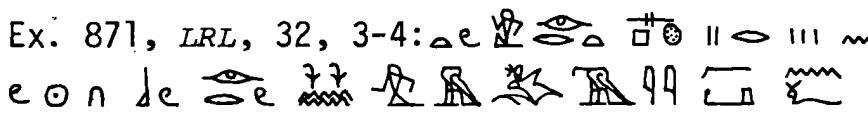
a). A *tw.i* + adverbial predicate formation.

Ex. 869, *LRL*, 17, 16-18, 1:  , *ḫr tw.i m šs m šs m-di p3y.i-ḥry bw iri.f nn.t n.i*, And I am doing quite well with my chief. (Lit. 'I am quite all right with my chief'.) He does not neglect me.

b). A *tw.i 'š3.kwi* formation.

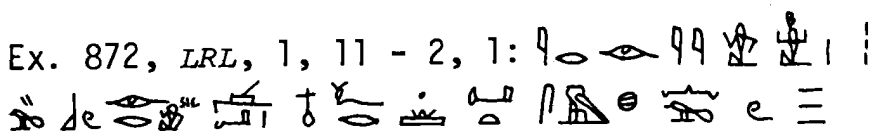
Ex. 870, *Ostr. Berlin* 10627, 8-9:  , *tw.k 'š3 m dri r iqr bw iri.k di.t nk.t n w'*, You are very rich, but you do not give anything to anyone.

c). A *tw.i (ḥr) stp.f .... sp 2 r 3 p3-sw 10* formation.

Ex. 871, *LRL*, 32, 3-4:  , *tw.i (ḥr) ir.t sp 2 r 3 n p3-sw 10 bw iri(.i) nn.t m t3.t n.f mw*, I do it two or three times every ten days. I do not fail to take water to him.

Although *tw.i (ḥr) ir.t* and *bw iri.i nn.t* cover the same time range, the former is not negated by *bn tw.i (ḥr) ir.t*.

d). In the apodosis after a protasis introduced by *ir*.

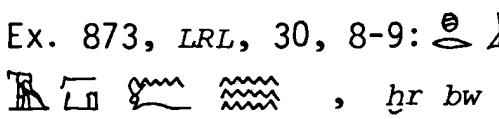
Ex. 872, *LRL*, 1, 11 - 2, 1:  ,

20. THE NEGATIVE PATTERNS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE FIRST PRESENT

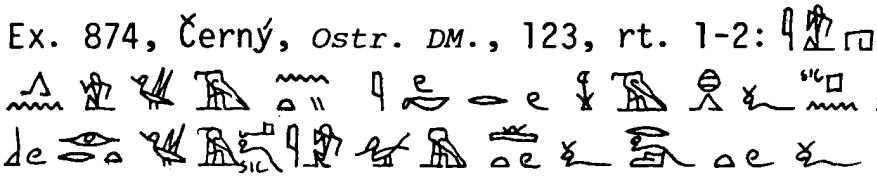
ir iry.i ḥḥ n bt3 bw iri w' nfr di.t smḫ.w, Even if I had committed millions of crimes could not one good (deed) make up for them? (lit. 'make them be forgotten?')

20.7.6. The *bw iri.f stp.f* formation after particles.

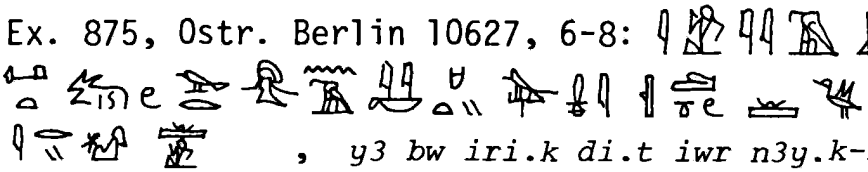
a). After *ḫr*.

Ex. 873, *LRL*, 30, 8-9:  , *ḫr bw ir.i nn.t m it3.t n.f mw*, And I never fail to take water to him.

b). After *p3-wn*.

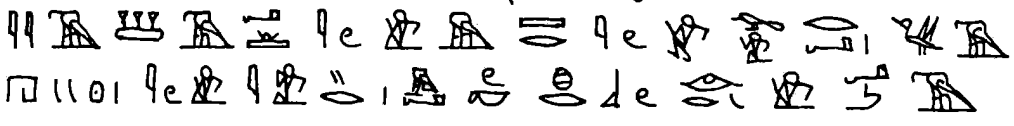
Ex. 874, Černý, *Ostr. DM.*, 123, rt. 1-2:  , *i.ḥ3b n.i p3-nty iw.k r wḫ3.f p3-wn bw iri p3-'dd gm.t.f r dd.f*, Write to me what you are going to demand, since the lad cannot inform me (lit. 'the lad does not find himself to say it').

c). After *y3*.

Ex. 875, Ostr. Berlin 10627, 6-8:  , *y3 bw iri.k di.t iwr n3y.k-ḫm.t mi-qd p3y.k-iry*, Indeed you are unable to make your wives pregnant, like your friend.

20.7.7. *bw iri.f 'm3.f* (i.e. a non-conclusive verb).[9.]

This expresses the 'can', 'could' notion.

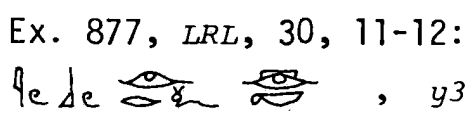
Ex. 876, P.DM, 5, rt. 3-4 (= Černý MSS. Notebook 107): 

20. THE NEGATIVE PATTERNS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE FIRST PRESENT

, *y3 š3' iw.i m šri (m) r-' (r) p3-hrw iw.i irm.k ḫr bw iri.i 'm3 p3y.k-q3i*, Indeed, since I was a child, still, (down to) today, when with you, I can not understand your nature.

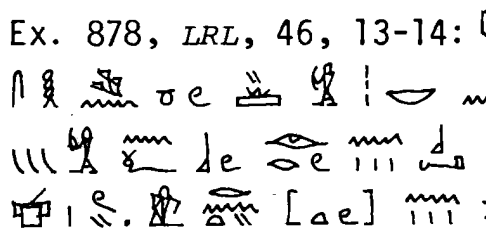
20.7.8. The *bw iri.f ptr.f*[10]. (i.e. a verb of perception) formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After *iw*.

Ex. 877, *LRL*, 30, 11-12:  , *y3 ir.t.i (ḥr) k3mn iw bw iri.f ptr.k*, Indeed my eye is going blind, and it can not see you.

20.7.9. Verbal formations which can precede a *bw iri.f b'* (i.e. a non-conclusive verb) formation.

A first present pattern with the infinitive of a transitive verb.

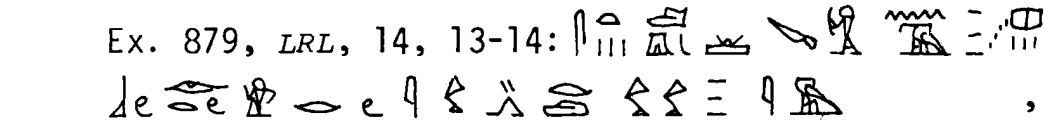
Ex. 878, *LRL*, 46, 13-14:  , *y3 tw.n (ḥr) ('r)'r sḫn nb n p3y.n-nb tw.n (ḥr) s3w n.f bw iri.n b' m sḫn nb swt nty (tw).n (ḥr) ir.t.w*, We really are carrying out all our master's commissions. We enjoy doing it. (Lit. 'We long for it.') We do not look down on any commission of his which we happen to execute.

Although *bw iri.n b'* and *tw.n (ḥr) ir.t.w* cover the same time range, the former is not negated by **bn tw.n (ḥr) ir.t b'*.[11].

20. THE NEGATIVE PATTERNS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE FIRST PRESENT

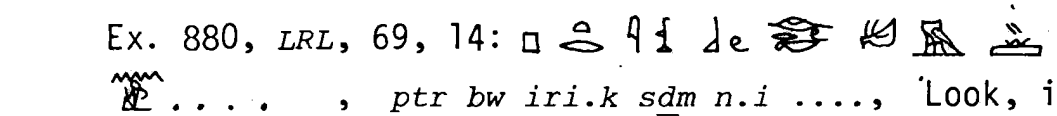
20.7.10. Verbal formations which can precede a *bw iri.f rw.t* (i.e. a verb of stopping) formation.

A first present pattern with the infinitive of a transitive verb.

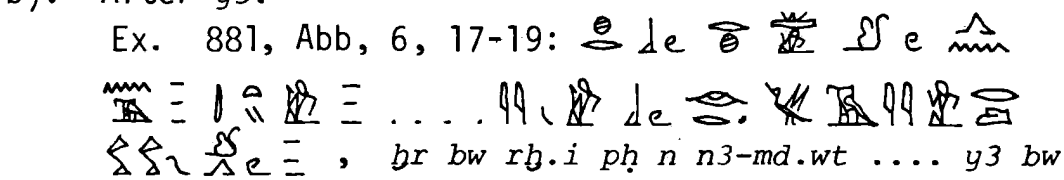
Ex. 879, *LRL*, 14, 13-14:  , *st dg3 n3-it bw iri.i rw.t rd.wy(.i) im*, They are sowing the barley. I do not remove my feet from there.

20.7.11. The *bw iri.f ptr.f* (i.e. a verb of perception, non-conclusive verb, verb of talking, or of ceasing) after particles.

a). After *ptr*.

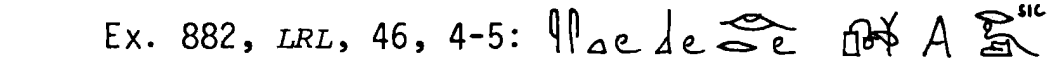
Ex. 880, *LRL*, 69, 14:  , *ptr bw iri.k sdm n.i ....*, Look, if you can not bring yourself to accept my advice (lit. 'if you can not listen to me') ....

b). After *y3*.

Ex. 881, Abb, 6, 17-19:  , *ḫr bw rḫ.i pḥ n n3-md.wt .... y3 bw iri p3y.i-rd.wy pḥ.w*, Now I do not know the validity(?) of the charges .... I can not fathom them at all.

Note that *bw rḫ.i pḥ* and *bw iri p3y.i-rd.wy pḥ* express the same idea (inability to understand) and cover the same time range.

c). After *ist*.

Ex. 882, *LRL*, 46, 4-5: 

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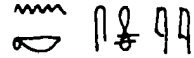
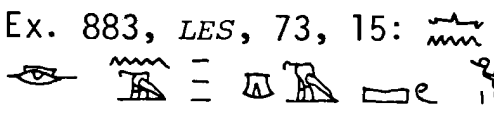
 , *ist bw iri sš A dd n.k smy*, Is the scribe A unable to report to you?

d). After the interrogative particle *in*.

Ex. 883, *LES*, 73, 15:  , *(i)n bw iri.k ptr n3-g3š.w*, Can't you see the migratory birds?

e). After *ḫr (i)n*.

Ex. 884, *LES*, 74, 1-2: , *ḫr (i)n bw iri.k ptr n3-iw r ddḥ.i 'n*, And do you not see the men who have come to imprison me already?

20.8. The *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation (see above 20.1. no. 5).

20.8.1. Morphology.[12]

The *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation is built of three elements:

1. *bw iri.t*;

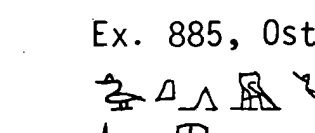
2. The actor expression, which can be either the pronominal suffix or a noun;

3. An infinitive, either of a transitive or intransitive verb.

20.8.2. The time-aspect indication of the *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation.

The affirmative lexical connotation corresponding to the negative 'not yet' is 'already'. Thus, every affirmative verbal formation within the framework of the initial main

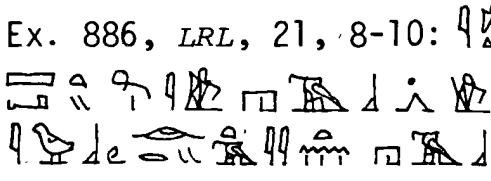
clauses, capable of expressing the connotation 'already' by the help of adverbial elements is made negative by the *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation. The *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation indicates that an action has not yet taken place up to the immediate present, although it has been expected by the speaker. This specific time-aspect connotation is very often achieved within the framework of the affirmative initial main clauses by the help of time expressions:

Ex. 885, Ostr. Berlin 10633, 2-3: 
r-dd 20 n hrw 'q m p3-3bd bw dy n.n diw,
Saying, "Twenty days have already passed this month, and ration has not yet been given to us".

The connotation 'already' is here achieved both by the stative of a verb of motion and the time expression *m p3-3bd*. Thus one can conclude that first present patterns which express the connotation 'already' are negated by *bw iri.t.f stp.f*.[13.]

20.8.3. The active *bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After *iw*.

Ex. 886, *LRL*, 21, 8-10: 
i.iri.i h3b n.tn t3-š'.t i.h3b.i n.tn ḥr n3-ny iw bw iri.t t3y.tn h3b ii n.i, It was before your letter reached me that I had already sent the letter which I sent to you about the spears.

20.8.4. Verbal formations which can precede a *iw bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation.

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a). An emphatic formation.

See Ex. 886.

b). A conjunctive formation.

Ex. 887, *LRL*, 55, 16-56, 1:

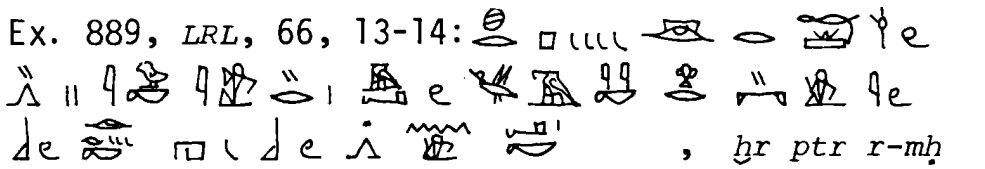
mtw.w wḏ.s m dqr iw bw iri.t p3-mw tḫb.s, And they shall plant it with fruit, before the flood has soaked it.

c). A *m-ḏr stp.f* formation followed by a first present formation.

Ex. 888, *LRL*, 46, 7-8: . . . .

m-ḏr ḏd.w n.f tw.k wḏ iw bw iri.t.n pḥ t3y.n-ḥnw.t, When he was told (that) you had left before we reached our mistress.

d). A circumstantial first present functioning as the second member of a nominal cleft sentence.

Ex. 889, *LRL*, 66, 13-14: 

ḥr ptr r-mḥ wḏ 2 iw.k irm p3y.k-ḥry iw bw iri.t.k h3b n.i '.k, Now see, it is your second journey with your superior, and you have not yet written to me about your condition.

20.8.5. Verbal formations which can follow a *(iw) bw iri.t.f stp.f* formation.

a). A *mtw.ø ḫpr* + emphatic formation.

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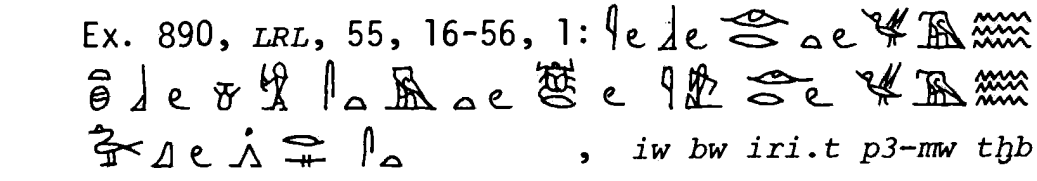
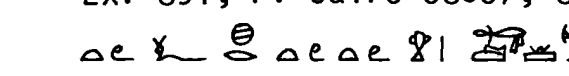
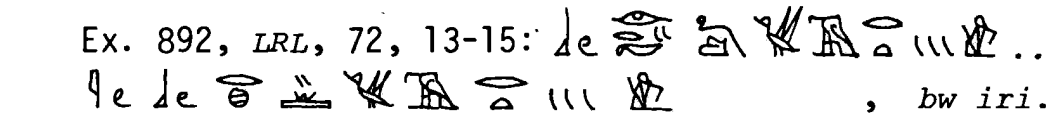
Ex. 890, *LRL*, 55, 16-56, 1:  , *iw bw iri.t p3-mw tḫb.s mtw ḫpr i.iri p3-mw 'q r.s*, ... while the water has not yet soaked it, and when the water enters into it.

b). A *ḫr* + first present formation.

Ex. 891, P. Cairo 58057, 8-9:  , *ptr bw di.t.k ini.tw.f ḫr tw.tw ḥr šd.t b3k.w.f*, Look, you have not yet sent it, and one takes its work. (Dynasty 19.)

Note that here, the verb *di* takes the form *bw di.t.f*.

c). The *iw bw rḫ.f* formation.

Ex. 892, *LRL*, 72, 13-15:  , *bw iri.t.k dd p3-rmṯ .... iw bw rḫ(.i) p3-rmṯ*, You have not yet named the man .... and I don't know (the name of) the man.

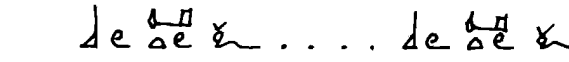
Note that the 'not knowing' includes the immediate present.

20.8.6. The *bw di.t.f* formation after particles.

a). After *ptr*.

See above Ex. 891.

b). After *ḫr*.

Ex. 893, Ostr. Turin 5395, vs. 4 (unpublished):  , *ḫr bw di.t.f .... bw di.t.f .... bw di.t.f*, And he has not yet given ....; he has not yet given...., he has not yet given .... . (Dynasty 19.)

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20.9. The passive *bw stp.y.t.A* formation.

20.9.1. Morphology.

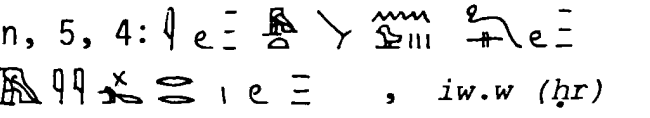
Note that the active formation is built by the auxiliary *iri.t.A* whereas, in the passive formation there is no auxiliary verb; i.e. the passive formation is composed of two elements only:

1. *bw stp.y.t*;

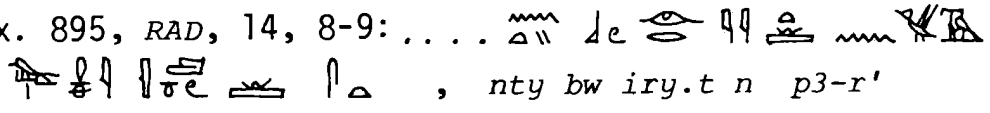
2. the actor expression is either a noun or nothing at all (see below Ex. 895).

20.9.2. The passive *bw stp.y.t.A* after the indirect indicators of initiality.[14]

a). After *iw*.

Ex. 894, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 4:  , *iw.w (ḥr) mwt n.w ḏs.w iw bw iry.t ṯ3y r.w*, They took their own lives before any harm had been done to them (lit. 'when harm was not yet done to them').

b). After *nty*.

Ex. 895, *RAD*, 14, 8-9: ....  , *nty bw iry.t n p3-r' mi-qd.s*, ... the like of which has not yet been made for Pre. (Lit. '.... which has not yet been made for Pre like it.') (Dynasty 19.) Note that *bw iry.t* is not followed by an actor expression.

20.9.3. Verbal formations which can precede the *bw stp.y.t.A* formation.

The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.

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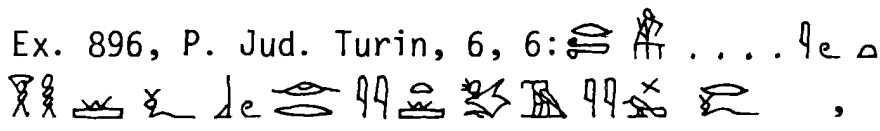
Ex. 896, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 6:  , *rmṯ iw.tw (ḥr) w3ḥ.f bw iry.t ṯ3y r.f*, The man(?) .... He was left alone. He has not yet been harmed.

20.9.4. *bw stpy.t.A* after particles.

After *ḫr*.

Ex. 897, An VI, 42: , *ḫr bw dy(.t n.i)pr.t diw r-š3' p3-hrw*, And neither seed nor rations have been given to me till today. (19th Dynasty.)

Note that *bw dy.t* is here followed by two actor expressions.

20. THE NEGATIVE PATTERNS WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE FIRST PRESENT

20.10. Bibliography and references.

1. Gardiner, *AZ* 41 (1904), 134-135; *JEA* 14 (1928), 11; Gunn, *Studies*, 92, n. 2; Behnk, *Amarna-Grammatik*, 99; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 240-242; Groll, *Negative*, 92-97. However, see von Calice, *AZ* 43 (1906), 149-151.
2. See Groll, *Negative*, Section 14.
3. Wente, *Verbs of Motion*, 67-70; Groll, *Negative*, 51-53.
4. Edgerton, *AJSL* 48 (1931), 27.
5. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 249-250.
6. Gardiner, *AZ* 41 (1904), 130-135; Stern, *Grammatik*, 388; Till, *Grammatik*, 403-407; Polotsky, *Papers*, 250-252, 28 (= *Or.* 29 (1960), 404-406); Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 473 and Groll *Negative*, Exx. 347, 348, 355 and 356.
7. See Gardiner, *AZ* 41 (1904), 133, n. 16.
8. Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), 11; Behnk, *Amarna-Grammatik*, 64; Edgerton, *AJSL* 48 (1931), 27-44; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 251, n.2; Gunn, *Studies*, Chapter 12; *GG*, 418; Erman, *NAG*, 773-774; Stern, *Grammatik*, 396; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 204-207.
9. Groll, *Negative*, 39-41, III, and Exx. 128-133.
10. Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 115-123.
11. Groll, *Negative*, Ex. 142.
12. Erman, *AZ* 50 (1912), 106-107; Sethe, *AZ* 47 (1910), 147-153; Edgerton, *AJSL* 48 (1931), 27, 39, and 42-44.
13. Groll, *Negative*, 234-240 and 79-81.
14. Edgerton, *AJSL* 48 (1931), 31.

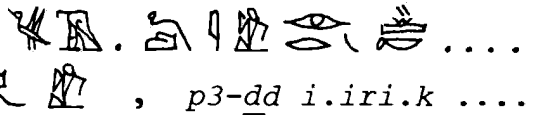
CHAPTER 21. THE INITIAL PROSPECTIVE *STP.F*

21.1. The justification of an initial prospective *stp.f*.

The initial prospective *stp.f* is negated by *bn*. Thus, one may assume that although the perfect active *stp.f* and the initial prospective *stp.f* have the same outward appearance, they are morphologically two different formations. The initial prospective *stp.f* expresses the optative mood.[1].

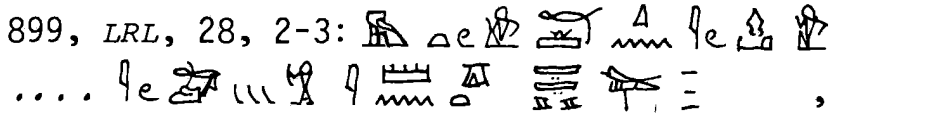
21.2. The initial prospective *stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *r-dd*.

Ex. 898, *LRL*, 53, 14-15:  , *p3-dd i.iri.k .... r-dd dd.w n3y-md.t*, As for your asking, ... "May they speak their case?" (Lit. 'As for the saying which you made .... saying, "May they speak their case?"')

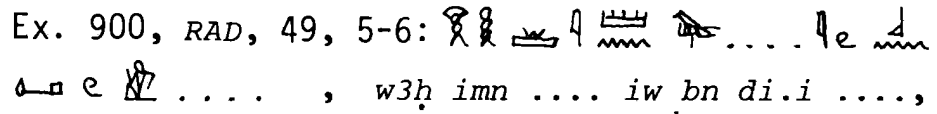
21.3. The initial prospective *stp.f* after the indirect indicators of initiality.

a). After the dependent *iw*.

Ex. 899, *LRL*, 28, 2-3:  ,
mtw.i mḥ qni.i im.k .... iw šdi imn-ns.t-t3.wy,
I will fill my embrace with you, ... Amon of the thrones of the two lands having saved (you).

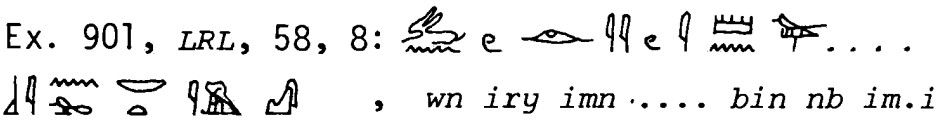
That *šdi A* is here the initial prospective *stp.f* and not the perfect active *stp.f* is indicated by the fact that a *stp.f* indicating future time, when following the dependent *iw*, is

made negative by *bn*, and not by *bwpw.f stp.f*.

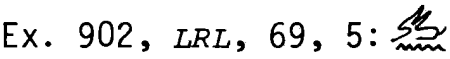
Ex. 900, *RAD*, 49, 5-6:  , *w3ḥ imn .... iw bn di.i ....*,
As Amon lives .... if I will not put .....

Thus every *iw stp.f* combination which indicates future time is apparently composed of *iw* + the initial prospective *stp.f*.

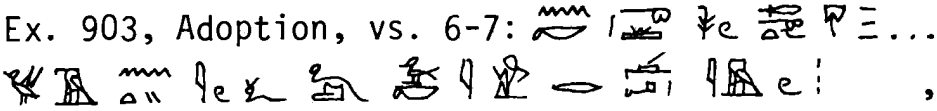
b). After *wn* (see below Exx. 1619-1620).

Ex. 901, *LRL*, 58, 8:  , *wn iry imn ..... bin nb im.i*,
And even if Amon .... will do every wrong to me.

That a *stp.f* indicating future time, when following *wn*, is the initial prospective *stp.f* is indicated by the fact that it is negated by *bn* (see below Chapter 22).

Ex. 902, *LRL*, 69, 5:  , *wn bn b3k.w*, If they will not work ....

Thus, when the initial prospective *stp.f* is preceded by *wn*, it constitutes a clause of condition.

Ex. 903, Adoption, vs. 6-7:  , *nk sw '3 .... p3-nty iw.f (r) dd b3k r w' im.w*, May a donkey copulate with him, whoever it shall be that shall call any of them a servant.

Note that the initial prospective *stp.f* is incompatible with *nty*; this gap is filled by *nty iw.f (r) stp.f*:

21.4. Classification of usage.

When describing the usages of the initial prospective *stp.f* we should pay attention to the different usages of the following patterns:

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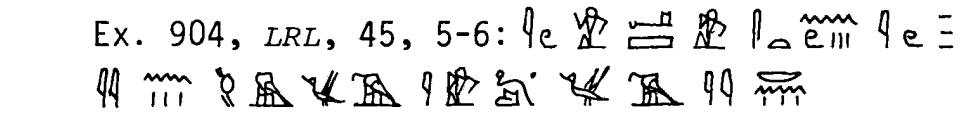
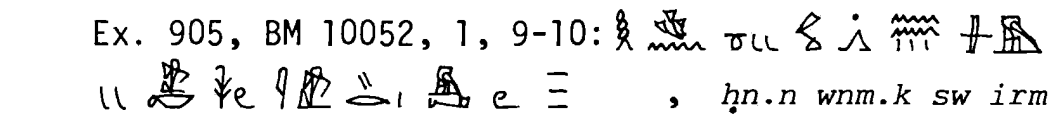
1. *stp.i*;
2. *stp.n*;
3. *stp.k (stp.tn)*;[2.]
4. *stp imn, stp.f*;
5. .... *di.i stp.f.*

21.4.1. The *stp.i (.n)* pattern.

The initial prospective *stp.i* expresses, on the one hand, the full readiness of the actor to perform the action expressed by *stp*, but on the other hand, an external initiator is always involved.[3.]

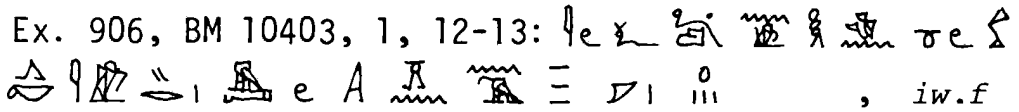
Ex. 904, *LRL*, 45, 5-6:  , *iw.i (ḥr) ʿš.s n.w iw.w (ḥr) ḏd iry.n iry.n m p3-i.ḏd p3y.n-nb*, And I read it to them. They said, "We will do, we will do according to what our lord has said."

21.4.2. The *stp.n* pattern very often indicates self exhortation.

Ex. 905, BM 10052, 1, 9-10:  , *ḥn.n wnm.k sw irm.w*, Let us go so that you may eat with them.

21.4.3. The *stp.k (.tn)* pattern.

The *stp.k* expresses a polite request; it is very often followed by the imperative formation.

Ex. 906, BM 10403, 1, 12-13:  , *iw.f (ḥr) ḏd n.i ḥn.k irm A ini n3-ḥmt*, He said to me, "Go with A, and bring off the copper!"

21.4.4. The *stp imn* pattern.

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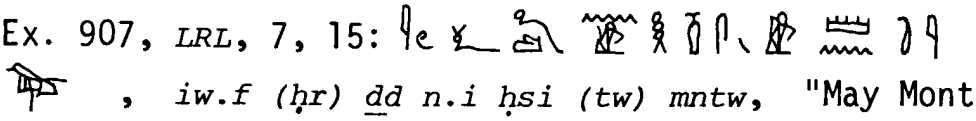
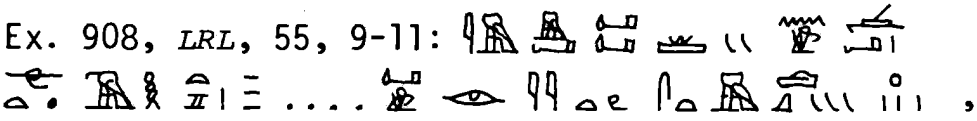
The *stp imn* pattern is used in oaths, promises, greetings or wishes. It is used to express solemnity with future reference. It would seem to occur with all types of verbs

Ex. 907, *LRL*, 7, 15:  , *iw.f (ḥr) dd n.i ḥsi (tw) mntw*, "May Montu favour you!" he said to me.

Note that the *stp A* formation can also express curses and evil wishes (see above Ex. 903).

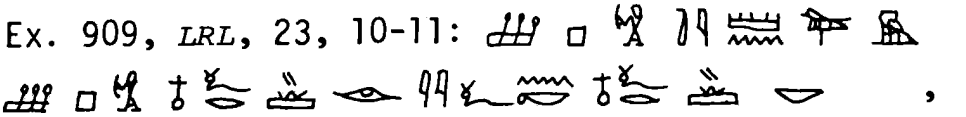
21.4.5. Imperative formation .... *di.i stp.f*; i.e. the equivalent of the Coptic ⲦⲀⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .[4.]

Ex. 908, *LRL*, 55, 9-11:  ,
imi dd.tw n.i w' st3.t 3ḥ.t .... di.i iry.tw.s m dqr,
Let there be given to me an aroura of land .... and I will have it farmed in fruit.

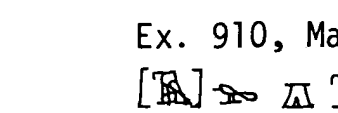
Thus, the *di.i* in *di.i stp.f* expresses rather the willingness of the speaker to perform the activity expressed by the following *stp.f*, and it should not be classified as a mere causative formation.

21.5. The initial prospective *stp.f* can be preceded by the following verbal formations.

21.5.1. An initial prospective *stp.f*.

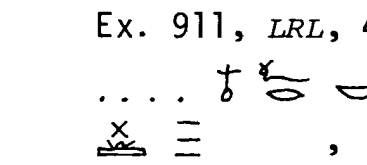
Ex. 909, *LRL*, 23, 10-11:  ,
šsp tw imn m šsp nfr iry.f n.k nfr nb, May Amon receive you with a good reception (and) may he do for you every sort of good.

21.5.2. The protasis of a conditional statement introduced by *inn* + a third future formation.

Ex. 910, Mayer A, 8, 8-9:  , *inn iw.tn (r) dd i.g3i g3y.i*, I will lie if you tell me to. (lit. 'If you bid me, "lie!" I will lie.')

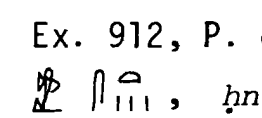
21.6. The initial prospective *stp.f* can be followed by the following verbal formations.

21.6.1. A negative third future formation.

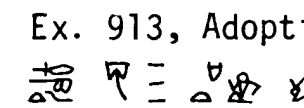
Ex. 911, *LRL*, 48, 1-2:  , *ḫr iry n.k imn .... nfr nb bn iw.k (r) 3ty m nk.t*, May Amon .... make you prosper in every way, and may you never lack anything.

Note that the actor expression of *iri* is *imn* whereas the actor of the third future is *.k*.

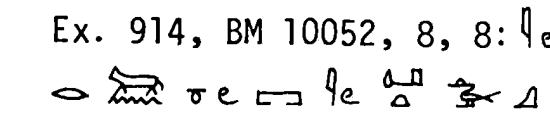
21.6.2. An imperative form.

Ex. 912, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 5:  , *ḫn.tn smty st*, Go and find out about them (lit. 'examine them').

21.6.3. An initial prospective *stp.f*.

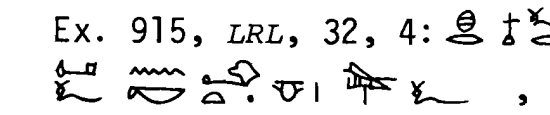
Ex. 913, Adoption, vs. 6:  , *nk sw '3 nk '3 ḫm.t.f*, May a donkey copulate with him. May a donkey copulate with his wife.

21.6.4. A *iw.f (ḫr) stp.f* of the past.

Ex. 914, BM 10052, 8, 8:  , *iw.w (ḥr) dd n.i ḥn.k r-ḫnw iw(.w) (ḥr) di.t 'q.i*, They said to me, "Go in!" and they took me in.

21.7. Non-verbal constructions which can precede the initial prospective *stp.f*.

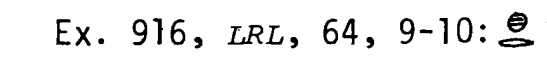
An adjectival pattern.

Ex. 915, *LRL*, 32, 4:  , *ḫr nfr iw.k (ḥr) di.t ḥ3ty.k n.f di.f n.k ḥ3ty.f*, It is good that you are considerate towards him. May he be considerate towards you.

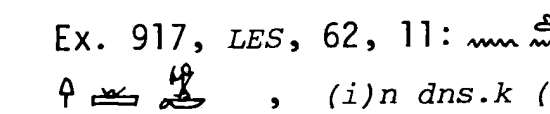
ḥ3ty.k precedes the dative expression, whereas *ḥ3ty.f* follows it; i.e. the prosodic structure of *di.f + ḥ3ty* is different from that of *iw.k (ḥr) di.t + ḥ3ty*.

21.8. The initial prospective *stp.f* after particles.

21.8.1. After *ḫr*.

Ex. 916, *LRL*, 64, 9-10:  , *ḫr 'š n.k imn ḥ3.t*, And may Amon be a pilot for you.

21.8.2. After the interrogative *(i)n*.

Ex. 917, *LES*, 62, 11:  , *(i)n dns.k (i)n mnḫ.k*, "Will you become bad-tempered or will you become good-tempered?"

21.9. Bibliography and references:

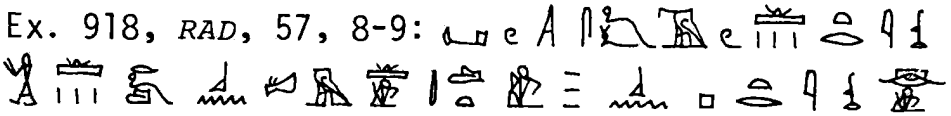
1. Thacker, *Relationship*, 213. Vergote, Bib. Or. 17 (1960), 26.
2. Thacker, *Relationship*, 214.
3. Groll, *Negative*, 118-120; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 192-193; Erman, *NAG*, 297.
4. Polotsky, *Papers*, 116-124 (= *Études*, 11-19); Groll, *Negative*, 241-243.

CHAPTER 22. THE *BN STP.F* FORMATION

The initial prospective *stp.f* is negated by being preceded by *bn*.[1]

22.1. The *bn stp.i* after the direct indicators of initiality.

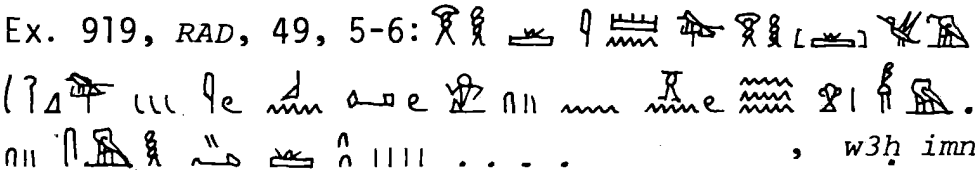
After *r-dd*.

Ex. 918, *RAD*, 57, 8-9: 

. . . . , *di A sdf3-try.t r-dd bn sdm.i md.t bn ptr.i* ...., A swore the *sdf3-tryt* oath, saying, "I will not hear anything, I will not see .... .

22.2. The *bn stp.i* formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.

22.2.1. After *iw*.

Ex. 919, *RAD*, 49, 5-6: 

, *w3ḥ imn w3ḥ p3-ḥq3 '.w.s. iw bn di.i 12 n inw-mw ḥr wnmy 12 (ḥr) smḥy dmd 24* ...., By Amon and the Ruler, l.p.h.! (Lit. 'As Amon endures ....') If I will not put 12 water-carriers on the right and 12 on the left, making 24 ....

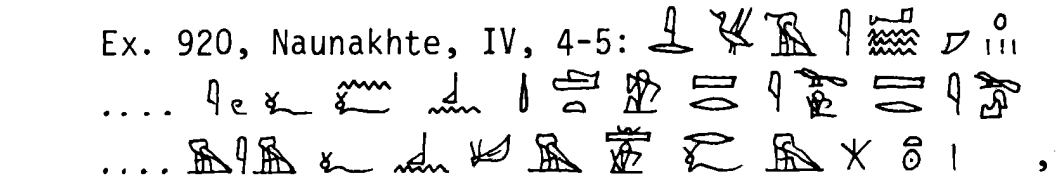
22.2.2. After *wn*.

See above Exx. 901 and 902.

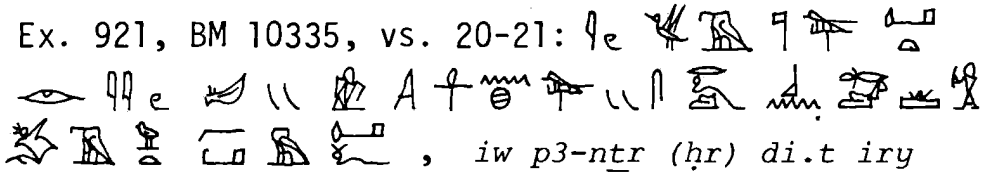
22.2.3. Note that *bn stp.f* is not preceded by *nty*, the construction *nty* + the third future filling the gap.

22.3. The *bn stp.i* formation can be preceded by the following verbal formations.

22.3.1. The *iw.f n.f* construction, when both indicate the same time range.

Ex. 920, Naunakhte, IV, 4-5: 
ir p3-i' .... iw.f n.f bn mdw šri šri.t .... im.f bn sdm.i r.f m dw3w, The washing bowl .... shall belong to him. No son or daughter .... shall contest his ownership, and no allegations of theirs will be paid any attention to in future (lit. I shall not hear of it in future).

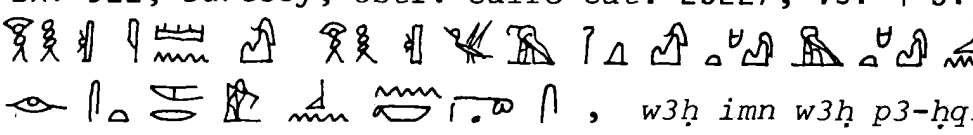
22.3.2. The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.

Ex. 921, BM 10335, vs. 20-21: 
iw p3-ntr (ḥr) di.t iry idnw A 'nḫ-n-nb '.w.s. r-dd bn šdi(.i) t3w.t m-di.f, And the god made the steward A give an oath, saying, "I will not exact penalty from him".

22.3.3. The perfect active *stp.f*.

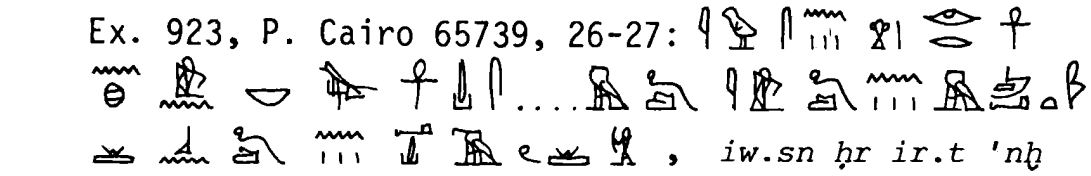
See above Ex. 918.

22.3.4. A first present pattern preceded by the *w3ḥ imn* .... pattern.

Ex. 922, Daressy, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25227, vs. 4-5: 
w3ḥ imn w3ḥ p3-ḥq3 ḥm.t m ḥm.t bn iri.s mr(.wt) bn nk.s, As Amon endures, as the Ruler endures, so a wife should

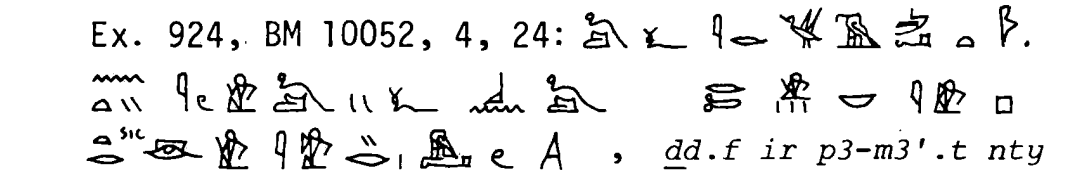
stay a wife; she should not have lovers (lit. 'make love') and she should not commit adultery.

22.3.5. The emphatic *i.dd.f* formation.

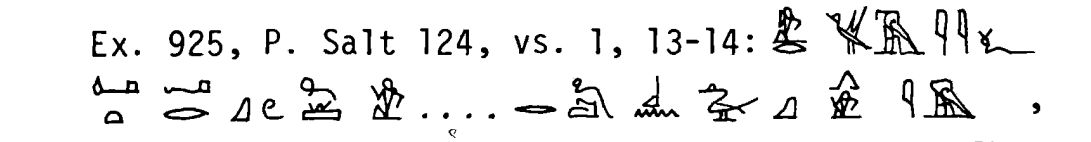
Ex. 923, P. Cairo 65739, 26-27:  *iw.sn ḥr ir.t 'nḫ n nb '.w.s. .... m-dd i.dd.n m m3'.t bn dd.n 'd3*, And they took an oath by the Sovereign, l.p.h., ... saying, "We will speak truly. We will not lie".

22.4. The *bn stp.f* formation can be preceded by the following non-verbal patterns.

22.4.1. An adjectival sentence pattern indicating future time.

Ex. 924, BM 10052, 4, 24:  *dd.f ir p3-m3'.t nty iw.i (r) dd.f bn dd(.i)rmt nb i.ptr.i irm A*, He insisted, "What I am going to say is true. (I) can not tell who all the people I saw with A were".

22.4.2. A one-membral nominal construction.

Ex. 925, P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 13-14:  *sḫ3-r p3y.f-di.t 'rq.i .... r-dd bn 'q.i im*, Charge concerning his causing me to swear .... saying, "I will not go in".

22.5. Bibliography and references.

1. Behnk, *Amarna-Grammatik*, 90b; Erman, *NAG*, 765; Černý, *JEA*, 23 (1937), 188; Groll, *Negative*, 116-121.

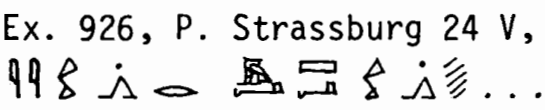
CHAPTER 23. THE FIRST FUTURE

23.1. Morphology.[1.]

The first future, i.e. *st (m) n'y r mš'* is built of the following elements:

1. The preformatives of the first present;
2. The preposition *m* + the infinitive of the verb *n'y*;

   Sometimes the *m* is omitted.

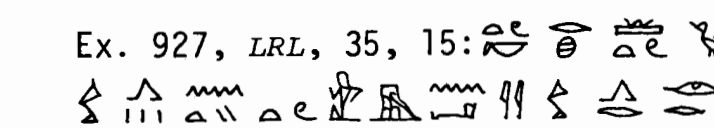
   Ex. 926, P. Strassburg 24 V, vs. 2:  *st (m) n'y r mš'* ...., They are going to travel.

3. The preposition *r* + an infinitive.

Thus the immediate present is expressed by *m n'y*, whereas the futurity is expressed by the *r* + infinitive.

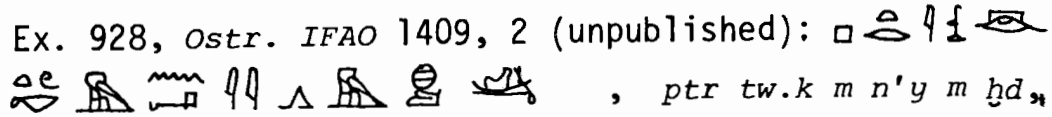
23.2. The first future after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After *nty*.

Ex. 927, *LRL*, 35, 15:  *tw.k rḫ.tw p3y-mš' nty tw.i m n'y r ir.t.f*, You know about this journey which I am going to make.

23.3. The peculiarity of the verb *ḫd*.

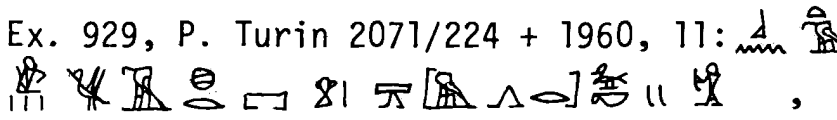
Note that, there are similar constructions which show slightly different characteristics when conveying the same tense.

Ex. 928, *Ostr. IFAO* 1409, 2 (unpublished):  *ptr tw.k m n'y m ḫd*,

Look, you are going to go north.

23.4. The peculiarity of the verb *šm*.

The verb *šm* occurs in a slightly different pattern, when conveying the near future.

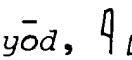
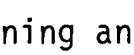
Ex. 929, P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, 11:  , *bn t3-is.t p3-ḫr ḥr š(m r) b3k*, The crew of the Tomb is not going to work.

23.5. Bibliography and references.

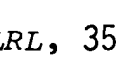
1. Gardiner, *AZ* 43 (1906), 97-98; Erman, *NAG*, 502; Polotsky, *Papers*, 236 (= *OLZ* 56 (1959), 458); Griffith, *Stories*, 153-154; Vergote, *CdE* 31 (1956), 218; Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses*, 65-70.

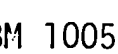
CHAPTER 24. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

24.1. Morphology.

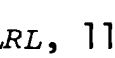
Late Egyptian verbs sometimes form the imperative by adding the prothetic *yōd*,  , but often they have no distinctive mark at all. Both forms of the imperative can be found in the same verb. We must not, however, assume *a priori* that all verbs with imperative meaning and prefixed  are true imperative forms. Coptic gives us a warning here, for it has very few real imperatives[1]. (all of them, incidently, with prefixed ⲁ : ⲁⲛⲓ, 'bring';ⲁⲫⲓ , 'do'; ⲁⲩ , 'pass on (to me)'; ⲁⲭⲓ , 'say'), having generally replaced the imperative form with the infinitive. Furthermore, in two cases (ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, 'see' and ⲁⲩⲱⲛ, 'open') the prefix ⲁ occurs with infinitive form of the verb. So it seems likely that among Late Egyptian imperatives, too, there may be infinitive forms (see above 11.5.2.)[2]. with prefixed , and that, in addition, some imperatives at least may occur without and without being infinitive forms.

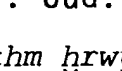
Examples of imperatives with the prothetic *yōd*.

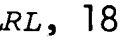
Ex. 930, *LRL*, 35, 16:  , *i.3s*, Hurry!

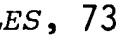
Ex. 931, BM 10052, 1, 13-14:  , *i.w3ḥ*, Stop!

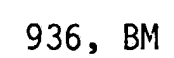
Examples of imperatives without the prothetic *yōd*.

Ex. 932, *LRL*, 11, 14:  , *šdi (wi)*, Save me!

Ex. 933, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2:  , *thm ḫrwy*, incite enmity!

Ex. 934, *LRL*, 18, 8:  , *ḏd*, Say! (Quite exceptional.)

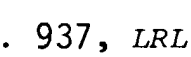
Ex. 935, *LES*, 73, 11-12:  , *ḏḏḥ sw*, Imprison him!

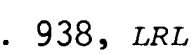
Ex. 936, BM 10052, 12, 5:  , *gr.w*, Keep silent (pl.)!

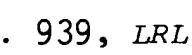
24.2. The dependent pronoun as direct object of the imperative.

What distinguishes the imperative form from the infinitive form of the imperative is their respective ways of expressing the pronominal object; the infinitive takes a pronominal suffix (see above 11.2.) and the imperative takes a dependent pronoun. The following are examples of the imperative with an attached dependent pronoun.

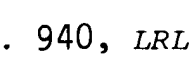
24.2.1. With the first person singular.

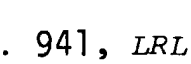
Ex. 937, *LRL*, 8, 2:  , *ini wi*, Bring me back!

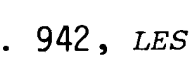
Ex. 938, *LRL*, 2, 2:  , *ini wi*, Bring me back!

Ex. 939, *LRL*, 12, 8:  , *ini wi*, Bring me back!

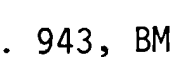
24.2.2. With the second person masculine singular.

Ex. 940, *LRL*, 33, 4; 64, 5:  , *ini tw*, Bring him back! (Lit. 'Bring you back! Note the redundant .)

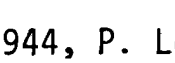
Ex. 941, *LRL*, 30, 1:  , *ini tw*,Bring him (lit. 'you') back!

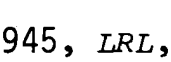
Ex. 942, *LES*, 65, 10:  , *smn.tw*, Wait! (Lit. 'Fix yourself!')

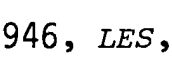
24.2.3. With the second person feminine singular.

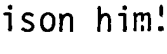
Ex. 943, BM 10052, 14, 8:  ....,
i.mḥ ti m ...., Fill yourself with ....

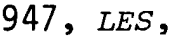
24.2.4. With the third person singular, masculine and feminine.

Ex. 944, P. Lee, 2, 5:  , *i.iri sw*, Do it!

Ex. 945, *LRL*, 20, 2:  , *i.iri st*, Do it!

Ex. 946, *LES*, 73, 11-12:  , *ḏḏḥ sw*, Imprison him!

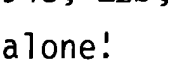
Ex. 947, *LES*, 72, 7:  , *ṯ3y sw*, Take him!

Ex. 948, *LES*, 71, 14:  , *ḫ3' sw*, Leave him alone!

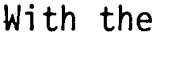
24.2.5. With the second person plural.

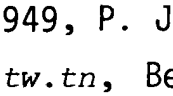
Ex. 949, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 8: , *s3w.tw.tn*, Beware!

24.2.6. With the third person plural.

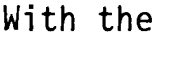
Ex. 950, *LRL*, 35, 16:  , *i.3s st n.i*, Bring them to me quickly!

Ex. 951, BM 10052, 13, 4: , *i.ḫ3' st*, Leave them!

Ex. 952, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 5:  , *smtr st*, Examine them!

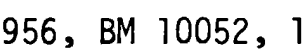
Ex. 953, P. Lee, 1, 7:  , *i.iri st*, Do them!

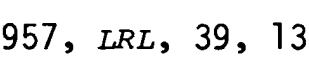
Ex. 954, *LRL*, 61, 8: , *i.iri st*, Do them!

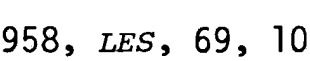
Ex. 955, *LES*, 73, 16:  , *ptr st*, Look at them!

24.2.7. The dependent pronoun *wi*.

The dependent pronoun *wi* is often written ; i.e. like the pronominal suffix of the first person singular.

Ex. 956, BM 10052, 1, 13-14:  , *i.w3ḥ (w)i*, Let me (be)!

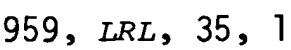
Ex. 957, *LRL*, 39, 13:  , *i.ini (w)i*, Bring me back!

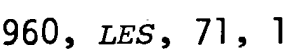
Ex. 958, *LES*, 69, 10:  , *i.wḏ (w)i*, send me!

In the case of *ini*, the *i* which follows *i.ini* is not the pronominal suffix but the dependent pronoun. Had *i.ini* been an infinitive, the ending *t* would probably have been inserted between *ini* and its pronominal suffix.

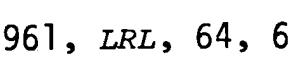
24.2.8. The adherence of the direct object to the verb.

So firmly does the dependent pronoun adhere to the preceding imperative that the dative expression with a pronominal suffix follows it:

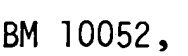
Ex. 959, *LRL*, 35, 16:  , *i.3s st n.i*, Bring them to me quickly!

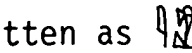
Ex. 960, *LES*, 71, 14:  , *ḫ3' sw n.k*, Leave him alone! (Leave him for yourself!' i.e. *Dativus ethicus*, *n.k.*)[3.]

It should be noted that where a noun appears as the object, the dative expression with a suffix naturally precedes it.

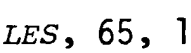
Ex. 961, *LRL*, 64, 6:  , *i.ḥ3b n.n '.k*, Write to us how you are!

The adherence of the dependent pronoun to the preceding imperative is particularly well demonstrated in the form:

Ex. 962, BM 10052, 14, 8:  , *i.mḥ ti*, Fill yourself!

Often written as  , *i.mḥ tw*. This imperative eventually becomes the infinitive form ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ , 'prevail', in Coptic.[4.]

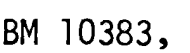
Traces of a new set of dependent pronouns can be found in Late Egyptian (see above 2.5.).

Ex. 963, *LES*, 65, 1:  , *i.rwi tw.k*, Remove yourself! (i.e. 'Go away!')

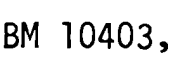
24.3. The nominal direct object of the imperative.

The direct object of an imperative can be:

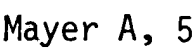
24.3.1. A defined noun.

Ex. 964, BM 10383, 3, 6:  , *imi p3y-ḫt*, Hand over this mast!

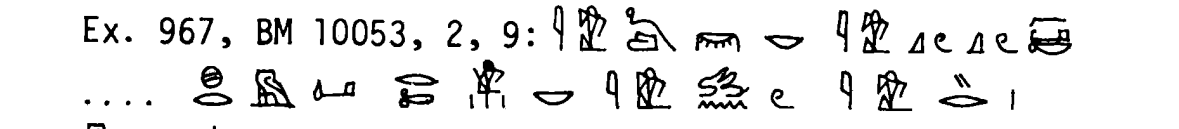
24.3.2. A noun followed by the adjective *nb*.

Ex. 965, BM 10403, 1, 4:  , *i.dd my rmṯ nb*, Come, tell us about every man!

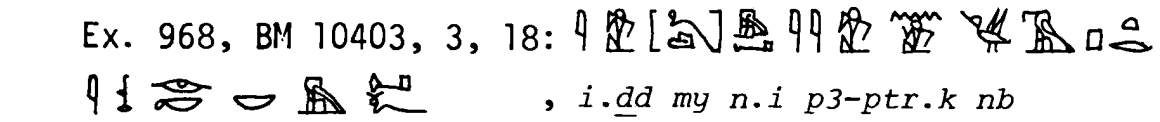
24.3.3. A bare noun.

Ex. 966, Mayer A, 5, 3:  , *i.dd b3k n p3y-nb twt*, Name any servant of your master's!

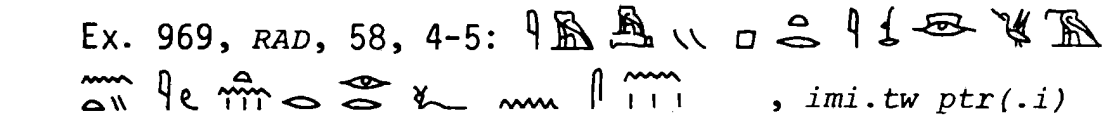
Obs. An imperative form can be followed by more than one direct object; the connective element is *ḫr m-di*.

Ex. 967, BM 10053, 2, 9:  , *i.dd nbw nb i.qq.k .... ḫr m-di rmṯ nb i.wn irm.k*, Tell (us) about all the gold which you stripped .... and (tell us) about all the men who were with you!

24.3.4. A defined relative form.

Ex. 968, BM 10403, 3, 18:  , *i.dd my n.i p3-ptr.k nb m-di.f*, Tell me about (or 'describe') everything you saw in his possession!

24.3.5. A defined relative clause.

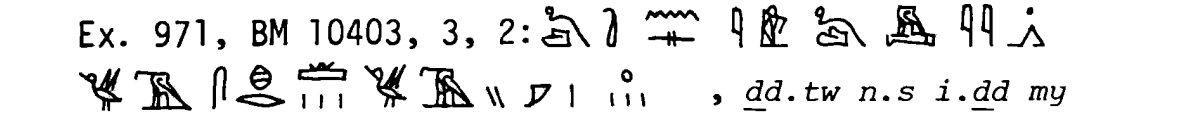
Ex. 969, *RAD*, 58, 4-5:  , *imi.tw ptr(.i) p3-nty iw.tn r ir.t.f n.sn*, Let me see what they will do to them!

24.4. Gender and number.

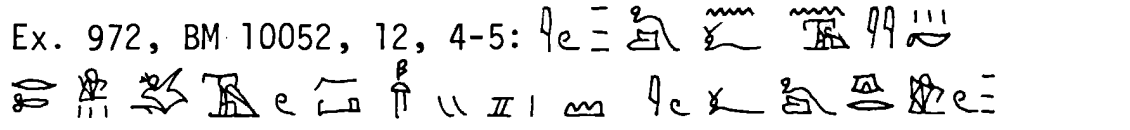
The imperative has only one form for masculine and feminine singular and for second person plural. Compare the following:

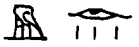
Ex. 970, Mayer A, 2, 11: , *dd.tw n.f i.dd p3-sḫr šm i.iri p3y.k-it*, He was told, "Describe the story of your father's collaborating (lit. 'the manner of your father having gone)!"

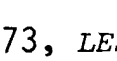
and

Ex. 971, BM 10403, 3, 2:  , *dd.tw n.s i.dd my p3-sḫr p3y-ḥmt*, She was told, "Tell the story of this copper!"

In the following example, the form *gr.w* looks as if it might be a plural imperative form.

Ex. 972, BM 10052, 12, 4-5:  , *iw.w (ḥr) dd n.f n3y.k-rmṯ (ḥr) ṯ3.t imnt.t iw.f (ḥr) dd gr.w m iri dd.f*, They told him, "Your men have been robbing the West." And he replied, "Keep quiet! Don't talk about it!"

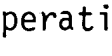
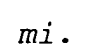
In the above example, however, the form is probably only a determinative, since the imperative may do this without having a plural form of its own. This is certainly the case in the form  , *m iri*, 'Do not!' (see below Ex. 1009) and in the imperative in the following formation:

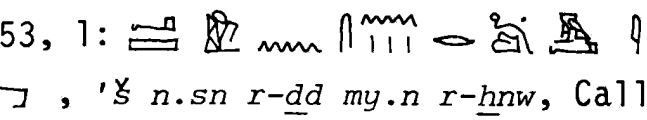
Ex. 973, *LES*, 72, 1:  , *ptr*, Look!

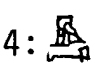
where the command is addressed to only one person.

24.5. Irregular formations.

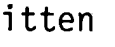
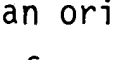
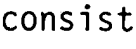
24.5.1. The verb , *ii*, 'come!'

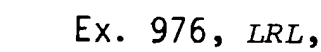
The imperative of this verb takes the form  , *mi*, or  , *mi*. No distinction is observable between the masculine and feminine forms, which correspond to the Coptic masc. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ , and fem. ⲁⲙⲏ .[5] A plural form , seems to correspond to the Coptic plural ⲁⲙⲏⲓⲛ or ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲉ.[5] Thus, the *n* which follows *mi* is not the pronominal suffix, but rather an ending.

Ex. 974, *RAD*, 53, 1:  , *ʾš n.sn r-dd my.n r-ḥnw*, Calling to them, "Come home!"

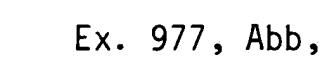
Ex. 975, Daressy, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25264, 4:  , *mi.n r t3-mry.t*, Come to the shore!

24.5.2. The verb , *di*.

The imperative of this verb is , *imi*. It is consistently written in this manner.  is a form which developed from an original hieratic  , in which the ligature of the form had been misinterpreted as the form . We conventionally use the transliteration *imi*, but nothing is known about its pronunciation in Late Egyptian.  does not show any distinction of number.

Ex. 976, *LRL*, 8, 14:  , *tw.i (ḥr) ḏd n imn imi n.tn ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb r' nb r' nb*, I pray to Amon every single day (lit. 'every day every day'), "Give them (lit. 'give to you') l.p.h.!"

When the form , *imi*, means 'cause', 'let' it is followed by the non-initial prospective *stp.f*.

Ex. 977, Abb, 7, 13:  , *imi ḏd.w p3-ḫpr nb*, Let them describe everything that happened.

The phrase 'make someone give ....' or 'make something be given' was expressed in the XIXth. Dynasty by the formation

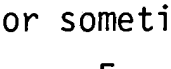
Ex. 978, Daressy, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25237, 8: , *imi di.tw*, Cause one to give ....!

but in the XXth. Dynasty it was spelt.

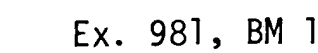
Ex. 979, Ostr. BM 5672, 5: , *imi dd.tw*,

Cause one to give (lit. 'cause that one should give').

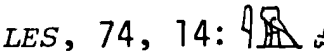
or sometimes

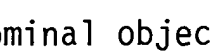
Ex. 980, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 235, 5:  , *imi dd.tw*, Cause one to give.

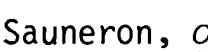
This last form is commonly abbreviated in Late Egyptian to *imi.tw*, and is used as a more polite and less abrupt means of saying 'give!'

Ex. 981, BM 10052, 6, 8:  , *imi.tw p3y-ḥḏ*, Hand over this silver!

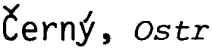
The same is true of this form when it means 'cause', 'let'.

Ex. 982, *LES*, 74, 14:  ,
imi.tw wḏ.i sw, Let me send him (away).

The pronominal object of  , *imi.tw* is, consequently, expressed by means of a pronominal suffix.

Ex. 983, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM.* 563, 4:  ,
imi.tw.f, Give it!

The following example, it should be noted, is probably only a mistake for *imi.tw.f*; compare Coptic ⲘⲀⲦⲈⲩ , ⲘⲀⲦⲩ .

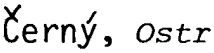
Ex. 984, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 34, vs. 1:  ,
imi.f,

We might also, perhaps compare the following with the Coptic ⲘⲎⲒⲦⲞⲨ.

Ex. 985, P. Mallet, 1, 18: , *imi.tw.w*,
Give them!

24.5.3. The form , *imi ḥr.k*, 'Pay attention'.

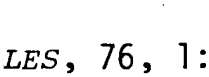
imi ḥr.k is a closed prosodic unit, therefore the dative expression follows it.

Ex. 986, Černý, *Ostr. DM*, 227, 1:  ,
imi ḥr.k n.i, Pay attention to me!

24.6. The strengtheners of the imperative form.

The imperative may be strengthened in any of the following ways:

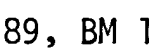
24.6.1. By the reflexive dative.

Ex. 987, *LES*, 76, 1:  , *sḏr n.k*, Sleep peacefully (lit. 'to yourself')!

24.6.2. By the postpositive particle , *my*, which must immediately follow the imperative itself.

Ex. 988, BM 10403, 3, 27: , *i.dd my n.i*, Tell me!

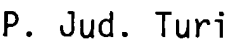
The following, it should be noted, are exceptional spellings of the particle.

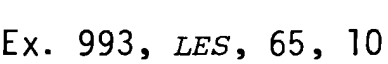
Ex. 989, BM 10403, 3, 2:  , *my*, Please.

Ex. 990, P. DM, 4, rt. 7 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113): , *mi*, Please.

Ex. 991, *LRL*, 68, 6-7: , *ptr i.my*, Look!

24.6.3. The dependent pronoun, when following an imperative, sometimes has a reflexive meaning.

Ex. 992, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 8:  , *s3w tw.tn*, Look after yourselves!

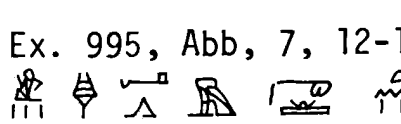
Ex. 993, *LES*, 65, 10:  , *smn tw*, Wait! (Lit. 'Fix thyself!')

In other places, however, the dependent pronoun may refer to the person to whom the order is given.

Ex. 994, BM 10052, 10, 7: , *i.gr tw*, You be quiet!

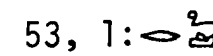
24.7. Imperative forms as interjections.

The imperative of the verb *ptr*, 'look', is very often the nearest equivalent to English, 'Now, here'.

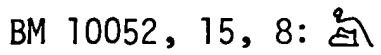
Ex. 995, Abb, 7, 12-13:  , *ḫr ptr n3-ḥmty.w 'ḥ' m-b3ḥ.tn*, Now, here are the coppersmiths standing before you.

24.8. The imperative form after the direct indicators of syntactic initiality.

24.8.1. After *r-dd*.

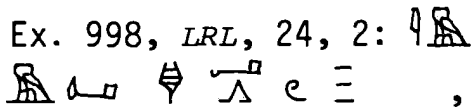
Ex. 996, *RAD*, 53, 1:  , *r-dd my.n*, Saying, "Come!"

24.8.2. After a formation containing the verb *dd*.

Ex. 997, BM 10052, 15, 8:  . . . . , *dd t3ty i.t3y* ...., The vizier said, "Take ....!"

24.9. The imperative form after the indirect indicators of initiality.

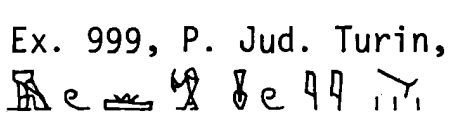
After *iw*.

Ex. 998, *LRL*, 24, 2:  , *imi ini.tw.w iw 3s 3s iw m di 'ḥ'.w*, Let them be brought, and hurry up, hurry up, and don't let them linger!

Note that the dependent *iw*, when preceding an imperative formation, cannot be classified as a subordinizer; it functions more as a marker of non-initiality. Also note that the combination *iw* + an affirmative imperative form is extremely rare.

24.10. Verbal formations capable of following the imperative form.

24.10.1. Another imperative form.

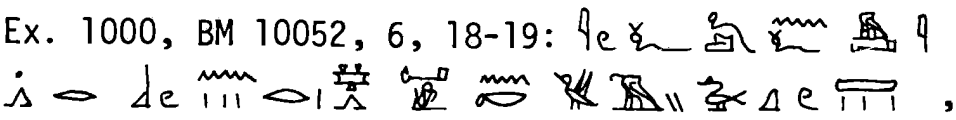
Ex. 999, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2:  , *nwi rmṯ thm ḫrwy*, Gather men! Incite enmity!

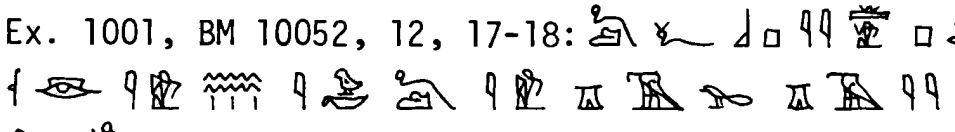
Note that the second imperative is not preceded by the dependent *iw*.

24.10.2. A negative imperative.

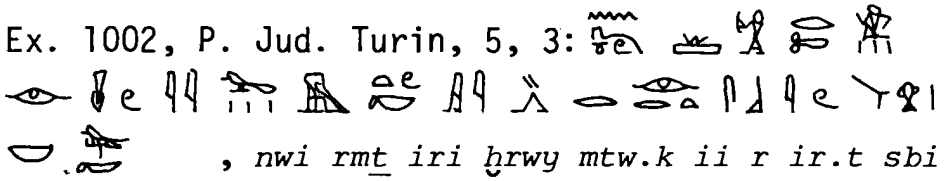
See above Exx. 972 and 998.

24.10.3. An initial prospective *stp.i* formation.

Ex. 1000, BM 10052, 6, 18-19: 
iw.f (ḥr) dd.n.f mi r-bl di.i n.k p3y-'q.w, "Come out!" he told me, "so that I can give you this bread".

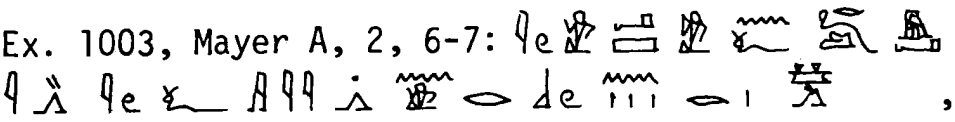
Ex. 1001, BM 10052, 12, 17-18: 
, *dd.f bwpwy.i ptr inn iw.k (r) dd i.g3i g3y.i*, He said, "I did not see (anything). If you bid me lie, I will lie".

24.10.4. The conjunctive.

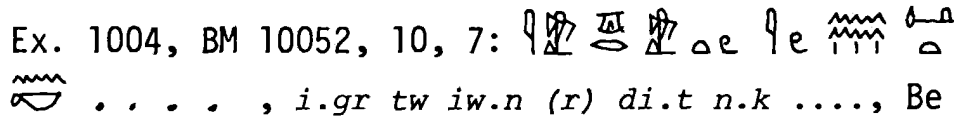
Ex. 1002, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 3: 
, *nwi rmṯ iri ḫrwy mtw.k ii r ir.t sbi ḥr nb.k*, Stir up the people, incite enmity, and come back to lead a rebellion against your lord.

24.10.5. The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past formation.

When a *iw.f stp.f* formation immediately follows an imperative form, it is usually the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past (see below Ex. 1185), expressing the fulfilment of the command expressed by the preceding imperative;

Ex. 1003, Mayer A, 2, 6-7: 
iw.i (ḥr) 'š n.f r-dd mi iw.f (ḥr) iy n.i r-bl, I called to one of them (lit. 'to him') saying, "Come out!" and he came out to me.

24.10.6. The third future.

Ex. 1004, BM 10052, 10, 7:  . . . . , *i.gr tw iw.n (r) di.t n.k* ...., Be silent, and we will give you ....

24.11. Bibliography and references.

1. Till, *Grammatik*, 298.
2. See Edgerton, *Studies Griffith*, 61-68; Williams, *JEA* 38 (1952), 62; Wente, *LRL*, 19, p.; Groll, *Negative*, Ex. 359.
3. Till, *Grammatik*, 299.
4. Crum, 9.
5. Crum, 7b.

CHAPTER 25. THE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

25.1. Morphology.

When describing the morphology of the negative imperative one must distinguish four main patterns:

25.1.1. Pattern I: the *m iri stp.f* pattern, which is composed of three elements:

1. *m*; i.e. the imperative form of the negative verb , *imi*;[1].
2. *iri*; i.e. the negatival complement of the verb *iri*;[2].
3. *stp.f*; i.e. the infinitive form of the verb in question.

25.1.2. Pattern II: the *m dy A* or the *m dy stp.f* pattern,[3]. which is composed of two elements:

1. *m*; i.e. the imperative of the negative verb *imi*;
2. *dy*; i.e. the negatival complement of the verb *di*, which still possesses its full lexical meaning (i.e. when followed by a noun it indicates the notion of 'giving', but, when followed by the non-initial prospective *stp.f*, it indicates the notion of 'causing').

25.1.3. Pattern III: the *m iri di.t stp.f* pattern, which is composed of three elements:

1. *m*; i.e. the imperative of the negative verb *imi*;
2. *iri*; i.e. the negatival complement of the verb *iri*;
3. *di.t stp.f*; i.e. the infinitive of the verb *di*, 'causing', + the non-initial prospective *stp.f*.

In pattern II it is the negatival complement form which carries the full lexical meaning of the conjugated verb, whereas

in pattern III this function is performed by the infinitive.

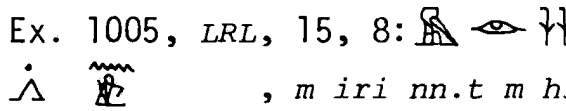
25.1.4. Pattern 4: the *tm stp.f* formation (see above 11.5.2.).

25.1.5. Conclusion.

In Late Egyptian the negatival complement form occurs only with the verbs *iri*[4.] and *di*,[5.] the former is reduced to a mere grammatical element, but the latter has retained its full lexical meaning.

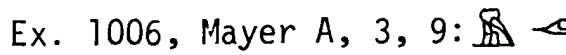
25.2. Pattern I.

25.2.1. Form.

Ex. 1005, *LRL*, 15, 8:  , *m iri nn.t m h3b n.i*, Do not fail to write to me!

25.2.2. The direct object expression.

The pronominal object of the infinitive is expressed by means of the pronominal suffix.

Ex. 1006, Mayer A, 3, 9:  ,
m iri ini.tw.f r.f, Don't bring him against him!

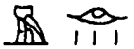
25.2.3. The verb *iri*.

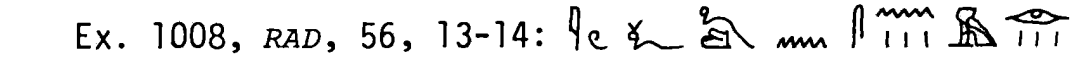
The verb , *iri*, 'make', forms its negative imperative in the following way:

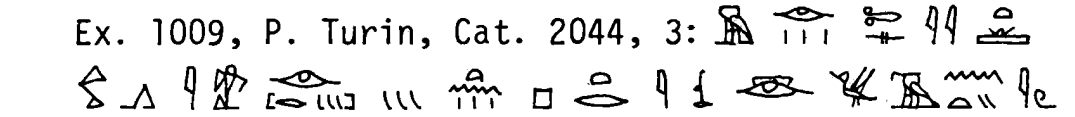
Ex. 1007, P.DM 4, vs. 2 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113): , *m iri ir.t*, Do not do (it).

That is, the *iri* which immediately follows *m* has lost its lexical meaning.

25.2.4. The number expression.

When used in addressing several persons together *m iri* is often written  , *m iri.w*.

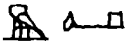
Ex. 1008, *RAD*, 56, 13-14:  , *iw.f (ḥr) dd n.sn m iri.w sš r mry.t*, He said to them, "Do not go on strike!" (Lit. 'Do not go near the dyke!')

Ex. 1009, P. Turin, Cat. 2044, 3:  , *m iri.w ṯs.t i.iri.t.tn ptr p3-nty iw.f (r) ḫpr*, Do not go up until you see what will happen.

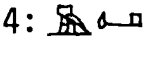
25.2.5. Pattern II.

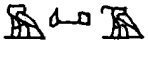
a). Forms.

The negative imperative form of the verb *di*, 'give', 'cause', is *m dy*, 'do not give, cause'. This may be spelt in various ways, as the following examples demonstrate:

Ex. 1010, *LRL*, 8, 8:  , *m dy*.

Ex. 1011, *LRL*, 34, 13: , *m dy*.

Ex. 1012, *LRL*, 36, 14:  , *m dy*.

Ex. 1013, *LRL*, 40, 2:  , *m dy*.

Ex. 1014, *LRL*, 6, 16: , *m dy*.

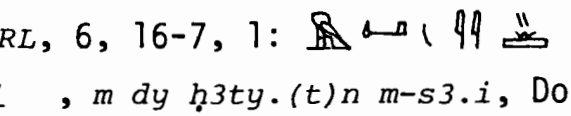
and can be spelt with , , or , instead of . , *m-ḏr*, can also stand as a spelling of , *m dy*.

Since the form is the way in which the preposition *m-di*, 'at', 'with', is written (compare Coptic ⲛⲧⲉ), and since this form, together with the formation , is sometimes used in writing the conjunction *m-ḏr*, 'when' (once again

the Coptic is ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-, as in ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̀ ,) we may assume that the negative imperative *m dy* was pronounced **ente* in the same way as *m-dr* and its Coptic counterpart.[6.]

b). *dy* with the sense 'put'.

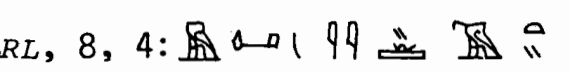
The form *m dy* is also used with the meaning 'do not give' or 'do not place', especially in the expression 'do not place your heart after me', i.e. 'do not worry about me'.

Ex. 1015, *LRL*, 6, 16-7, 1:  , *m dy ḥ3ty.(t)n m-s3.i*, Do not worry about me!

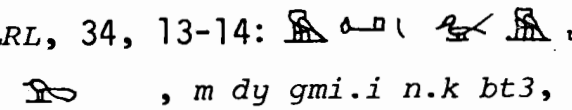
c). *dy* with the sense 'cause'.

More frequently the form is followed by the prospective *stp.i* and means 'do not cause' or 'do not let'.

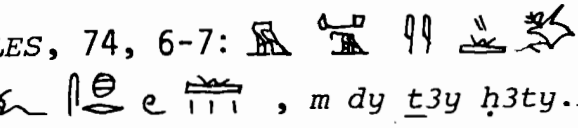
i). *m di stp.w*:

Ex. 1016, *LRL*, 8, 4:  , *m dy 3ty.w*, Do not let them suffer from want!

ii). *m di stp.i*:

Ex. 1017, *LRL*, 34, 13-14:  , *m dy gmi.i n.k bt3*, Don't let me have to find fault with you.

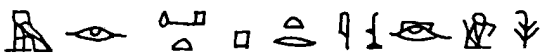
iii). *m di stp A*:

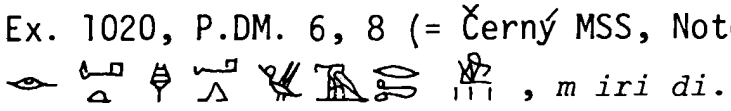
Ex. 1018, *LES*, 74, 6-7:  , *m dy t3y ḥ3ty.f sḫr.w*, Keep his mind off worries!

Note that *m di stp.f* occurs very rarely.

25.2.6. Pattern III.

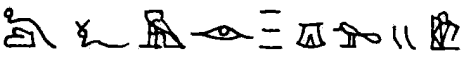
However, sometimes one finds, instead of *m dy*, the formation *m iri*, where *di* takes the form of the infinitive, and *iri* takes the form of the negatival complement.[7.]

Ex. 1019, *LES*, 72, 8-9:  , *m iri di.t ptr.i sw*, Do not make me see it.

Ex. 1020, P.DM. 6, 8 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113):  , *m iri di.t 'ḥ' p3-rm̲t*
Do not let the man stand up!

25.3. The *m iri stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality.

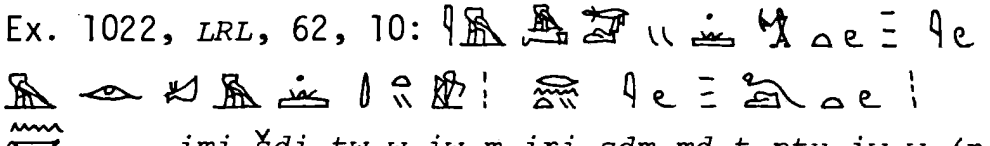
25.3.1. After a verbal formation composed of the verb *d̲d*.

Ex. 1021, BM 10052, 14, 17:  ,
d̲d.f m iri.w g3y.i, He said, "Do not slander me!"

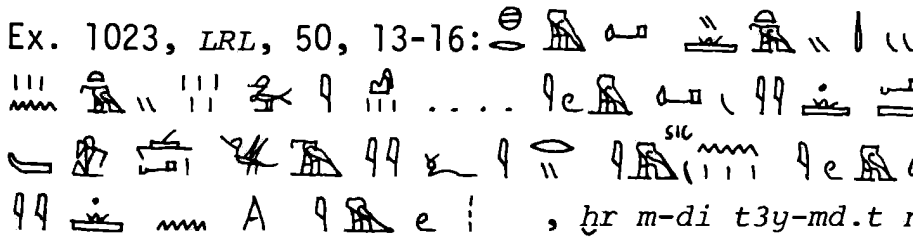
25.4. The *m iri stp.f* after the indirect indicators of initiality.

25.4.1. After *iw*.

The negative imperative can be made to depend on the preceding form by the addition of the dependent *iw*. The best translation is "And ..."; i.e. it functions as a connective element.

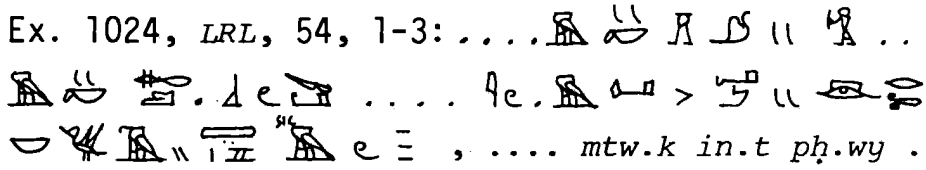
Ex. 1022, *LRL*, 62, 10:  , *imi šdi.tw.w iw m iri sd̲m md.t nty iw.w (r) d̲d.w n.k*, Have them withdrawn and don't listen to anything they tell you.

25.4.2. *iw m dy stp.f* after *iw m dy stp A* following a frontal extraposition.

Ex. 1023, *LRL*, 50, 13-16: 

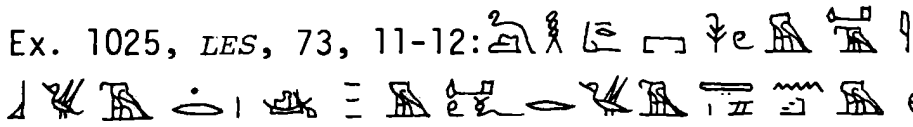
ḫr m-di t3y-md.t n t3y-5 b3k.w .... iw m dy 'šg w' p3y.f-iry im.tn iw m dy n A im.w, Now, as for the business of these five servants .... but don't let anyone rob his fellow among you, and don't give any of them to A.

25.4.3. *iw m di stp A* after a series of conjunctives.

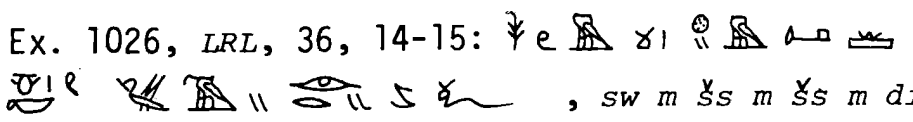
Ex. 1024, *LRL*, 54, 1-3: 
.... mtw.k in.t pḥ.wy .... mtw.k ḥdb .... iw m dy 'm3 rmṯ nb p3y-t3 im.w, ... and you should get to the bottom .... and you should kill (them) and don't let anyone of this land find out about them.

25.5. Verbal formations which can precede a negative imperative formation.

25.5.1. An affirmative imperative formation.

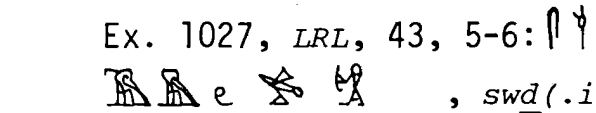
Ex. 1025, *LES*, 73, 11-12: 
ddḥ sw m dy br.w m-di.f r p3-t3 n km.t, Imprison him, and let none of his ships (set sail) for Egypt!

25.5.2. A first present pattern indicating a state in the present.

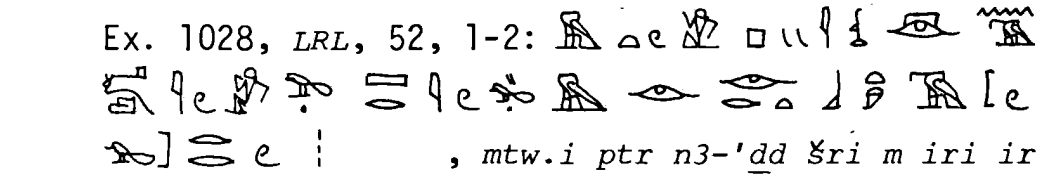
Ex. 1026, *LRL*, 36, 14-15: 
sw m šs m šs m di ḥ3ty.k p3y-iri.f, It is all right. Don't worry about what he has done!

Note that *m di ḥ3ty.k* continues the line of thought expressed by the first present.

25.5.3. An initial *stp.i* formation.

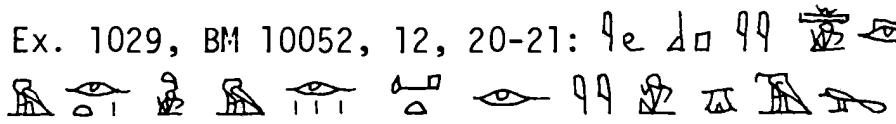
Ex. 1027, *LRL*, 43, 5-6:  , *swḏ(.i) m iri ir.t thm*, May I suggest, "Do not make difficulties".

25.5.4. A conjunctive formation.

Ex. 1028, *LRL*, 52, 1-2:  , *mtw.i ptr n3-'ḏd šri m iri ir.t bt3 r.w*, And I will look after the children. Do not do wrong to them!

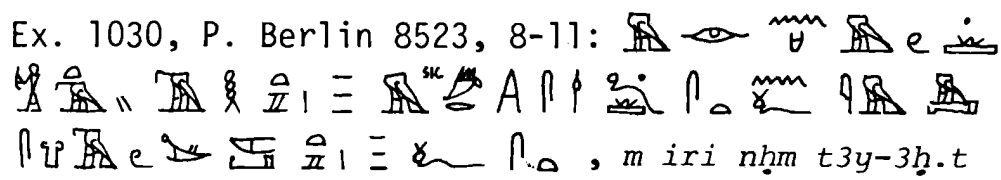
The negative imperative repeats negatively the idea which is expressed affirmatively by the conjunctive formation.

25.5.5. A *iw bwpw.f ptr* formation.

Ex. 1029, BM 10052, 12, 20-21:  , *iw bwpwy.i ptr m ir.t.i m iri.w di.t iry.i g3i*, But I did not see them with my own eyes. Don't force me to lie!

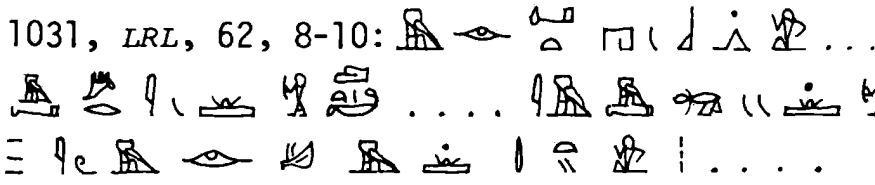
25.6. Verbal formations which can follow a negative imperative formation.

25.6.1. An affirmative imperative formation.

Ex. 1030, P. Berlin 8523, 8-11:  , *m iri nḥm t3y-3ḥ.t m-di A swḏ st n.f imi sk3.f st*, Do not take this plot

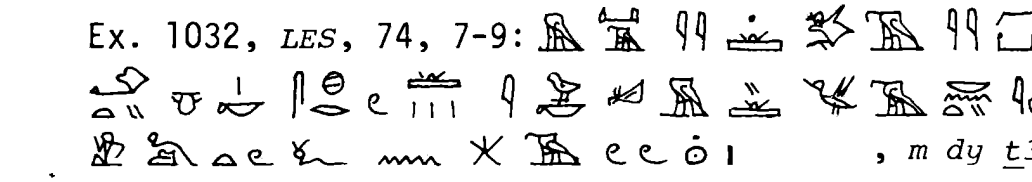
away from A. Hand it over to him, (and) make sure he ploughs it.

25.6.2. A series of imperative formations.

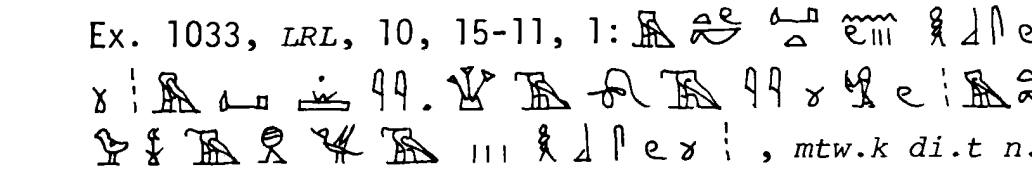
Ex. 1031, *LRL*, 62, 8-10:  *m iri di.t h3b.i .... imi dri dr.t.k .... imi šdi.tw.w iw m iri sdm md.t ....*, Do not force me to write .... Let your hand be firm .... Let them be withdrawn, and do not listen to any word ....

Note that the affirmative imperative formations are not preceded by *iw*, whereas the negative imperative formation is.

25.6.3. A third future formation.

Ex. 1032, *LES*, 74, 7-9:  *m dy t3y ḥ3ty.k sḫr.w iw.k (r) sdm p3-nty-nb iw.i (r) dd.f m dw3w*, Do not let your mind be troubled (and) tomorrow you will hear what I will say.

25.6.4. A *m dy stp.w* formation can both precede and follow the conjunctive formation:

Ex. 1033, *LRL*, 10, 15-11, 1:  *mtw.k di.t n.w ḥbs.w m dy ḥw3.w mtw.k wḫ3 p3-3 ḥbs.w*, And you should give them garments; do not let them go naked, and you should look for the three garments.

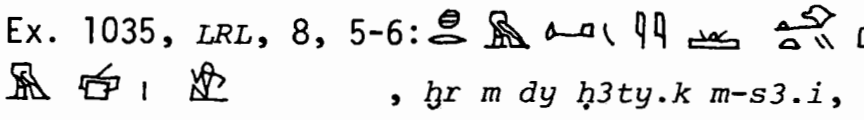
25.7. Non-verbal constructions which can precede a negative imperative formation.

A frontal extraposition.

Ex. 1034, *LRL*, 15, 7-8: , *ḫr ir p3y.k-dd m iri nn.t m h3b n.i*, As for your telling (me), "Do not omit to write to me".

25.8. The *m dy stp A* formation after particles.

After *ḫr*.

Ex. 1035, *LRL*, 8, 5-6:  , *ḫr m dy ḥ3ty.k m-s3.i*, And do not worry about (lit. 'put your heart after') me!

25. THE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

25.1. Bibliography and references.

1. *GG*, 342, 343 and 345.
2. *GG*, 340, 2.
3. *GG*, 340, 3.
4. Stern, *Grammatik*, 398.
5. Stern, *Grammatik*, 398; Till, *Grammatik*, 300; Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 24-25 and 28-29.
6. Sethe, *AZ* 62 (1926), 5-8.
7. Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 39-41.

CHAPTER 26. THE SECOND TENSES

THE POLEMIC MOOD OR THE INTERROGATIVE MOOD

26.1. The nature of the *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. formation.

The true nature of the form *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. was first recognized by Polotsky.[1] The adverb which follows it is necessary. The *i.iri.f.stp.f* is a 'that' form (i.e. a noun equivalent), and it functions as a nominal subject in a sentence in which a following stressed adverb (or adverb equivalent) is the predicate.

Although the relative form and the emphatic formation look outwardly alike the following reasons can be given for classifying the emphatic *i.iri.f stp.f* formation as a 'that' form, and not as a relative form:

1. The emphatic formation can be preceded by the direct indicators of initiality, but the relative form cannot; i.e. the emphatic formation acts basically as an initial main clause.

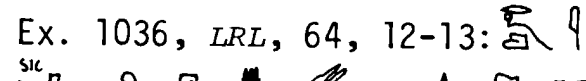
2. The emphatic formation can be preceded by the dependent *iw*, *wn*, and *nty* but the undefined relative form cannot; i.e. the emphatic formation acts basically as a non-prepositional initial main clause.

3. The emphatic formation can be preceded by the negative element *bn*, but the relative form cannot; once again, the emphatic formation is basically acting as an initial main clause belonging to the isomorphic category.[2]

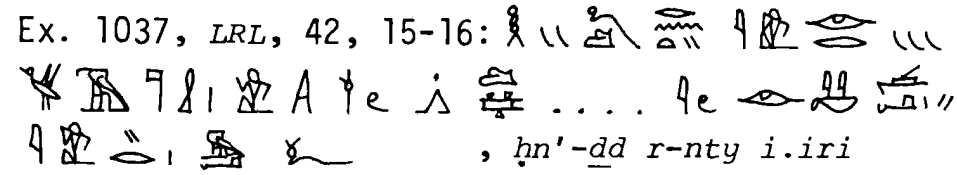
4. The emphatic formation can be negated by the *i.iri.f tm stp.f* pattern, whereas the relative form is made negative by the counterpart *nty bwpw.f stp.f*.

26.2. The *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. after the direct indicators of initiality.

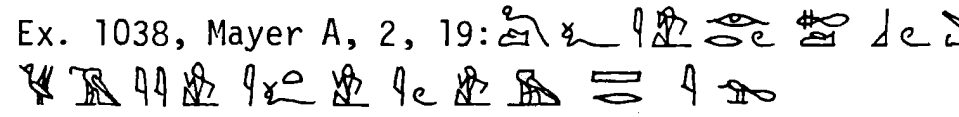
26.2.1. After *r-dd*.

Ex. 1036, *LRL*, 64, 12-13:  , *r-dd i.iri.k h3b š'.t m-dr wn A dy*, Saying,"It was after A had been here that you sent a letter."

26.2.2. After *ḥn'-dd r-nty*.

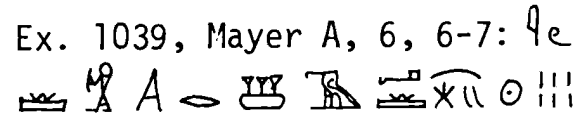
Ex. 1037, *LRL*, 42, 15-16:  , *ḥn'-dd r-nty i.iri p3-ḥm-ntr A wd dy .... iw iry.k w' irm.f*, Thus, when you had come to an agreement with him .... the prophet A left here.

26.2.3. After a verbal formation composed of the verb *dd*.

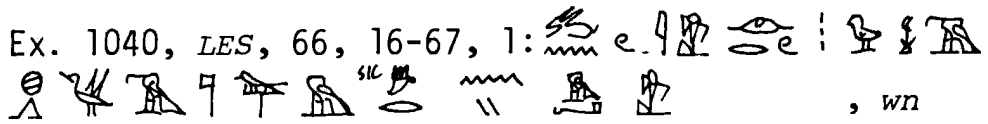
Ex. 1038, Mayer A, 2, 19:  , *dd.f i.iri ḥdb p3y.i-it iw.i m šri*, He said, "I was only a child when my father was killed".

26.3. The *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.

23.3.1. After *iw*.

Ex. 1039, Mayer A, 6, 6-7:  , *iw i.iri.tw th3 A r-š3' 3bd 6*, ... A (then) having been attacked for six months.

26.3.2. After *wn*.

Ex. 1040, *LES*, 66, 16-67, 1:  , *wn i.iri.w wḫ3 p3-ntr m-di nym*, Where would they have looked for the god then?

26.3.3. After *nty*.

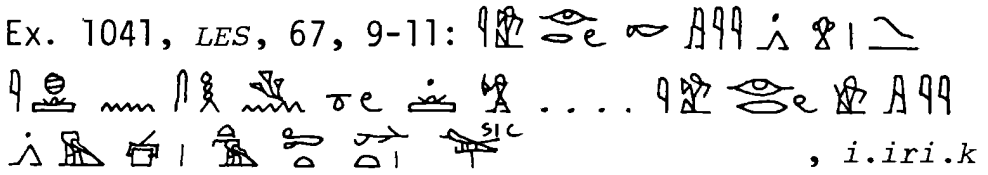
See below Ex. 1060.

26.4. The emphatic formation is almost obligatory in the following sentence patterns.

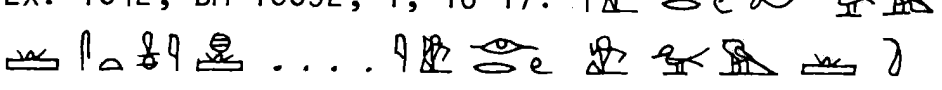
26.4.1. Pattern I.

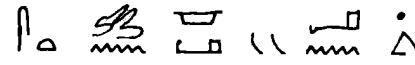
Questions in which the interrogative element is syntactically the indirect object of the verb, and in answers to such questions (questions, that is, in which the interrogative word is a stressed element).[3.]

26.4.2. Questions with *ḥr iḫ n A*, 'on what kind of', as the interrogative adverbial element, and with a *m-s3 A* expression as the corresponding adverbial element in the answer.

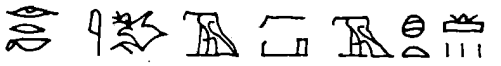
Ex. 1041, *LES*, 67, 9-11:  , *i.iri.k iy ḥr iḫ n sḥn .... i.iri.i iy m-s3 t3-t.t*, "What kind of mission is it that you have come on?" .... "It is for the timber .... that I have come".

26.4.3. Questions with *mi iḫ*, 'how', as the interrogative element, and with an adverb or an adverbial equivalent as the corresponding element in the answer.

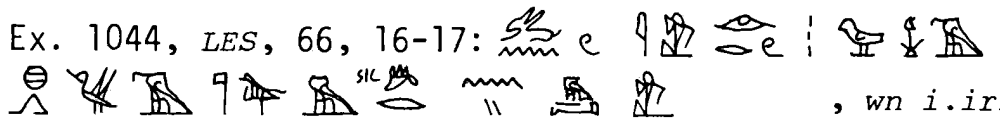
Ex. 1042, BM 10052, 1, 16-17: 


, *i.iri.k gm.t.s mi iḫ* .... *i.iri.i gm.t.s wn.tw 'n*, "In what state did you find it?" .... "It was already open when I found it".

26.4.4. Questions with *ḥr iḫ* as the interrogative element.

Ex. 1043, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM.* 580, rt. 4-5: 
, *r-dd i.iri.k it3.t 3ḫ.t.i ḥr iḫ*, Saying, "Why is it that you are stealing my belongings?"

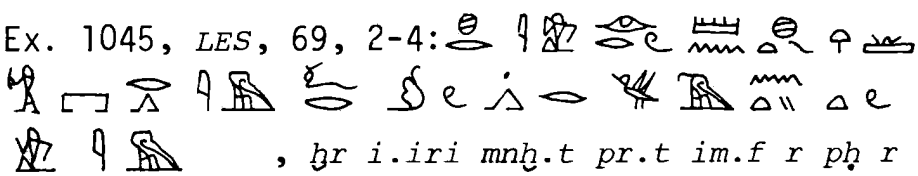
26.4.5. Questions with *m-di nim*, 'from whom, where', as the interrogative element.

Ex. 1044, *LES*, 66, 16-17: 
, *wn i.iri.w wḫ3 p3-ntr m-di nym*, Where would they have looked for the god then?

26.5. Pattern II.

Initial clauses, containing verbs of motion in the past tense, when these express the action aspect.[4.]

26.5.1. The verb *pri*.

Ex. 1045, *LES*, 69, 2-4: 
, *ḫr i.iri mnḫ.t pr.t im.f r pḥ r p3-nty tw.i im*, It was in order to reach the place I am in that craftsmanship left it (i.e. Egypt).

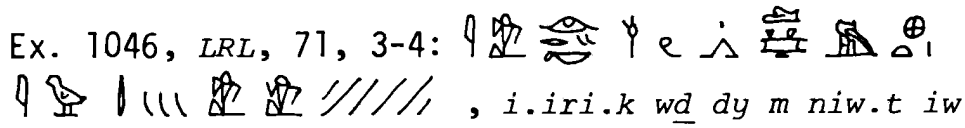
26.5.2. The verb *iy*.

See above Ex. 1041.

26.5.3. The verb *šm*.

See below Ex. 1057.

26.5.4. The verb *wḏ*.

Ex. 1046, *LRL*, 71, 3-4:  , *i.iri.k wḏ dy m niw.t iw mdw.i* ////, It was after I had spoken that you left Thebes (lit. 'you left here from Thebes').

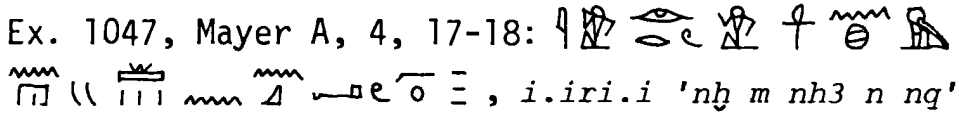
iw mdw.i is the predicate, and not *dy m niw.t*. Note that *dy* comes immediately after *wḏ*.

26.6. Pattern III.

Initial main clauses containing intransitive verbs of incomplete predication, when these express both past tense and the action aspect.

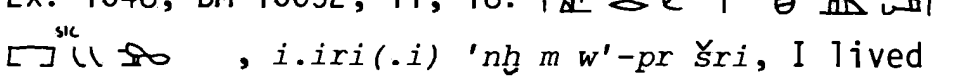
Verbs of incomplete predication are verbs which only make sense when they are followed by adverbial adjuncts. *'nḫ*, for example, can only convey the notion of 'living on' or 'dwelling' when it is followed by the appropriate adverbial adjunct.

26.6.1. The verb *'nḫ* + adv., indicating 'living on'.

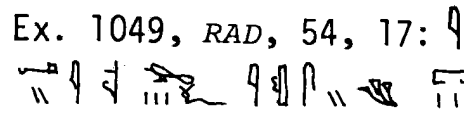
Ex. 1047, Mayer A, 4, 17-18:  , *i.iri.i 'nḫ m nh3 n nq'*, I lived on some *nq'*-fruit.

'nḫ only means 'living on' here, because it is followed by the adverbial *m nh3 n nq'*.

26.6.2. The verb *'nḫ* + adv., indicating 'dwelling'.

Ex. 1048, BM 10052, 11, 18:  , *i.iri(.i) 'nḫ m w'-pr šri*, I lived in a small house.

26.6.3. The verb *sḏr*, when indicating 'spend the night'.

Ex. 1049, *RAD*, 54, 17:  , *i.iri.f sḏr iw w'y.f isy*, He spent the night cursing the tomb.

When the verb *sḏr* expresses the notion of 'spending the night' it is always followed by adverbial adjuncts. The verb *sḏr* when expressing the notion of 'sleeping', 'being idle', takes the form of the stative, and is not necessarily followed by adverbial adjuncts.

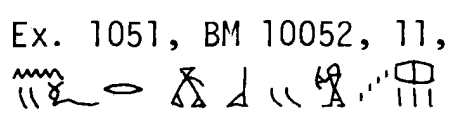
26.7. Pattern IV.

Initial main clauses which contain a *m-ḏr stp.f* subordinate clause in direct speech.[6.]

Ex. 1050, BM 10383, 2, 5: , *i.iri(.i) pr.t m p3-pr n pr-'3 m-ḏr iw A*, I left Pharoah's house only after A had come.

26.8. Pattern V.

Initial main clauses containing the verb *ini + r-ḏb3* in direct speech.

Ex. 1051, BM 10052, 11, 7-8:  , *ḏd.s i.iri.i in.t.f r-ḏb3 it*, She said, "I bought it in exchange for barley".

Note that the emphatic formation is often found in sentences containing the adverbial expression *m dwn m dwn* as part of a passage of direct speech.[7.]

26.9. Conclusions.

Three facts will have been noted in the above analysis. Interrogative initial main clauses composed with prepositional interrogative phrases almost always take the form of the emphatic

i.iri.f stp.f formation when expressing the action aspect; interrogative words, because of their function, have extra emphasis,[8.] and are always the predicate of a sentence. One may conclude that the emphatic *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. is used when one of the adverbial elements which follows it has an extra emphasis, and when this element functions as its predicate. The indispensibility of the emphatic formation in prepositional interrogative sentences is the major indicator of that formation's syntactic nature.

The extra emphasis of the predicative adverb is generally due either to the presence of a particular kind of verb - a verb of motion, for instance, or a verb of incomplete predication like *sḏr*[5.] - or to the presence of a particular kind of adverbial phrase, such as *m ḏwn m ḏwn*. In such a case, the emphatic formation is often used. When *i.iri.f stp.f* occurs in any other context it is due to the speaker's subjective preference, and not to grammatical necessity.

26.10. The grammatical rules which arise from the above conclusions.

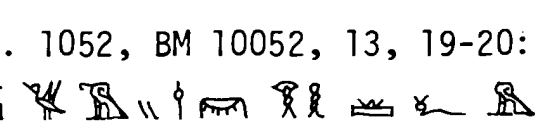
Since the perfect active *stp.f* is limited to transitive verbs, it is only by taking the emphatic formation that intransitive verbs can express both past time and the action aspect[5.] within the framework of an initial main clause.

An *i.iri.f stp.f* formation can be followed by more than one adverbial element, and it must be admitted that it is only an analysis of the inner logic of the pattern involved which can assist in recognition of the predicate. However, the change of syntactic positions of adverbs can be used as an indication.

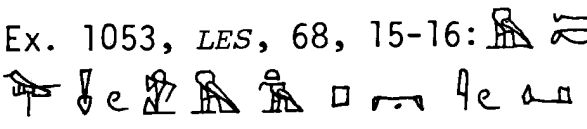
Obs. When adverbs of time and place follow the emphatic formation, and when the adverb of place is the predicate, a

change of word order takes place (see below Ex. 1058); e.g. *dy*, an adverb that usually has a front position, takes a final one; and, conversely, *r' nb*, which usually has a final position, takes a front one.

Optional emphatic formations would appear to pose similar problems. They, too, can be followed by more than one adverbial element. Are there any rules for distinguishing which element is the predicate? General rules are, undoubtedly, difficult to formulate, but a helpful approach is through the classification of syntactic complexes. For, although emphatic formations can certainly be followed by more than one adverbial element, these elements sometimes constitute a single syntactic unit, and cannot be treated separately.

Ex. 1052, BM 10052, 13, 19-20:  , *i.iri.f it3.t p3y-ḥd (r) w3ḥ.f m t3-'.t A*, It was in order to put it in the home of A that he stole the silver.

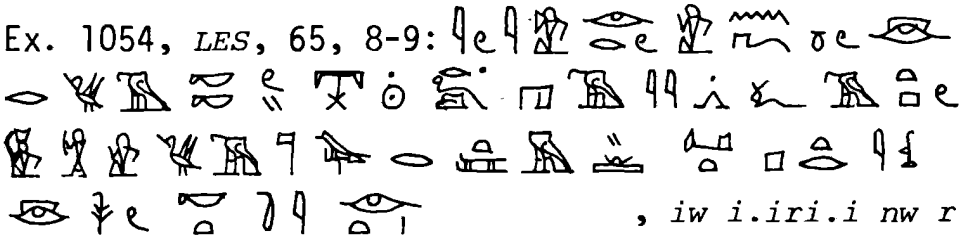
At first sight, it looks as if *i.iri.f it3.t* is here followed by two adverbial adjuncts, namely, *r w3ḥ* and *m t3-' .t*. The latter is not really, however, an adverbial extension of *i.iri.f it3.t*, but of *r w3ḥ*; the adverbial adjunct which follows *i.iri.f it3.t* has to be treated as single and indivisible: *r w3ḥ m t3-'.t*.

Ex. 1053, *LES*, 68, 15-16:  , *mk i.iri imn ḫrw m t3-p.t iw di.f stḫ m rk.f*, It is only after he has put Sutekh in his prime (lit. 'in his season') that Amon thunders in the sky.[9].

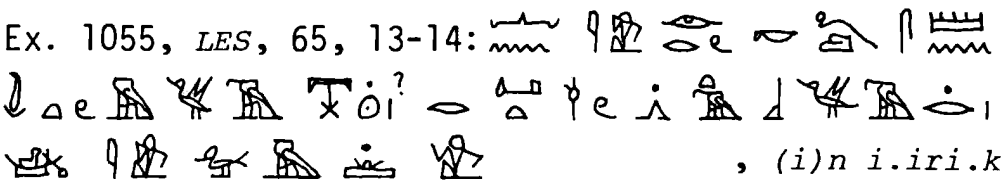
Note that again *i.iri imn ḫrw* is followed by more than

one adverbial adjunct; indeed, it is followed by three: *m t3-p.t*; *iw di.f*; and *m rk.f*. *iri ḫrw* does not mean 'thundering' on its own, but only in conjunction with *m t3-p.t*. It is safe to assume that *ḫrw* and *m t3-p.t* are inseparable; in fact, they really constitute a single word. Since *m rk.f* is an extension of *iw di.f* and not of *i.iri imn ḫrw*, the predicative adverb in this case is the whole sentence *iw di.f stḫ m rk.f*.

26.11. The combination of direct and indirect speech.

Ex. 1054, *LES*, 65, 8-9:  , *iw i.iri.i nw r kkwy r-dd ḥ3y.f 3tp.i p3-ntr r tm di.t ptr sw k.t ir.t*, I waited for the night to fall lest anyone else should see him (lit. 'in order not to allow another eye to see him'), praying "May it come down so that I can get on with loading the god".[10.]

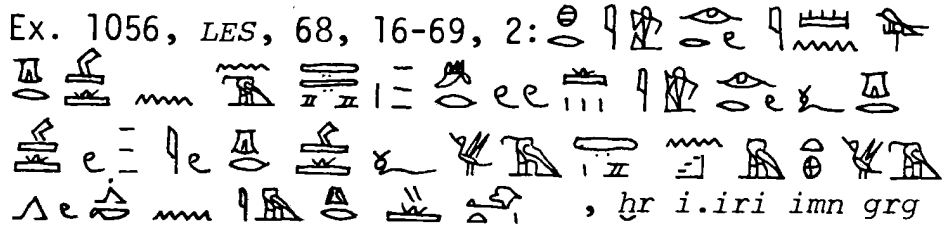
i.iri.i nw is followed here by several adverbial adjuncts: *r p3-kkwy*; *r-dd ḥ3y.f 3tp.i p3-ntr*; and *r tm di.t*. The first of these needs some comment. Since the *r* which comes after *nw* is almost a part of *nw*,[11.] it can not be regarded as the emphasized predicate. Furthermore, since *r tm di.t* is the ultimate object of the speaker's wishes, I would like to suggest that *r tm di.t* is the predicative element. The sequence 'indirect speech - direct speech - indirect speech' suggests that the final element is the stressed one. This analysis appears to be confirmed by the following example.

Ex. 1055, *LES*, 65, 13-14:  , *(i)n i.iri.k dd smn.tw m p3-grḥ r di.t wḏ t3-br i.gmi.i*, Are you

asking me to stay tonight so that the *br*-boat can leave?

i.iri.k dd is not followed by *r-dd*; the direct speech which follows *i.iri.k dd* is that formation's direct object, and thus *r di.t wd* is once again the predicative adverbial adjunct. All this suggests that in the sequence 'indirect speech - direct speech - end of indirect speech', it is the second section of indirect speech (the end of the indirect speech), filling, as it does, an unexpected position, which is stressed.

26.12. The Bimembral Complex.

Ex. 1056, *LES*, 68, 16-69, 2:  *, hr i.iri imn grg n n3-t3.w (r-)dr.w i.iri.f grg.w iw grg.f p3-t3 n km.t p3-iw.k im hry-h3.t*, Now Amon created all the lands in the world; but he created them after he had created the land of Egypt, from which you came.[12.]

This example is composed of two emphatic formations; in both the predicative adverbial element refers to 'land'. The first expresses a general idea, 'all lands', the second a specific, 'the land of Egypt'; thus in a bimembral complex, the adverbial adjuncts in contrast are the predicates.

26.13. The Trimembral Complex.

Ex. 1057, Mayer A, 6, 17-19: *, dd.tw n.f i.iri.k šm r p3y-wd3*

dd.f nh3 n ḫt d'b p3-ḥtp.w-ntr n3-nty w3ḥ m p3-wd3 iw i.iri.i w3ḥ.w im n-3by s3w t3y-ḫt, "It was this storehouse you went to", they said. (Member 1.) "Some sticks of charcoal belonging to the divine offerings were in the storehouse", he replied. (Member 2.) "Indeed, I had put them there in order to preserve this seal". (Member 3.).

The complex exemplified by Ex. 1057 is composed of three sentence patterns:

1. An emphatic formation, in which *r p3y-wd3*, 'to the storehouse', is the predicative adverbial element.

2. A nominal cleft sentence, in which *nh3 n ḫt d'bw* is the nominal predicate.

3. An emphatic formation, in which the adverbial *n-3by s3w t3y-ḫt* is the predicative adverbial element.

The emphatic formation of sentence 3 is followed by two adverbial elements, *im* and *n-3by s3w t3y-ḫt*, 'in order to preserve ....'. *im* merely refers back to *p3y-wd3*, which had already been mentioned in the first sentence pattern. Since the adverbial *n-3by* .... adds new detailed information to the whole story, one may classify it, and not *im*, as the predicative adverbial adjunct.

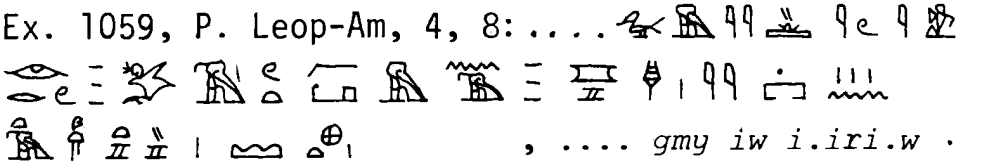
Ex. 1058, *LES*, 75, 7-9:

i.iri.tw grg m dmi nb i.iri.tw m3'.t m p3-t3 n ils ist i.iri.tw ir.t grg r' nb dy, It is in every town that one does injustice, whereas it is in the land of Alyasha that one does justice; but it is indeed here *(dy)* that one does injustice every day.[13].

Since *dy*, 'here', stands in contrast to 'every town' and 'Alyasha', one may conclude that *dy* is the predicative adverb, and not *r' nb*. Thus, *dy*, though less specific than 'Alyasha', resolves the anthisis between what happens in 'every town' and what happens in 'Alyasha'; in this respect, though an anaphoric element, it can be said to express a new idea. Perhaps when a front position adverb like *dy* functions as the predicate of an emphatic formation, it fills an end position, whereas, when an end position adverb like *r' nb* is non-predicative, it fills a front position.

26.14. The syntactic capabilities of the emphatic formation as a unit.

The emphatic formation cannot serve as the subject of a preceding passive verb form unless it is preceded by the circumstantial *iw*.

Ex. 1059, P. Leop-Am, 4, 8: .... 

gmy iw i.iri.w · t3.t m n3-miḥ'.wt n t3-imnt.t niw.t, ... of whom it was found that it was in the tombs of the West of Thebes that they were robbing.

When emphatic formations serve as a member of a nominal sentence, it is preceded by *nty*, except in the so-called 'participial sentences' (see below 57.12.9.).

Ex. 1060, *LES*, 65, 11-12:

(i)n ntk p3-nty i.iri.f nw (ḥr) iy n.i m mn.t r-dd i.rwi tw.k (m) t3y.i-mr, Are you the man who has been wasting(?) time coming to me every day to say, "Get out of my harbour!"

Conclusion: although the *i.iri.f stp.f* formation is a nominal verb form, it can not serve as the subject or direct object of preceding formations. It is only capable of serving as a noun equivalent for an adverbial adjunct which follows it, or precedes it in the case of the *in A i.iri.f stp.f* formation.[14.]

26.15. Types of verb forms capable of serving as the predicative adverbial element of an emphatic formation.

It seems, as a general rule, that any verb form preceded by the dependent *iw* is capable of serving as a predicative adverbial element, although it must be admitted that no examples of *iw iw.f r stp.f* or of *iw* + the initial prospective *stp.f* have been found in this capacity.

Any prepositional subordinate clause can function as a predicative adverbial element; it seems, however, that non-prepositional subordinate clauses and non-initial main clauses do not serve as predicative adverbial elements.

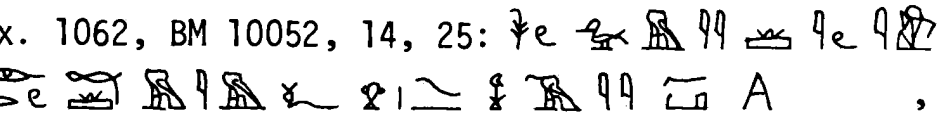
It sometimes happens that the first of two consecutive verb forms preceded by *iw* acts as the direct object and the second acts as an adverbial predicate.

Ex. 1061, *LRL*, 7, 11-12: *y3 i.iri.i gm.t iw di.f iw w'-tsm r t3.t.i iw.w (ḥr) gm.t.i*, It was only when they met me that I realised that he had sent a *tsm*-boat to collect me.

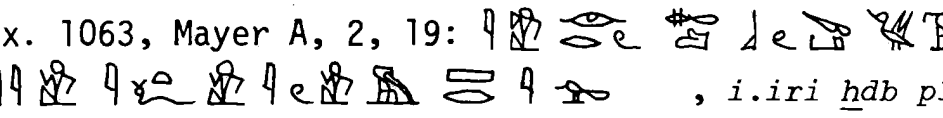
Since *i.iri.i gm.t* is not followed by a direct object, *iw di.f* .... must be classified in this role and *iw.w (ḥr) gm.t.i* as the predicative adverbial element.

26.16. The impersonal passive emphatic formation.

In one emphatic formation the subject is left out altogether.

Ex. 1062, BM 10052, 14, 25:  , *sw gmy iw i.iri.ø mḥ im.f ḥr ḫ3y A*, It was discovered that it was because of the Measurer, A, that he had been arrested.

Here *i.iri* is not followed by an actor expression. The infinitive of a passive emphatic formation with a nominal actor expression may follow the *i.iri* element, and not the nominal actor expression.

Ex. 1063, Mayer A, 2, 19:  , *i.iri ḥdb p3y.i-it iw.i m šri*, I was only a child when my father was killed.

26.17. The time indication of the emphatic formation.[15.]

In Late Egyptian, *i.iri.f stp.f* stands for the following tenses in Sahidic.

i). ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (second perfect).[16.]

ii). ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (second present).[17.]

iii). ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (second aorist).[18.]

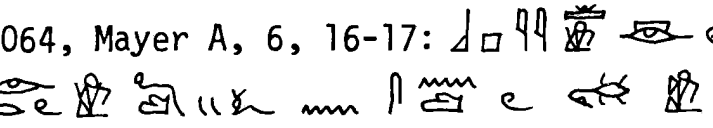
iv). ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (second future).[19.]

Since the emphatic formation of the verb *iri* itself reveals traces of time differentiations, it seems only reasonable to classify the emphatic formation according to variations of time.[20.]

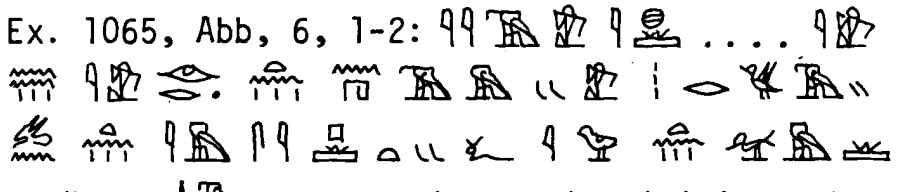
26.18. The *i.iri.f stp.f* classified according to time indication.

26.18.1. Past tense.

Following *bwpw.f stp.f*, when both refer to the same time range.

Ex. 1064, Mayer A, 6, 16-17:  *bwpwy.i ptr.w .... i.iri.i dd.f n snd*, I did not see them .... It was out of fear that I said it.

26.18.2. The immediate Present Tense. (The equivalent of Coptic ϵⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).

Ex. 1065, Abb, 6, 1-2:  *y3 iḫ ....inn i.iri.tn nhm r p3y-wn.tn im (r) sip tw.f iw.tn (ḥr) gm.t.f wd3* ...., What do you mean by it? .... If you are rejoicing because you have found that this (tomb) you have been examining has not been broken into ...."

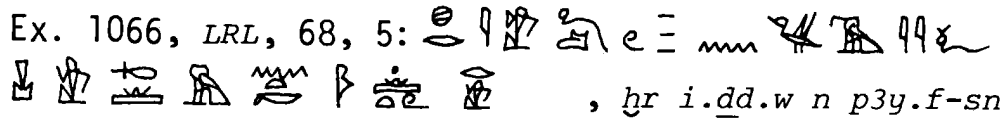
26.18.3. The simple present. (The equivalent of the Coptic ϵⲩⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).

a). *i.iri.f ir.t.f .... r' nb.*

See above Ex. 1058.

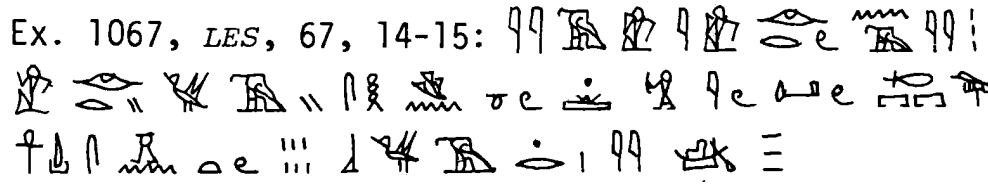
Note that the emphatic formation in Ex. 1058, when followed by *r' nb* takes the form of *i.iri.tw ir.t .... r' nb*, and not *i.iri.tw .... r' nb*; i.e. the verb *iri* itself has at least two forms.

b). *ḥr i.dd.f.*

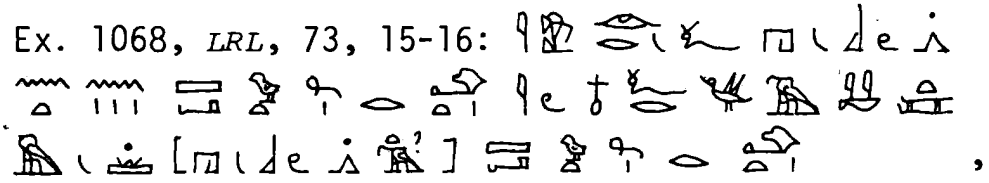
Ex. 1066, *LRL*, 68, 5:  , *ḫr i.dd.w n p3y.f-sn '3 ntk m3'.tw r.i*, One says to his elder brother, "You are in the right towards me" (see below 26.18.6).

26.18.4. The emphatic formation used for referring to customs in the past. (Equivalent to Coptic ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).

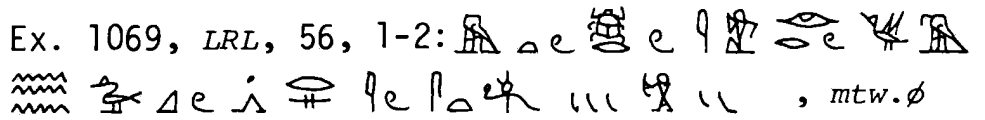
The form *i.iri.f ir.t.f*.

Ex. 1067, *LES*, 67, 14-15:  ,
y3 i.iri n3y.i ir.t p3y-sḫn iw di pr-'3 '.w.s ini.tw 6 br.y, It was only after Pharoah, l.p.h., had sent 6 *br*-ships that my ancestors would perform this work.

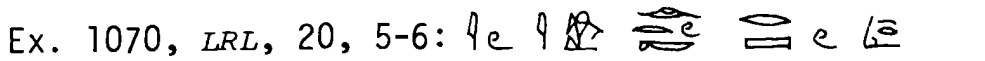
26.18.5. The second tense of the future.

Ex. 1068, *LRL*, 73, 15-16:  ,
i.iri.f ḥ3b n.tn š'.t r-ḥ3t iw nfr p3y.k-tm (ḥ3b t3-)š'.t r-ḥ3t, First he should write a letter to you; it is better that you should not be the first to write.

b). After *mtw.ø ḫpr*.

Ex. 1069, *LRL*, 56, 1-2:  , *mtw.ø ḫpr i.iri p3-mw 'q r.s iw.s wḏ.tw*, <u>It will be planted</u> by the time the water covers it.

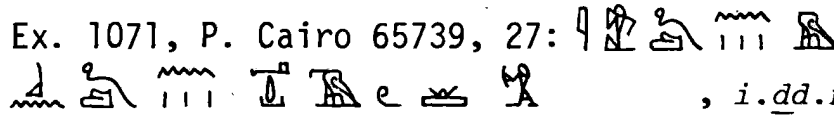
c). After *iw*.

Ex. 1070, *LRL*, 20, 5-6: 

, *iw i.iri.k rš̈w n p3y.k-tm md.t irm w' i.iri.t(.i) iy*, And you will be glad if you don't speak to anyone until I come.

26.18.6. The second tense of the initial prospective *stp.f*.

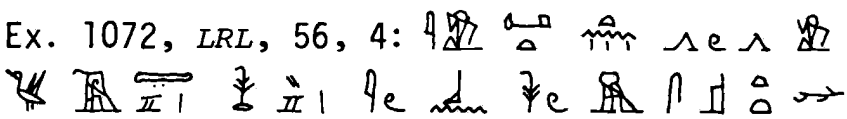
There is a special form of *i.stp.f* which refers to the future and is found in oaths, promises, and the apodoses of conditional sentences.

Ex. 1071, P. Cairo 65739, 27: 
, *i.dd.n m m3'.t bn dd.n 'd3*, "We will speak truthfully; we will not lie."

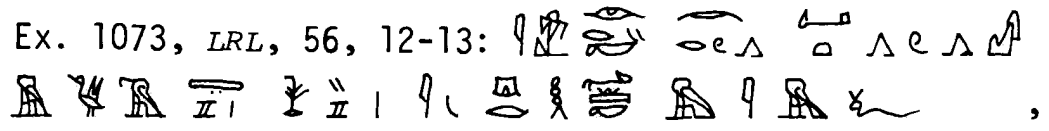
Thus, although *bn dd.n 'd3* is the semantic negative counterpart of *i.dd.n m m3'.t*, it can not be classified as its grammatical counterpart. In other words, since *'d3* does not take the form **m 'd3*, it can not be used in conjunction with the emphatic formation. *bn dd.n 'd3* is the negative initial prospective *stp.f*, and *i.dd.n m m3'.t* is the specific form of an emphatic formation indicating future tense and optative mood.

There are very few verbs which can take the form *i.dd.f* (they are *dd*, *di*, *iw*, *ini* and *iri*), other verbs, when taking the form of the emphatic prospective *i.dd.f* use the verb *iri* as an auxiliary element.

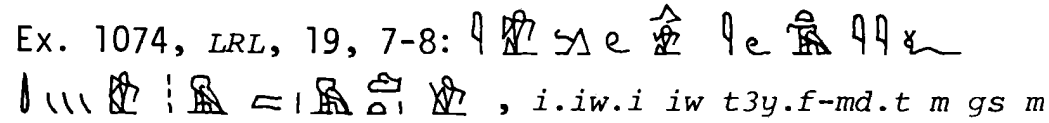
Compare

Ex. 1072, *LRL*, 56, 4: 
, *i.di.tn iw.i m p3-t3 rsy iw bn sw m st.t ḥr.s*, It is when no brush(?) will be on it, that you shall have me return from the south land;

with

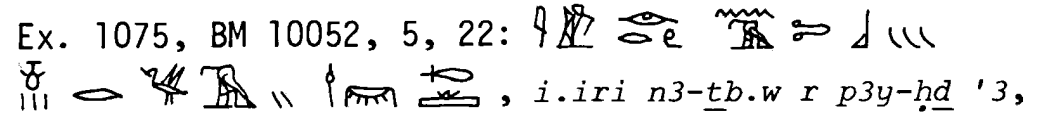
Ex. 1073, *LRL*, 56, 12-13:  ,
i.iri.k spr (r) di.t iw.i m p3-t3 rsy iw grḫ.k im.f,
You should only let me come back from the south after you finish it.

and with

Ex. 1074, *LRL*, 19, 7-8:  , *i.iw.i iw t3y.f-md.t m gs m dr.t.i*, I shall come back when I have this matter more under control.

Since the verb *spr* can not take the form **i.spr.k*, the auxiliary *i.iri.k* is used (i.e. in Ex. 1073). Thus *i.iri.k* acts as an auixilary for the emphatic formations of the past, future, simple present and the prospective tenses. But since the formation *i.iri.f ir.t.f* (see Ex. 1058) and *i.dd.f* (see Ex. 1071) take marked forms to express specific tenses, it is only reasonable to assume that *i.iri.f* represents more than one verbal formation.

26.19. The second tense which expresses the idea of belonging (see above 2.3.4.).

Ex. 1075, BM 10052, 5, 22:  , *i.iri n3-tb.w r p3y-ḥd '3*,
The *tjeb*-vases belonged to (or 'were part of') the main treasure.

26.20. The adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation.

26.20.1. Patterns which can act as the adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation.

1. Adverbs (see Exx. 1058).

2. Adverbial phrases (see Exx. 1059 and 1068).

3. Any verbal formation which follows the circumstantial *iw* (see Exx. 1061, 1063, 1067, 1069, 1072 and 1073).

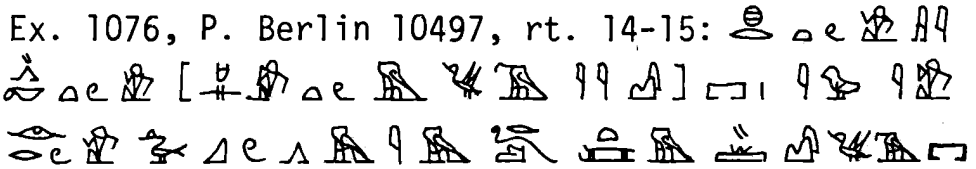
4. Prepositional subordinate clauses (see 26.7.).

26.20.2. Patterns which apparently cannot act as the adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation.

5. The non-initial main clauses (see below Chapter 38-44).

6. The non-prepositional subordinate clauses (see below Chapter 45-55).

Note that the non-initial prospective *stp.f* cannot act as the adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation; instead *r-dd* + the initial prospective *stp.f* is used:

Ex. 1076, P. Berlin 10497, rt. 14-15: 

ḫr tw.i iy.k(wi) tw.i (ḥmsi.tw m p3y.t)-pr iw i.iri.i 'q im r-dd tm.t p3-pr, I have come and stayed in your house so that you may have a full household.

26.20.3. Conclusions.

Since 1). groups 3-4 are interchangeable with adverbs (group 1) and adverbial phrases (group 2), one may conclude that verbal formations belonging to groups 3-4 are adverb equivalents.

And, since 2). groups 5-6 are incompatible with the emphatic formations (i.e. they can not interchange with adverbs),

one may conclude that they are not adverb equivalents.

26.21. The *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. after particles.

Note that since neither a relative form nor a participle can be preceded by particles, particles such as *ḫr*, *y3*, *in*, *inn*, and *ist* can be used as indicators for classification.

26.21.1. After *ḫr*.

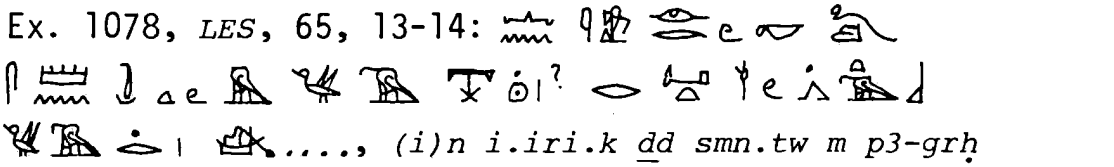
See above Ex. 1066.

26.21.2. After *y3*.

Ex. 1077, *LRL*, 43, 3-4: *y3 i.iri.f wḏ dy iw ḫn.f m p3y.f-pr*, Indeed it was only after he had provided for his household that he left here.

See also Ex. 1061.

26.21.3. After the interrogative particle *(i)n*.

Ex. 1078, *LES*, 65, 13-14:  *(i)n i.iri.k ḏd smn.tw m p3-grḥ r di.t wḏ t3-br* ...., Are you asking me to stay tonight so that the *br*-boat .... can leave?

26.21.4. After *inn*.

See above Ex. 1065.

26.21.5. After *ist*.

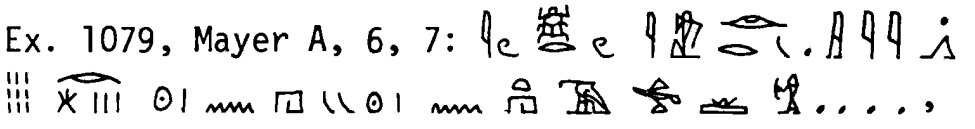
See above Ex. 1052.

26.22. The *i.iri.f stp.f* + adv. formation after verbal formations which are equivalent to conjunctions.

26.22.1. After *mtw.ø ḫpr*.

See above Ex. 1069.

26.22.2. After *iw.ø ḫpr*.

Ex. 1079, Mayer A, 6, 7: 
iw.ø ḫpr i.iri.i iy 9 3bd n hrw n th3 ...., It so happened (i.e. *iw.ø ḫpr*) that it was after nine whole months of the violation .... that I returned.

26.23. Bibliography and references.

1. Polotsky, *Papers*, 33-37 (= *Ann. Serv.* 40 (1940), 241-245); *Papers*, 43-51 (= *RdE* 11 (1957), 109-117); *Papers*, 71-96 (= *Egyptian Tenses*); *Papers*, 173-197 (= *Études*, 69-93); Gardiner, *JEA* 33 (1947), 95-101; *GG*, 3 ed., p. X; Vergote, *Bib. Or.* 17 (1960), 27; Parker, *JNES* 20 (1961), 181 (present II); Groll, *Negative*, 204-214; Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 224-227.
2. Groll, *Negative*, 92-93.
3. Polotsky, *Papers*, 33-37 (= *Ann. Serv.* 40 (1940), 241-245); Nims, *JEA* 54 (1968), 162.
4. Polotsky, *Papers*, 188 (= *Études*, 84); Groll, *JNES* 28 (1969), 188-189; Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 224-225.
5. Polotsky, *Papers*, 155 (= *Études*, 51); Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 225; Groll, *JNES* 28 (1969), 189, 19.
6. Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 332-334.
7. Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 335-337
8. See Sweet, *English Grammar*, 1770-1771.
9. However, see Nims, *JEA* 54 (1968), 163 and note 4.
10. Nims, *JEA* 54 (1968), 162 and note 5.
11. Černý, *AZ* 97 (1971), 46, 8.
12. Nims, *JEA* 54 (1968), 163.
13. Nims, *JEA* 54 (1968), 162; Groll, *Negative*, Ex. 320.
14. Groll, *Negative*, XXII, 3 and Exx. 426-427.
15. Plumley, *Grammar*, 186.
16. Plumley, *Grammar*, 202-203.
17. Plumley, *Grammar*, 192-193.
18. Plumley, *Grammar*, 206-207.
19. Plumley, *Grammar*, 211 and 213.
20. However, Demotic reveals a different table, see Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 223-235; Parker, *RdE* 10 (1955), 50-51, 54; Groll, *Negative*, 204-211.

CHAPTER 27. THE NEGATION OF THE *I.IRI.F STP.F* + ADV. FORMATION

27.1. Morphology.

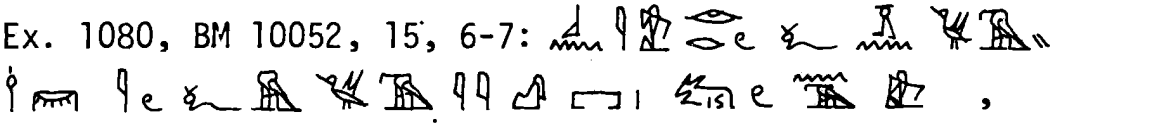
There are two ways of negating the *i.iri.f stp.f* formation:

1. *bn .... iwn3* (the *iwn3* immediately follows the adverbial predicate).

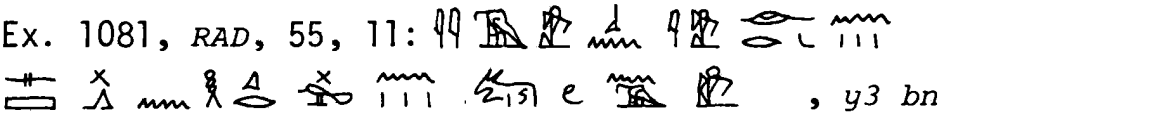
2. *i.iri.f tm stp.f.*

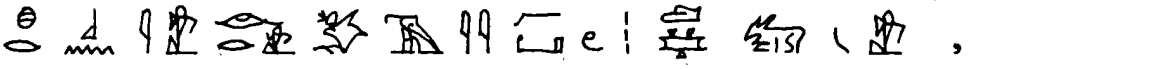
27.2. Use.

bn .... iwn3 negates the link *(nexus)* between the *i.iri.f stp.f* and the predicative adverbial element which follows it.[1.]

Ex. 1080, BM 10052, 15, 6-7: 
bn i.iri.f in.t p3y-ḥd iw.f m p3y.i-pr iwn3, He didn't bring any silver when he was in my house. (Lit. 'Not while he was in my house did he bring this silver'.)

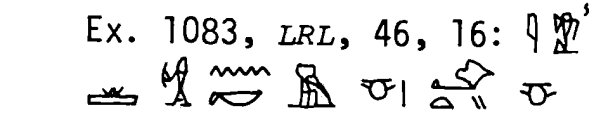
iw.f m p3y.i-pr is the adverbial predicate, and it is the link between *i.iri.f in.t* and *iw.f m p3y.i-pr* that is negated.

Ex. 1081, *RAD*, 55, 11: 
y3 bn i.iri.n sš n ḥqr.n iwn3, No, it was not because we were hungry that we went on strike.

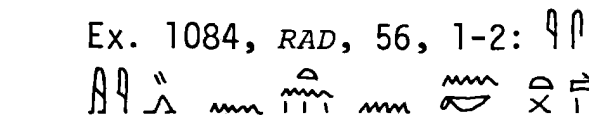
Ex. 1082, P. DM. 7, 6 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113): 
ḫr bn i.iri.i t3.t.w dy iwn3, It is not from there that I took them.

When the sentence as a whole expresses an affirmative idea, however, the *iwn3* is omitted.

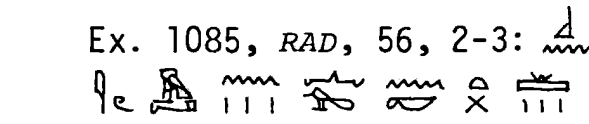
27. THE NEGATION OF THE *I.IRI.F STP.F* + ADV. FORMATION

Ex. 1083, *LRL*, 46, 16:  , *in bn i.iri.n b3k n.k m ib ḥ3ty.n*, Don't we work for you with all our heart?

When it is the verb form itself, and not the link between the predicative adverbial adjunct and the emphatic formation which is being negated, the *i.iri.f tm stp.f* formation is used.

Ex. 1084, *RAD*, 56, 1-2:  , *ist i.iri.i tm ii n.tn n nk.t*, Yes, I had a good reason for not coming to you. (Not, 'I had not a good reason for coming to you'.)

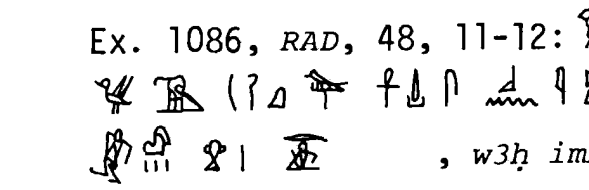
Furthermore, when both the emphatic formation and the link between the emphatic formation and the predicative adverbial form are made negative both *bn* and *tm* are used.

Ex. 1085, *RAD*, 56, 2-3:  , *bn i.iri.i tm iy iw mn nk.t r in.t.f n.tn*, The reason I didn't come wasn't because there was nothing to bring you.

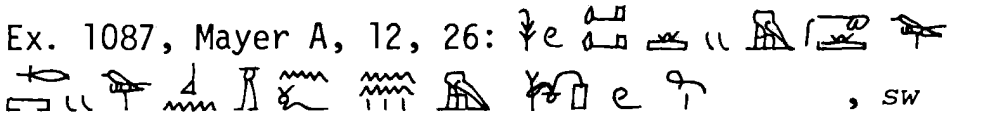
Note that *iwn3* is left out when the predicate itself is a negative construction.

27.3. The negation of the prospective emphatic *i.di.f*.[2.]

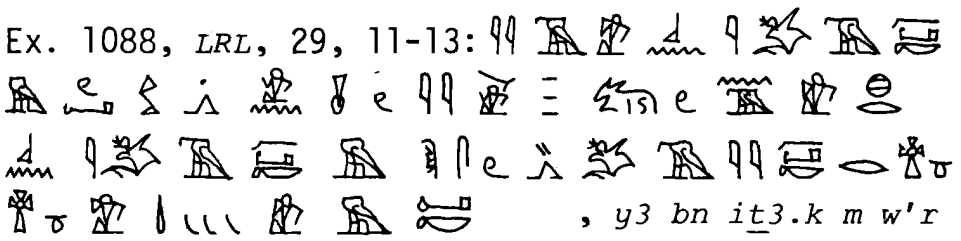
The *i.di.f* + adv. of the future is negated by *bn i.di.f* + adv., and not by *bn .... iwn3* or by *bn di.f*.

Ex. 1086, *RAD*, 48, 11-12:  , *w3ḥ imn w3ḥ p3-ḥq3 '.w.s. bn i.ini.tw t3y.i-3 ḥrd.wt ḥr.i*, By Amon and the King, l.p.h.! My three daughters shouldn't be taken away on my account.

27.4. The negation of the passive emphatic formation.[3.]

Ex. 1087, Mayer A, 12, 26:  , *sw dd.tw m-b3ḥ pr-'3 '.w.s. bn ini.f n.n m sš*, He was brought before Pharoah, l.p.h. It was not in writing that he was brought to us. (That is, his case was not merely reported in writing, but he was brought in person.)

Note that although *ini.f* does not here reveal any specific marks of being an emphatic formation, we are entitled to assume that it is one, since it expresses past time and is made negative by *bn*. The following example perhaps confirms this

Ex. 1088, *LRL*, 29, 11-13:  , *y3 bn it3.k m w'r n ḫrwy.w iwn3 ḫr bn it3.k m šms t3y.k r ndnd md.t m-di.k*, Indeed, it is not as a fighting soldier that you have been called up, nor is it as an attendant that you have been sent for. It is in order to consult you that you have been summoned.

It seems that this form is limited to the verbs *ini*, *t3i* and *ptr*.

27.5. Bibliography and references.

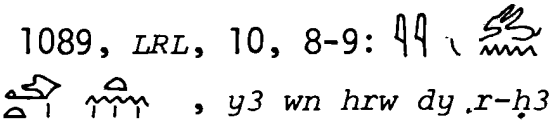
1. Gardiner, *AZ* 41 (1904), 130-135; Polotsky, *Papers*, 135-143 (= *Études*, 31-39); Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 474, e; Williams, *JNES* 7 (1948), 225-226; Till, *Grammatik*, 403; Polotsky, *Papers*, 244, 11 (= *Or*.29 (1960), 398); Groll, *Negative*, 150-156.
2. However, see Černý, *JEA* 23 (1937), 188; Groll, *Negative*, 116-117.
3. Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 478-479.
4. Wente, *LRL*, 49, h.

CHAPTER 28. CONSTRUCTIONS CONTAINING THE *wn* OF EXISTENCE. (SEE ABOVE 19.13.8.)

28.1. The minimal unit, containing the *wn* of existence.[1.]

The minimal unit is composed of two elements:

1. The *wn* of existence;
2. A bare noun;

Ex. 1089, *LRL*, 10, 8-9:  , *y3 wn hrw dy .r-ḥ3t.tn*, Indeed, you still have time (lit. 'there is still a (long) day before you').

Note that the adverb *dy* is optional.

28.2. Time indication.

wn ø-A dy refers to present time.

28.3. The extended construction *wn m-di.f ø-A*.

The *wn m-di.f ø-A* construction can take two basic forms;

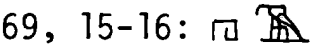
1. *wn m-di.f ø-A*;[2.]
2. *wn ø-A im m-di.f*.[3.]

28.4. Form 1.

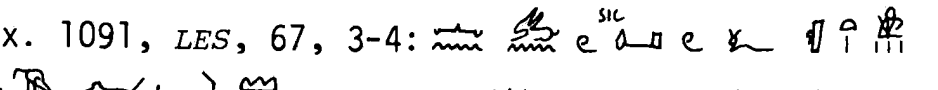
Form 1 is composed of four elements:

1. The *wn* of existence;
2. The compound preposition *m-di*;

Note that the *m* is sometimes omitted.

Ex. 1090, *LES*, 69, 15-16: 

, *hn wn (m-)di.w ø-'nḫ*, Had they had life ....

Ex. 1091, *LES*, 67, 3-4: 
, *(i)n wn (m-)di.f ø-is.t ḫ3rw*, Had he had a Syrian crew?

3. A pronominal suffix;

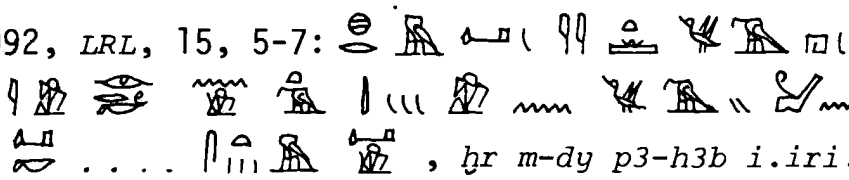
The pronominal suffix refers to the owner of the object expressed by *ø-A*.

4. A bare noun.

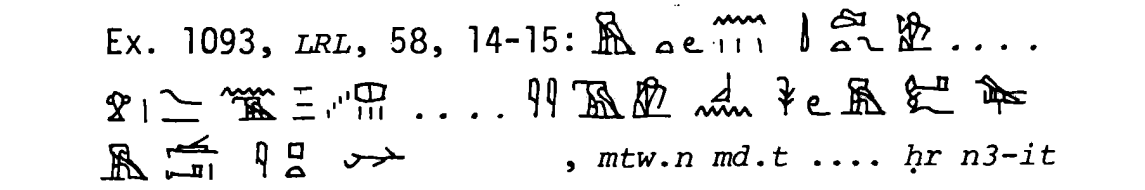
The bare noun expresses the owned object.

28.5. The syntactic relationship between the different elements.

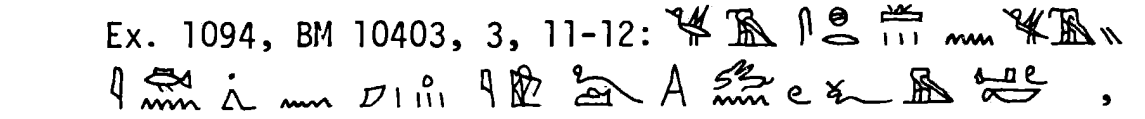
It is very difficult to determine the grammatical relationship between the groups *wn m-di.f* and *ø-A*. Originally *ø-A* was the subject of *wn*, but since *wn* and *m-di.f* have become an inseparable unit, *ø-A* can not immediately follow *wn*. In fact it occupies the first possible position, that is, immediately following *m-di.f*. However, since *ø-A* in Coptic is felt to be a direct object, one can assume that the transition from subject to direct object started much earlier. The 'bareness' of *A* is a necessary element. Compare:

Ex. 1092, *LRL*, 15, 5-7: 
, *ḫr m-dy p3-h3b i.iri.k n.i t3-md.t n p3y-ny (i)n sw m-di.k .... st m-di.i*, As for the letter you sent me about the business of the crown, (Saying),"Is it with you?" ... It is with me.

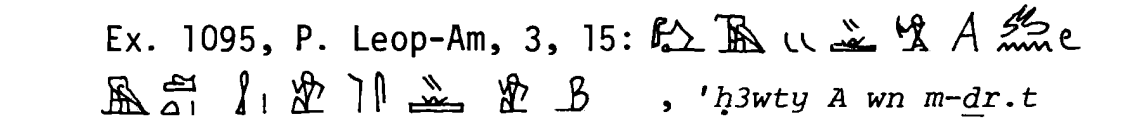
with

Ex. 1093, *LRL*, 58, 14-15:  , *mtw.n md.t .... ḥr n3-it .... y3 bn sw m-di.f m w' ip.t*, And we shall discuss .... the matter of the barley .... Indeed, he has not got even one *oipe*;

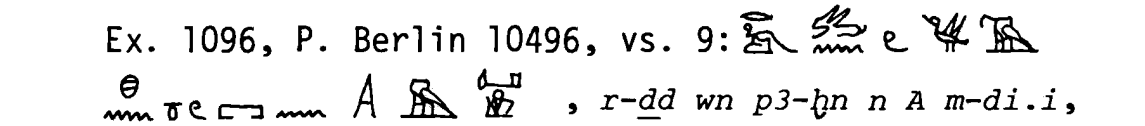
and with

Ex. 1094, BM 10403, 3, 11-12:  , *p3-sḫr n p3y-in n ḥmt i.dd A wn.f m-di.k*, The story of the .... of copper, which A said you had in your possession;

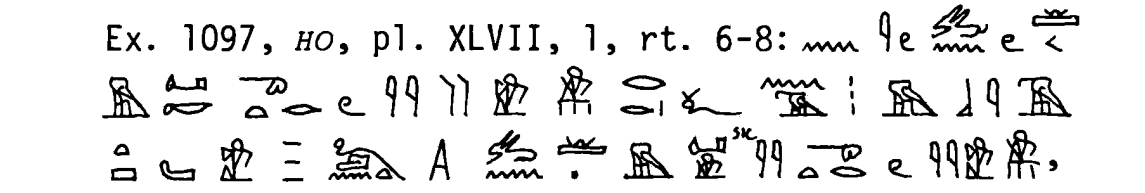
and with

Ex. 1095, P. Leop-Am, 3, 15:  , *'ḥ3wty A wn m-dr.t ḥm nḥsy B*, The labourer A, who was in the charge of the Nubian slave B;

and with

Ex. 1096, P. Berlin 10496, vs. 9:  , *r-dd wn p3-ḫn n A m-di.i*, Saying, "The (tomb)-shaft of A was in my possession";

and with

Ex. 1097, *HO*, pl. XLVII, 1, rt. 6-8:  , *(i)n iw wn m-di.k ø-mtr.y r.f n bi3t dd.t.n A wn m-di.i ø-mtr.y*, Have you witnesses against him or not? That which A answered: "I have witnesses". (Dynasty 19.)

.k in *m-di.k* refers to the owner, whereas *ø-mtr.y* expresses the owned element.

28.6. Conclusion.

Thus, when the subject is either a defined noun or a pronoun the formation *st m-di.f* (see Ex. 1092) or *p3-A m-di.f* is used to express the present tense, whereas the formation *wn p3-A m-di.f* (see Ex. 1096) and *wn.f m-di.f* express past time.[4.] Thus, in the combinations *wn ø-A m-di.f* or *wn w'-A*, *wn m-di.f* always expresses the present tense, whereas in the combinations *wn.f .... m-di.f* or *wn p3-A .... m-di.f*, *wn* always expresses the past tense. Thus, here, the definition or non-definition of A is a tense indicator.

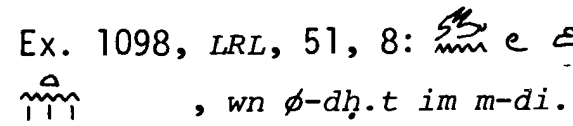
28.7. Semantic connotation.

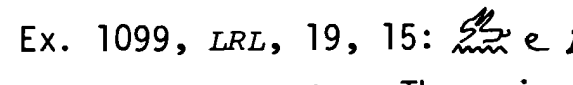
As far as the semantic connotation is concerned, *wn m-di.f ø-A* is the nearest equivalent to the English 'have got' notion. The *wn m-di* + pronominal suffix + *ø-A* construction expresses the ownership of *ø-A* by the person referred to by the pronominal suffix.

28.8. Form 2.

The *wn ø-A im m-di.f* formation is composed of five elements:

1. The *wn* of existence;
2. A bare noun;
3. The adverb *im*;[3.]
4. The preposition *m-di*;
5. A pronominal suffix.

Ex. 1098, *LRL*, 51, 8:  , *wn ø-dḏ.t im m-di.tn*, There is tin in your possession.

Ex. 1099, *LRL*, 19, 15:  , *wn ø-ḥmt im m-di.k*, There is copper in your possession.

Thus, when *ø-A* immediately follows *wn*, the adverb *im* is almost obligatory.

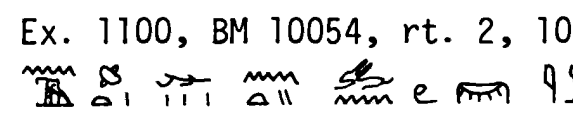
28.9. The *wn m-di.f ø-A* after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *dd*.

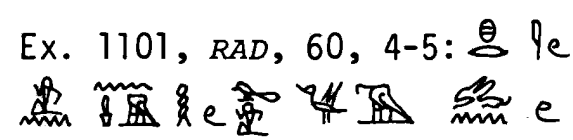
See above Ex. 1097.

28.10. The *wn ø-A* + Adv. construction after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After *nty*.

Ex. 1100, BM 10054, rt. 2, 10-11:  , *mtw.n in.t n3-w.wt nty wn ø-nbw im.w*, And we brought away the gold covered inner coffins (lit. 'the inner coffins on which there is gold').

Note that the *wn* of existence is preceded by *nty*, and it does not take the form of a participle. It is excluded from the suffix-conjugation category. Therefore the *wn* of the following example should not be classified as the *wn* of existence, but as the *wn* of the past.

Ex. 1101, *RAD*, 60, 4-5:  , *ḫr iw w'-rn n b3k n nmḥ p3-wn m-di.f*, Although it was a

servant of a citizen which he had.

Had the *wn* here been the *wn* of existence, the sentence would have taken the form *w'-rn .... p3-nty wn m-di.f.*

28.11. *wn m-di.f ø-A* after particles.

After the interrogative *(i)n.*

Ex. 1102, *Ostr. IFAO* 884 = Černý, *BIFAO* 72, (1972) p. 56, no. 54, 3: , *(i)n wn m-di.s ø-pš im.w*, Has she got a portion of them?

28.12. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 506; Plumley, *Grammar*, 233; Groll, *Negative*, 217-218; Stern, *Grammatik*, 308 and 368.
2. Erman, *NAG*, 624; Plumley, *Grammar*, 235; Stern, *Grammatik*, 312-314; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 377.
3. Plumley, *Grammar*, 235, note.
4. Till, *AZ* 69 (1933), 112-117.

CHAPTER 29. THE NEGATIVE ELEMENT *MN*

29.1. Morphology.[1]

Ex. 1103, BM 10383, 2, 5: , *mn*.

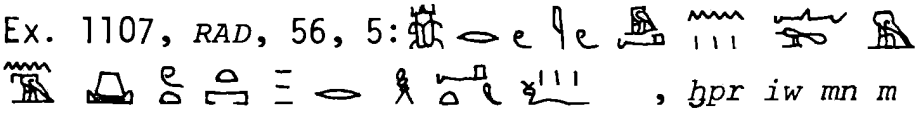
Ex. 1104, BM 10052, 11, 24: , *mn*.

Ex. 1105, BM 10403, 3, 14: , *mn*.

Ex. 1106, *Ostr. IFAO* 862, 1 = Černý *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 54, no. 48: , *mn*.

29.2. Semantic connotation.

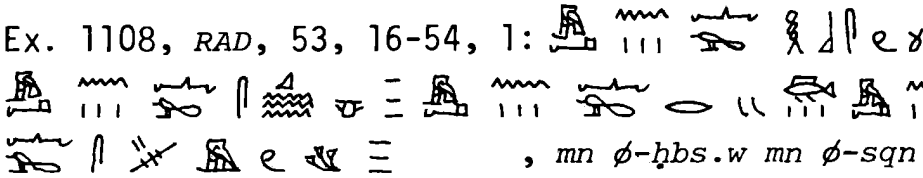
mn expresses the non-existence of bare or undefined nouns. When it acts as a noun equivalent it is preceded by the dependent *iw* and its semantic connotation is 'nothing'.

Ex. 1107, *RAD*, 56, 5:  , *ḫpr iw mn m n3-šn.wt r ḥ'.t.f*, If it happens that there is nothing even in the granary itself ....

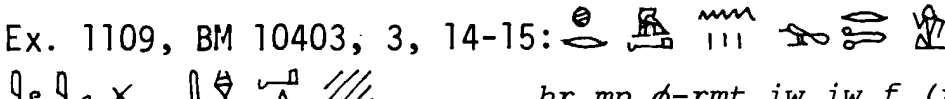
29.3. The minimal unit.

When preceding bare nouns in the minimal unit *mn ø-A*, *mn* denotes 'there does not exist'.

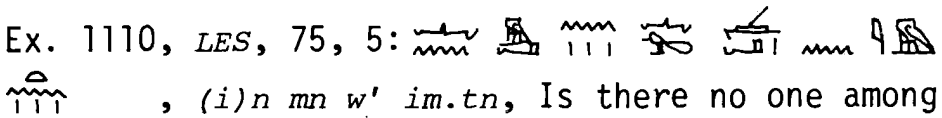
29.3.1. *mn ø-A*.

Ex. 1108, *RAD*, 53, 16-54, 1:  , *mn ø-ḫbs.w mn ø-sqn mn ø-rm.w mn ø-sim*, There is no cloth, no ointment, no fish, and there are no vegetables.

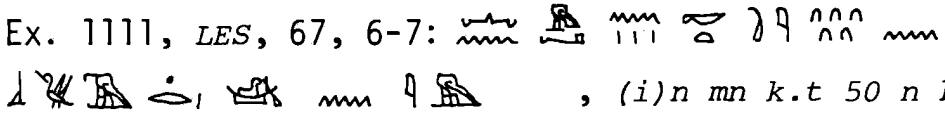
The minimal unit *mn ø-A* expresses a general non-existence as such. When a more limited and specific reference is expressed, a resumptive pronoun is required (see above Ex. 755). In Ex. 1108 *mn ø-ḫbs.w* expresses the non-existence of *ḫbs.w* as such, whereas in Ex. 755 the non-existence of *bt3* is restricted to *.w*.

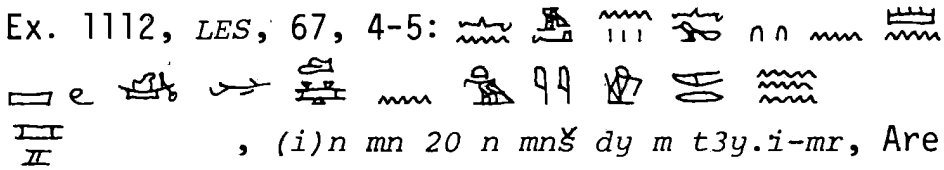
Ex. 1109, BM 10403, 3, 14-15:  , *ḫr mn ø-rmṯ iw iw.f (r) s'ḥ'(.i)*, There is no one who will accuse me.

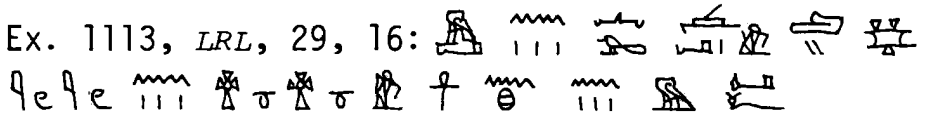
29.3.2. *mn w'*.

Ex. 1110, *LES*, 75, 5:  , *(i)n mn w' im.tn*, Is there no one among you ....?

29.3.3. The adverbs *im* and *dy* follow *mn*.

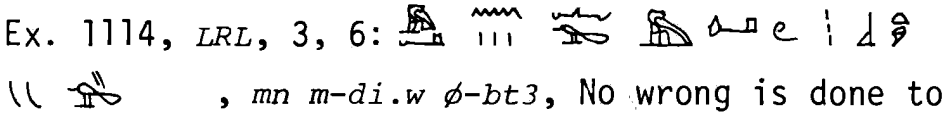
Ex. 1111, *LES*, 67, 6-7:  , *(i)n mn k.t 50 n br im*, Are there not another 50 boats there?

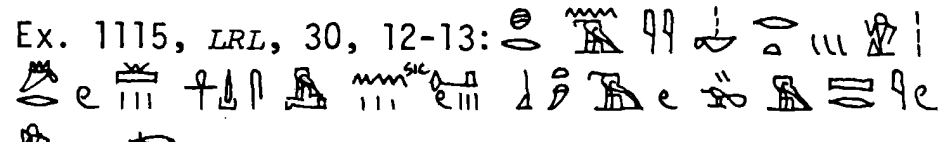
Ex. 1112, *LES*, 67, 4-5:  , *(i)n mn 20 n mnš dy m t3y.i-mr*, Are there not 20 boats here in my harbour?

Ex. 1113, *LRL*, 29, 16:  , *mn w' dy iw iw.n (r) ndnd 'nḫ.n m-di.f*, There is no one here from whom we shall be able to take advice (lit. 'inquire about our life from him').

29.4. The construction *mn (m-)di* + pronominal suffix + *ø-A*.[2].

Note that the preposition *m* is sometimes omitted.

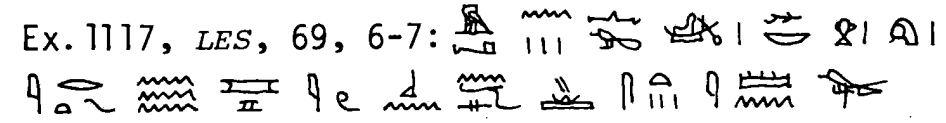
Ex. 1114, *LRL*, 3, 6:  , *mn m-di.w ø-bt3*, No wrong is done to them. (Lit. 'They possess no harm.')

Ex. 1115, *LRL*, 30, 12-13:  , *ḫr n3y.k-rmṯ (r-)ḏr.w '.w.s. mn (m-)ḏi.w ø-bt3 m šri r '3*, And all your people are alive, prosperous, and healthy. No wrong is done to them (lit. 'they possess no harm'), great or small.

When the bare noun precedes *mn* the notion of lack of possession can be expressed by *m ḏr.t.f* which follows *mn*.

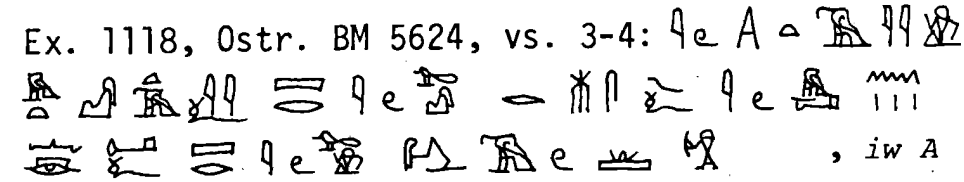
Ex. 1116, *LES*, 66, 12: , *ḫr mk ø-wḫ3 ø-ẖ'.t mn m ḏr.t.k*, Look, neither a letter nor a dispatch is in your hand.

Obs. The adjective *nb* does not define a noun which follows *mn*.

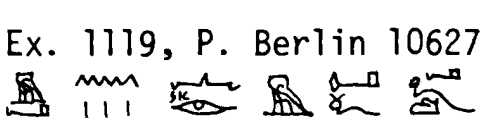
Ex. 1117, *LES*, 69, 6-7:  , *mn br(?) nb ḫr-tp itrw iw bn ny-sw imn*, There is not a ship on the sea that does not belong to Amon.

29.5. The *mn m-di.f ø-A* construction after the indirect indicators of initiality.

29.5.1. After *iw*.

Ex. 1118, Ostr. BM 5624, vs. 3-4:  , *iw A t3y.i-mw.t t3y.f-šri.t i.ms.f iw mn (m-)di.f šri 'ḥ3wty*, While A, my mother, was the (lit. 'his') daughter whom he begot, he having no male child.

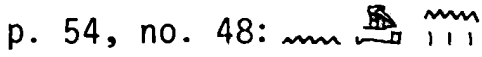
29.5.2. After *nty*.

Ex. 1119, P. Berlin 10627, 9-10:  , *ir p3-nty-iw mn m-di.f 'dd.w*, As for him who has no son, ...

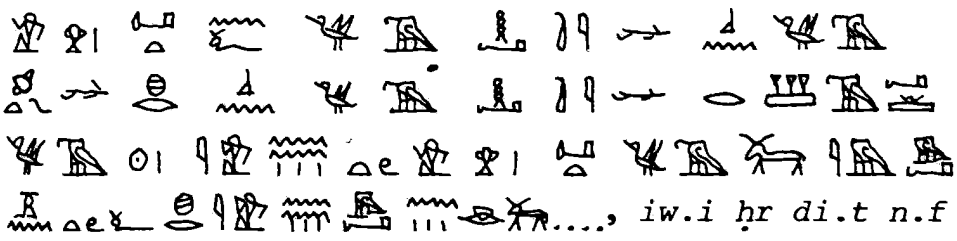
The writing *nty-iw* is not here *nty* + the *iw* of the future, but a phonetic writing of Coptic ϵΤϵ.

29.6. The *mn m-di.f ø-A* construction after particles.

After the interrogative *in*.

Ex. 1120, Ostr. *IFAO* 862, 1-2 =Černý, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 54, no. 48:  , *(i)n mn m-di.s im.w*, Has she got nothing from them?

29.7. The *mn ø-A* construction following *inn* in contrast to the *bn p3-A* construction.

Ex. 1121, Ostr. Berlin 12630, rt. 5, vs. 1:  , *iw.i ḥr di.t n.f p3-ḥti bn p3-wt ḫr bn p3-ḥti r-š3'(-r) p3-hrw inn tw.t (ḥr) di.t p3-iḫ imi ini.tw.f ḫr inn mn ø-iḫ* ...., And I gave him the bed (but) neither the coffin nor the bed are (here) to this day. If you are going to give the ox, send it, but if there is no ox ....

29.8. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 782-785.
2. Černý, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 112, note f; Groll, *Negative*, 20-24; Erman, *NAG*, 784; Plumley, *Grammar*, 234-236.

GROUP II. THE INITIAL CONJUNCTIONAL MAIN CLAUSES

CHAPTER 30. THE *iḫ stp.k* FORMATION

30.1. Classification.

a). The *iḫ stp.k* formation[1]. can not be classified as a non-prepositional subordinate clause, since it is compatible with the direct indicators of initiality.

b). The *iḫ stp.k* can not be classified as an initial main clause, since it is incompatible with *iw*, *wn* or *nty*, i.e. the indirect indicators of initiality.

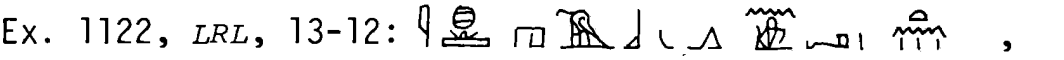
Thus, the *iḫ stp.k* is to be classified as an initial conjunctional main clause.

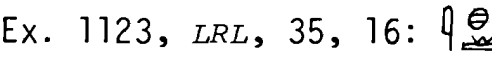
30.2. Mood.

The *iḫ stp.k* formation belongs to the category of verbal formations expressing the imperative mood. This is indicated by the following observations:

a). The actor expression is restricted to the 2nd. person.

b). Occasionally *iḫ stp.k* takes the form *iḫ stp*; i.e. *iḫ* + the imperative formation.

Ex. 1122, *LRL*, 13-12:  ,
iḫ ḥ3b n.i '.tn, Please write to me about the condition of your health.

Ex. 1123, *LRL*, 35, 16:  , *iḫ rḫ sw*,
Please take notice of it. (Or 'Consider it!')

30.3. The *iḫ ḫr.k* formation.

30. THE *iḫ stp.k* FORMATION

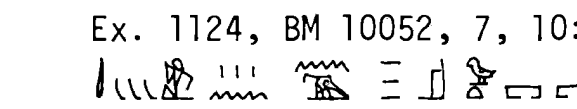
One should not classify the formation *iḫ ḫr.k* as an *iḫ stp.k* formation.

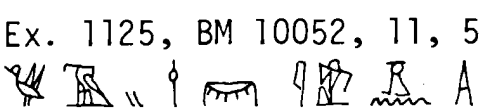
1. *ḫr*, 'talk', 'say', is not used freely in the 20th. Dynasty; it occurs only in fixed patterns (e.g. *ḫr.f* after direct speech) (see above 10.3.2.-10.3.3.).

2. *iḫ* in *iḫ ḫr.k* is not the conjunction *iḫ*; it is apparently an iterrogative particle.

3. *ḫr.k* in *iḫ ḫr.k* is apparently a Middle Egyptian relative form indicating the present tense.

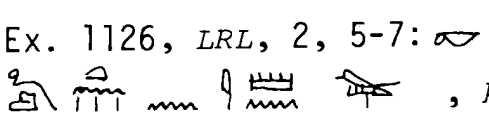
iḫ dd.k (see below Exx. 1126-1128) can follow various verbal formations, whereas *iḫ ḫr.k* follows mainly the perfect active *dd.tw* formation, which indicates again that *iḫ dd.k* and *iḫ ḫr.k* should not be equated.

Ex. 1124, BM 10052, 7, 10:  , *dd.tw n.f iḫ ḫr.k t3-md.t n n3-s.wt i.pḥ.k*, They said to him, "What have you to say about the affair of the tombs which you attacked?" (Lit. 'What is it that you have to say ...?')

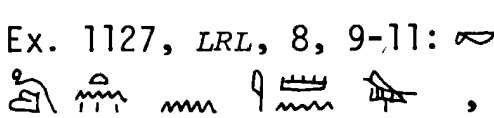
Ex. 1125, BM 10052, 11, 5:  , *dd.tw n.s iḫ ḫr.t p3y-ḥd i.ini A p3y.t-hy*, They said to her, "What have you to say about this silver which your husband, A, brought away?"

30.4. The *iḫ stp.k* after the direct indicators of initiality.

30.4.1. After *ky-dd*.

Ex. 1126, *LRL*, 2, 5-7:  , *ky dd n A B C .... iḫ dd.tn n imn*, Another matter for A, B, and C .... please pray, to Amon.

30.4.2. After *ky-dd .... r-dd.*

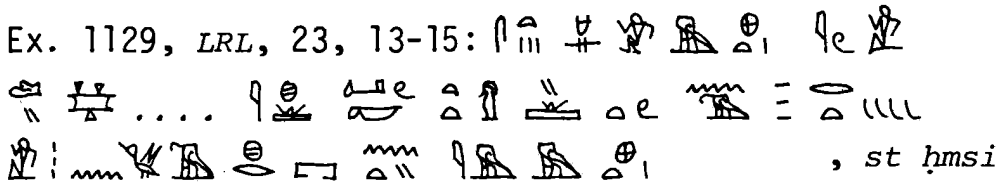
Ex. 1127, *LRL*, 8, 9-11:  , *ky-dd .... r-dd iḫ dd.tn n imn*, Another matter .... saying, "Please pray to Amon".

30.5. The *iḫ stp.k* formation can follow the following verbal formations.

30.5.1. An imperative formation.

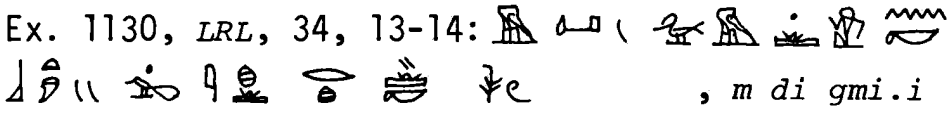
Ex. 1128, *LRL*, 4, 9: , *imi (n).tn '.w.s. r' nb r' nb iḫ dd.tn n imn*, Give them life, prosperity and health every day every day. Please pray to Amon.

30.5.2. A circumstantial first present preceded by a first present.

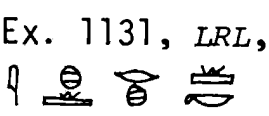
Ex. 1129, *LRL*, 23, 13-15:  , *st ḥmsi m niw.t iw.i dy .... iḫ di.k twt.tw n3-rmt n p3-ḫr nty im n niw.t*, They have settled in Thebes, while I am here .... Please have the workmen of 'The Tomb' who are there in Thebes assembled.

30.6. The formation *iḫ rḫ.k sw* as an end position clause.

30.6.1. After a negative imperative.

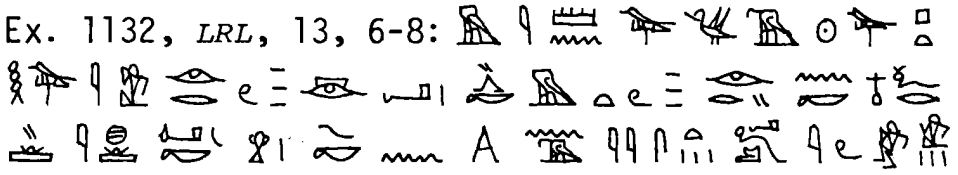
Ex. 1130, *LRL*, 34, 13-14:  , *m di gmi.i n.k bt3 iḫ rḫ.k sw*, Don't let me find fault with you! Please take notice of it.

30.6.2. After a conjunctive form.

Ex. 1131, *LRL*, 35, 6-8:  , *mtw.k swḏ.w .... iḫ rḫ.k sw*, And entrust them (i.e. the rations) .... Please take notice of it.

30.7. The *iḫ stp.k* formation can follow the following non-verbal sentence patterns.

30.7.1. The participial statement + conjunctive, indicating future time.

Ex. 1132, *LRL*, 13, 6-8:  , *(i)n imn p3-r' ptḥ i.iri.w ptr '.k mtw.w ir.t n.k nfr iḫ di.k ḥr.k n A n3y.s-'ḏd.w šri.w*, It is Amon Pre and Ptah who shall look after your condition and they will do good for you. Please take care of A and her children.

30.7.2. A negative bimembral nominal sentence.

Ex. 1133, *LRL*, 2, 1-2: , *bn ink p3y.tn-bin iwn3 iḫ ḏd.tn n imn*, I am not your wrongdoer. Please pray to Amon.

30.8. Bibliography and references. -

1. Erman, *NAG*, 298 and 356 Anm.; *GG*, 450, 5, 440, 4 and 346, 4.

GROUP III. THE PREPOSITIONAL INITIAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

CHAPTER 31. INTRODUCTION TO GROUP III

A prepositional subordinate clause is a verbal formation containing a prepositional phrase:

1. *m-dr stp.f/(r-)š3' m-dr stp.f* (Coptic ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).
2. *i.iri.t.f stp.f/(r-)š3' i.iri.t.f stp.f* (Coptic ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).
3. *m-ḫt stp.f.*
4. *r-tnw stp.f.*

Prepositional subordinate clauses, unlike non-prepositional ones, can occupy both initial and non-initial positions; they are enabled to fill the former role by their possession of marked elements of subordination in their prepositions.

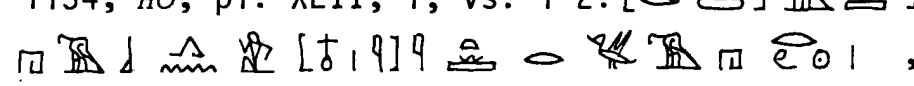
CHAPTER 32. *M-ḏr STP.F*

32.1. Morphology.

m-ḏr stp.f is a subordinate clause of time. It is constructed from the compound preposition, *m-ḏr*, 'since', plus a *stp.f* formation. The compound prepositional element *m-ḏr* has become an integral morphological constituent of the verbal formation.[1].

32.2. The type of the *stp.f* in the *m-ḏr stp.f* formation.

An early 19th. Dynasty example contains a *stp.n.f* form:

Ex. 1134, *HO*, pl. XLII, 1, vs. 1-2:  ,

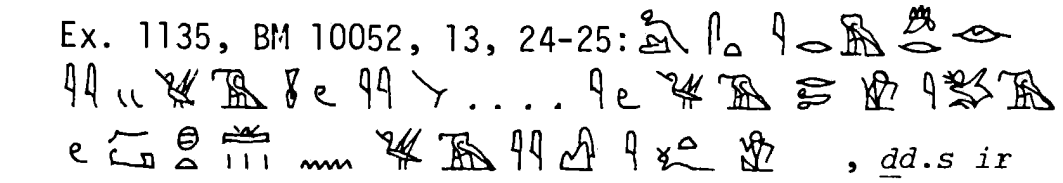
(r-ḫ)3' m-ḏr h3b.n.i (nfry).t-r p3-hrw, Since I wrote, until today.

Thus the assumption that the *stp.f* which follows *m-ḏr* is the non-initial prospective *stp.f* is perhaps incorrect; the *stp.n.f* in Ex. 1134 is perhaps the circumstantial *stp.n.f* which still exists in the early 19th. Dynasty.

Thus, the morphemes ⲣⲉ, which appear on the one side in ⲘⲀⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, ⲦⲀⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, (verbs composed of the verb *di* plus the non-initial prospective *stp.f*), and, on the other side, in ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, should not be identified. This would explain the past indication of the formation *m-ḏr-stp.f*.[2].

32.3. The *m-ḏr-stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality.

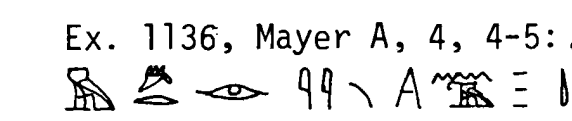
The *m-ḏr-stp.f*, when following the direct indicators of initiality, is preceded by the preposition *ir*.

Ex. 1135, BM 10052, 13, 24-25:  , *ḏd.s ir m-ḏr iry.tw p3-ḫrwy .... iw p3-rmṯ (ḥr) iṯ3.t ø-ḫ.t n p3y.i-it*, She said, "After the war .... had finished, this person took property of my father".

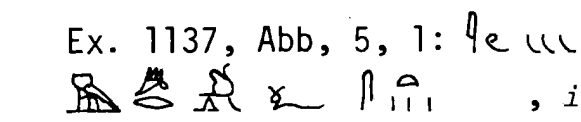
Note that the subordinate prepostional clauses can not be preceded by the indirect indicators of initiality; i.e. **iw m-ḏr-stp.f*, **wn m-ḏr-stp.f* and **nty m-ḏr-stp.f* do not exist.

32.4. Verbal formations which can precede an *m-ḏr-stp.f* formation.

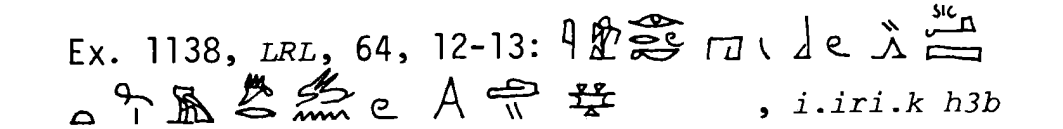
32.4.1. A first present formation with the stative of a verb of motion.

Ex. 1136, Mayer A, 4, 4-5:  , *tw.i šm.k(wi) .... m-ḏr-iry A n3-md·wt 'n*, I went away .... after A had intrigued again.

34.4.2. A *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formation of the past.

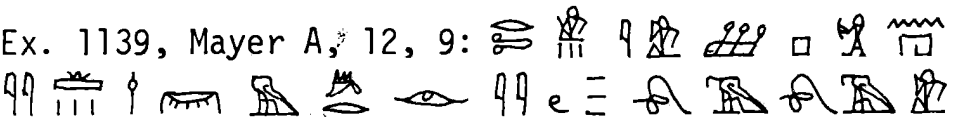
Ex. 1137, Abb, 5, 1:  , *iw.tw (ḥr) di.t n.f ir.t.f m-ḏr-pḥ.f st*, And he was given his sight after he had reached them.

32.4.3. An emphatic formation.[3.]

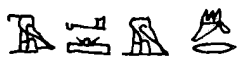
Ex. 1138, *LRL*, 64, 12-13:  , *i.iri.k ḥ3b ɣ'.t m-ḏr-wn A dy*, It was after A was here that you wrote a letter.

32.5. Non-verbal constructions which can precede a *m-ḏr-stp.f* formation.

A noun + participle.

Ex. 1139, Mayer A, 12, 9:  , *ø-rmṯ i.šsp nh3 ḥḏ m-ḏr-iry.w w3w3*, Men who received some silver after they had conspired.

32.6. The *(r-)š3'-m-ḏr-stp.f* formation as a clause of time.

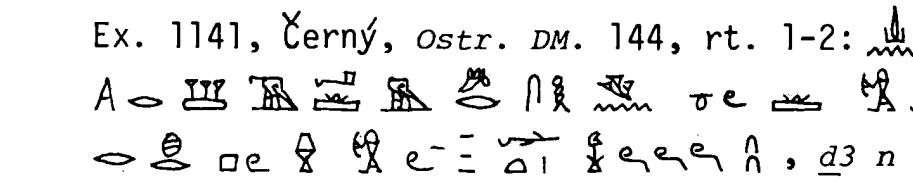
A purely Late Egyptian expression for 'since' is  (var. or), *(r-)š3'-m-ḏr*, lit. 'to start with when'. This too is followed by *stp.f*.

32.7. Non-verbal constructions which can precede a *(r-)š3'-m-ḏr stp.f* formation.

32.7.1. A passive participle.

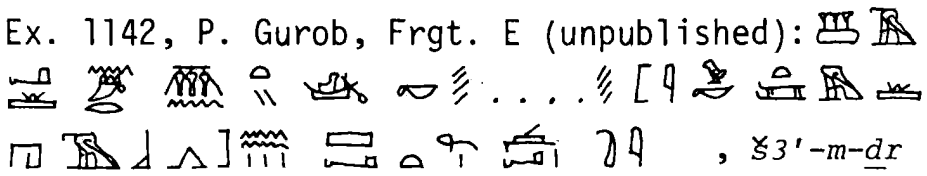
Ex. 1140, Černý, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25536, rt. 2-3: , *iry.t im.f .... š3'-m-ḏr-šsp ṯ3ty b3k.w*, What was done in it .... since the vizier received the account of the work.

32.7.2. A noun.

Ex. 1141, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 144, rt. 1-2:  , *ḏ3 n A r-š3'-m-ḏr-shn B r ḫrp.w ḫt 1,320*, Arrears of A since B ordered them to be brought: 1,320 pieces of wood.

32.8. Verbal formations which can follow a *(r-)ꜣ-m-dr-stp.f*

A *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past.

Ex. 1142, P. Gurob, Frgt. E (unpublished):  , *ꜣ-m-dr ḫnti.k .... (iw.k (ḥr) tm ḥ3b) n.n ꜣ.t w'ty*, Since you left for the south .... you have not sent us a single letter.

32.9. Bibliography and references.

1. Spiegelberg, *AZ* 60 (1925), 59-61; Sethe, *AZ* 62 (1926), 5-8; Wolf, *AZ* 69 (1933), 110-111, 664.
2. This fact was first pointed out to me by Professor Fairman.
3. Groll, *Negative*, Section 43.

CHAPTER 33. THE *I.IRI.T.F STP.F* FORMATION

33.1. Morphology.

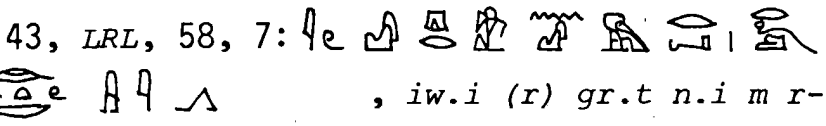
The *i.iri.t.f stp.f* formation is a clause of time indicating the notion of 'until he chooses'. As far as historical grammar is concerned, the *i.iri.t.f stp.f* is composed of four elements.[1.]

1. *i* = the preposition *r*;
2. *iri.t* = the Middle Egyptian *stp.t* formation;
3. *f* = the actor expression.
4. *stp* = the infinitive.

However, the preposition *r* has already become, in the 20th. Dynasty, an integral part of the verb form itself. This is indicated by the *ꜣ' i.iri.t.f stp.f* formation (see below Chapter 34). Since the additional element *ꜣ'* is needed to convey the marked prepositional element, one is entitled to assume that *i* in *i.iri.t.f stp.f* has lost its prepositional force.

33.2. The *i.iri.t.f stp.f* after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *r-dd*.

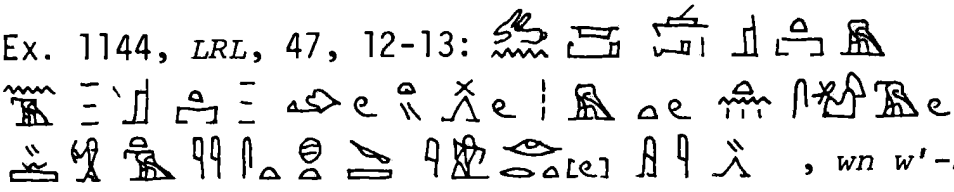
Ex. 1143, *LRL*, 58, 7:  , *iw.i (r) gr.t n.i m r-' r-dd i.iri.t.k iy*, I will stay silent longing for you to come (lit. 'saying, "Until you come."').

i.iri.t.f stp.f is never preceded by *iw*, *wn* or *nty*.

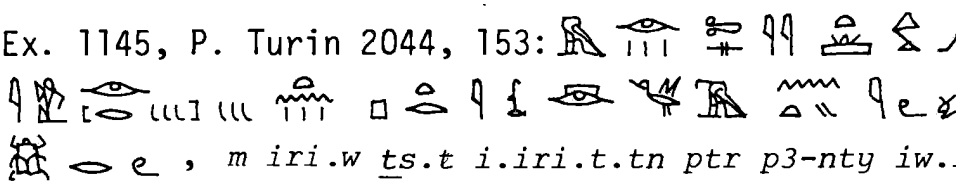
33.3. Verbal formations which can precede an *i.iri.t.f stp.f* formation.

33. THE *I.IRI.T.F STP.F* FORMATION

33.3.1. The affirmative imperative formation.

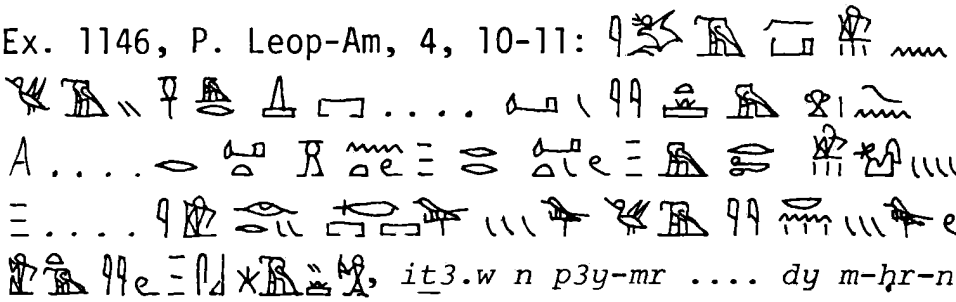
Ex. 1144, *LRL*, 47, 12-13:  *wn w'-s.t m n3-s.wt ḥ3wty.w mtw.tn s3w t3y.s-ḫt i.iri.t(.i) iy*, Open one of the ancient places, and guard its seal until I come.

33.3.2. A negative imperative formation.

Ex. 1145, P. Turin 2044, 153:  *m iri.w ṯs.t i.iri.t.tn ptr p3-nty iw.f (r) ḫpr*, Do not go up until you have seen what happens.

33.4. Non-verbal formations which can precede a *i.iri.t.f stp.f* formation.

A noun, followed by a participle + adverbial adjuncts;

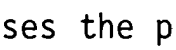
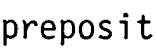
Ex. 1146, P. Leop-Am, 4, 10-11:  *it3.w n p3y-mr .... dy m-ḫr-n A .... r di.t ini.tw.w r di.t.w m rmṯ s3w .... i.iri.t pr-'3 p3y.n-nb '.w.s. wḏ' t3y.w-sb3y.t*, Robbers of this pyramid .... whom A .... was ordered to bring back and keep prisoner, ... until our lord l.p.h., Pharoah, has decided their punishment.

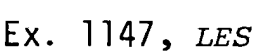
33.5. Bibliography and references.

1. Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930), 231-234.

CHAPTER 34. THE *š3'-I.IRI.T.F STP.F* FORMATION (COPTIC ϣⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).[1.]

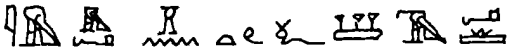
34.1. Morphology.

For 'until he chooses', the Late Egyptian of the 20th. Dynasty uses the preposition  (from the older ) followed by the verbal construction . Since, the verb *iri* has lost its *r* the whole expression is sometimes written phonetically. (Coptic Boh. ϣⲁⲧⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ)

Ex. 1147, *LES*, 62, 15-16: ....  , ... *š3'-i.iri.t.w gm.t p3y.k-it3y n rn.f*, ... until they should have found your thief, whoever he is.[2.]

34.2. Verbal formations which can precede the *š3'-i.iri.t.f stp.f* formation.

- The causative imperative formation.

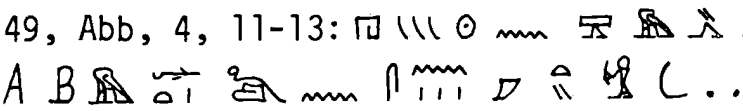
Ex. 1148, *LES*, 70, 12:  , *imi ini.tw.f š3'-i.iri.t.i ši r rsy*, Have it brought (here) until I have gone back south.

34.3. Bibliography and references.

1. Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930), 231-4; Till, *Grammatik*, 312.
2. Similarly *LES*, 63, 10. (Damaged)

CHAPTER 35. THE *M-ḤT-STP.F* FORMATION

m-ḥt stp.f is a subordinate clause of time, expressing the pluperfect tense.

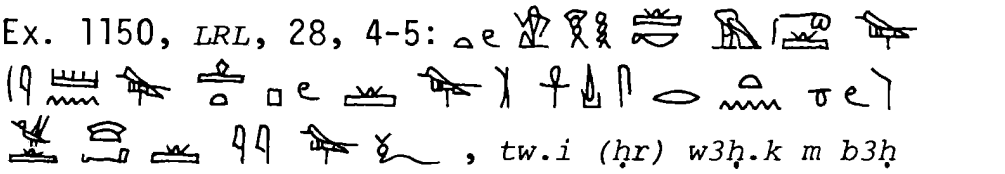
Ex. 1149, Abb, 4, 11-13:  ,
hrw n šm .... in A B m-ḥt-dd n.sn ḥmty C ...., Day of going .... by A and B, after the coppersmith, C, had told them ....

m-ḥt stp.f is very rare in non-literary texts.

Since there is no free *stp.f* formation which indicates the pluperfect tense when acting as a subordinate clause, the *m-ḥt-stp.f* has to be classified as a single unit, and not as a *stp.f* formation preceded by *m-ḥt*.

CHAPTER 36. THE *R-TNW-STP.F* FORMATION

r-tnw-stp.f is a subordinate clause of time expressing the simple present, 'whenever he hears', (lit. 'at each he hears').

Ex. 1150, *LRL*, 28, 4-5:  *tw.i (ḥr) w3ḥ.k m b3ḥ imn-ḥtp '.w.s. r-tnw ḫ'y.f*, I submit your case to (lit. 'lay you down before') Amenhotep whenever he appears.

Since there is no free *stp.f* formation indicating the simple present tense, *r-tnw-stp.f* is to be classified as a single unit.

GROUP IV. THE NON-INITIAL MAIN CLAUSES

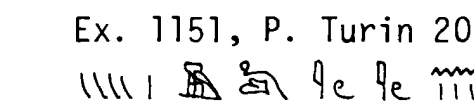
CHAPTER 37. THE *iw* IN LATE EGYPTIAN

There are four distinctive *iw*'s in Late Egyptian, which, although outwardly indentical, must be classified as distinctive elements (see also 17.1.1.-17.1.4., 19.13.1. and Chapter 63).

37.1. The initial independent *iw* of the future.

This is the *iw* which occupies the first position of the third future. Its syntactic capabilities may hence be singled out by classifying the syntactic capabilities of the third future.

a). An *iw* preceded by the direct indicators of initiality (*r-dd*, *r-nty*, *ḥn'-dd r-nty*, *ky dd*) is the initial *iw* of the future. An apparent exception in the following example is to be explained as the omission of the opening sentence of an oath (see below 42.2.3.).

Ex. 1151, P. Turin 2070, vs. 8:  , *iry.w 'nḫ-n-nb '.w.s. m-dd iw iw.n (r) pn'* ...., They swore by the lord, l.p.h., "And if we overturn ...."

b). An *iw* which is preceded by the indirect indicators of initiality (another *iw*, the *wn* of the past, or the relative pronoun *nty*) is the initial *iw* of the future.

c). An *iw* which is preceded by *bn* is the *iw* of the future.

d). An *iw* which takes the form *iri* when preceding a noun is the initial *iw* of the future.

37.2. The successive independent *iw* of the past.

This is the *iw* which occupies the first position of the *iw.f (ḥr) (tm) stp.f* of the narrative past. Hence, the syntactic capabilities of the successive *iw* of the past may be singled out by classifying the syntactic usages of the *iw.f (ḥr) (tm) stp.f* of the past. It is never preceded by:

a). *r-dd*, *r-nty* or *ky dd*;

b). another *iw*, the *wn* of the past or *nty*;

c). the negative element *bn*;

d). an undefined or bare noun;

e). an emphatic formation acting as its predicate.

That *iw.f stp.f*, when indicating a successive past action, cannot be classified as the circumstantial first present is indicated by the fact that it is negated by *tm*,[1]. which is incompatible with the first present, therefore **tw.i ḥr tm stp.f* is impossible. In other words, an infinitive, in the framework of the first present, can not be negated by *tm*.

The *iw.f (ḥr) (tm) stp.f* of the past may be preceded by:

a). a first present pattern indicating past time, or the perfect active *stp.f*;

b). a prepositional subordinate clause, in which case the *iw.f (ḥr) (tm) stp.f* acts as the apodosis (i.e. since the *iw.f (ḥr) (tm) stp.f* of the past is a non-initial main clause, and since the *iw* is its conjugation base, one may conclude that the *iw* is the successive independent *iw* of the past).

37.3. The successive independent *iw* of the future.

This is the *iw* which occupies the first position in the

iw.f (ḥr) (tm) stp.f of the future, which may function as:

a). the apodosis after a *wnn (ḥr) stp.f* formation;

b). the protasis when preceded by *ir*.

Since it can function as the apodosis of a subordinate clause, it must also be classified as a non-initial independent *iw*.

37.4. The dependent *iw* (the so-called 'converter').

The dependent *iw* is not a conjugation base, but, rather an additional element. This means that every initial main clause (both nominal and verbal) may be preceded by the dependent *iw*, which converts the initial main clause to a non-initial subordinate clause. Note that:

a). the dependent *iw* is non-initial, and hence can not be preceded by *r-dd*, *ky-dd* or *r-nty*. Nor can it be preceded by another *iw*, by *wn* or by *nty*.

b). The dependent *iw* may follow:

i). an undefined or a bare noun (i.e. the *iw* in a *w'-A .... iw .... or ø-A .... iw ....* construction is always the dependent *iw*).

ii). an emphatic formation (i.e. the *iw* in *i.iri.f stp.f .... iw* is always the dependent *iw*).

c). The dependent *iw* can precede (but never follow) the negative element *bn* (which means that every *iw* in *iw bn* is the dependent *iw*).

37.5. Bibliography and references.

1. de Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 161-163; Stricker, *Acta Or.* 16 (1938), 82-83.

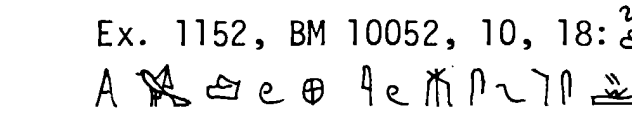
CHAPTER 38. THE *IW.F (ḤR) STP.F* OF THE PAST[1].

38.1. Classification.

After the period of the 21st. Dynasty, *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* begins to disappear as a form with past reference, being replaced by the perfect active *stp.f* or *iri.f stp.f*.

Since the circumstantial first present, the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future, and the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, when occurring in the affirmative, look outwardly identical, one should look for the corresponding negative formations.

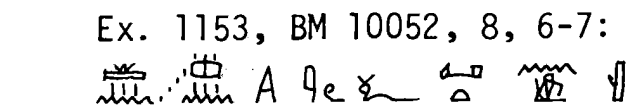
The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past is non-initial main clause, as can be seen from the fact that it can act as the apodosis of an *m-ḏr-stp.f*.

Ex. 1152, BM 10052, 10, 18: 
m-ḏr-ḫfy A ḥrd iw ms-nḥsy B (ḥr) in.t.i, He said, "When A destroyed Hartai, the young Nubian B bought me."

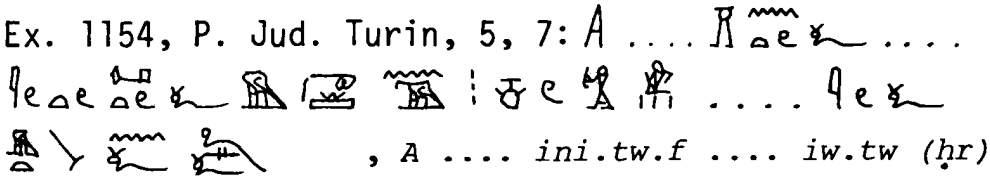
Thus, since *m-ḏr-stp.f* is a prepositional subordinate clause, and since the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formation which follows it acts as its apodosis, one must assume that the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* is a main clause (i.e. two subordinate clauses cannot act as a protasis-apodosis complex).

38.2. The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past can follow the following verbal formations.

38.2.1. The perfect active *stp.f*.

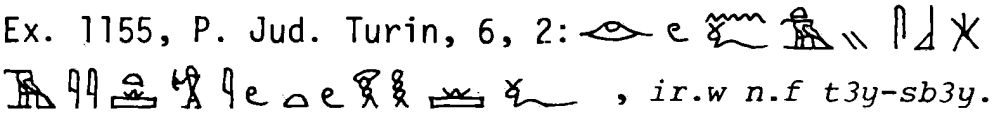
Ex. 1153, BM 10052, 8, 6-7: 
di.i nh3 n it n A iw.f (ḥr) di.t n.i qd.t 2 n ḥḏ, He said, "I gave some barley to A, and he gave me 2 *qite* of silver".

38.2.2. The perfect passive *ini.tw.f*.

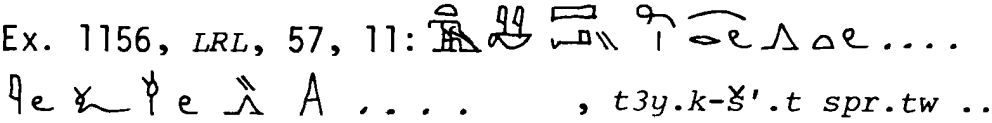
Ex. 1154, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 7:  , *A .... ini.tw.f .... iw.tw (ḥr) di.t.f m-b3ḥ n3-wdp.w .... iw.f (ḥr) mwt n.f ḏs.f*, A .... he was brought in .... and taken before the butlers for examination. He took his own life (lit. 'died by himself').

That the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* which continues *ini.tw.f* is the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past and not the circumstantial *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* is indicated by the fact that the *iw.f (ḥr) mwt* is followed by a reflexive dative, which can never follow an infinitive which interchanges with adverbs and statives; i.e. an infinitive filling the second position of a circumstantial first present. Also note that the form *stp.tw.f* of the past is a peculiarity of the verb *ini*.

38.2.3. The perfect passive *stp.w.f* formation.

Ex. 1155, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 2:  , *ir.w n.f t3y-sb3y.t iw.tw (ḥr) w3ḥ.f*, This punishment was inflicted on him. He was left alone.

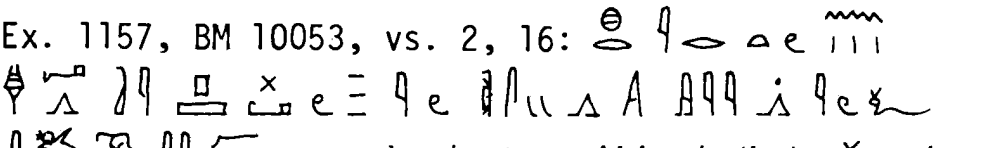
38.2.4. A first present with the stative of a verb of motion.

Ex. 1156, *LRL*, 57, 11:  , *t3y.k-ḫ'.t spr.tw .... iw.f (ḥr) wḏ A ....*,Your letter reached .... and he sent A.

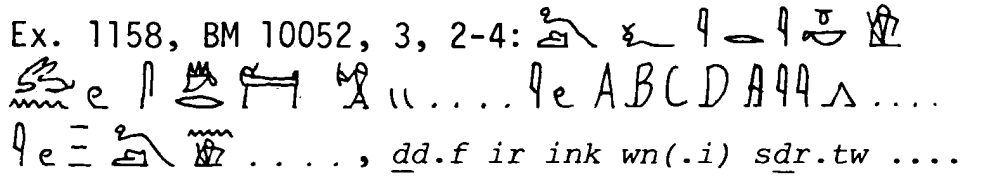
That an *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* following a first present with the stative of a verb of motion is the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past is based on the fact that it is negated by *iw.f (ḥr) tm*

stp.f, and not by *iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f* (see above Exx. 789-790).

38.2.5. First present patterns preceded by *ḫr ir*.

Ex. 1157, BM 10053, vs. 2, 16:  ...., *ḫr ir tw.n 'ḥ'.ti (ḥr) pš.w iw šmsw A (ḥr) iy iw.f (ḥr) it3.t*, Now as we stood dividing them the attendant A came and took ....

38.2.6. A *wn.f* + a stative (see above 19.13.7.).

Ex. 1158, BM 10052, 3, 2-4:  ...., *dd.f ir ink wn(.i) sdr.tw .... iw A B C D (ḥr) iy .... iw.w (ḥr) dd n.i ....*, He said, "I was sleeping .... and A, B, C, and D came .... They said to me ....".

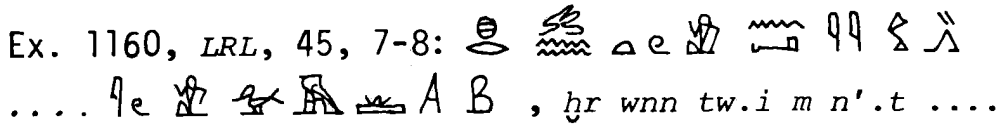
Note that a *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formation which continues the *wn.f sdr.tw* formation is negated by *tm*, and not by *iw bn sw (ḥr) stp.f* (see below Ex. 1172).

38.2.7. The *ḫr-wnn.f (ḥr) ḫpr* formation.[2.]

Ex. 1159, Abb, 6, 22-23: , *ḫr wnn.f (ḥr) ḫpr m'-mḥty iw n3-md3i.w .... (ḥr) ḫd*, And if he chanced to be in the northern district the policemen .... went downstream.

(See also Ex. 1173.)

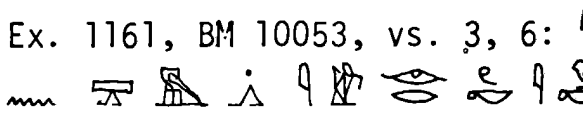
38.2.8. The *ḫr wnn* + a first present (see above 19.7.).

Ex. 1160, *LRL*, 45, 7-8:  ,

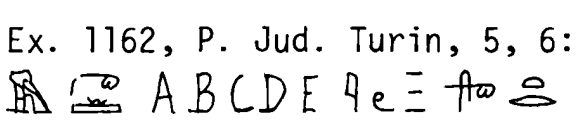
iw.i (ḥr) gm.t A B, And as I was walking along (lit. 'when I was walking'), I found A and B.

Note that this passage is followed by four more *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* formations.[2.]

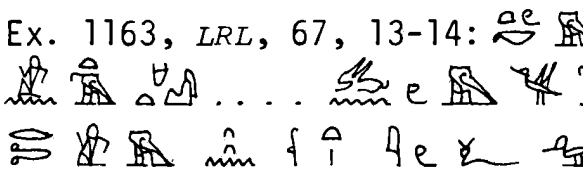
38.2.9. A relative form.

Ex. 1161, BM 10053, vs. 3, 6: 
i-dd p3-sḫr n šm i.iri.k iw.k (ḥr) qwqw p3y-nbw, Describe how you went and stripped this gold. (Lit. 'Tell the manner of going which you did, and you stripped ....')

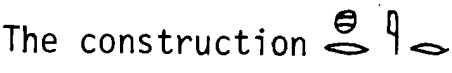
38.2.10. A passive particle.

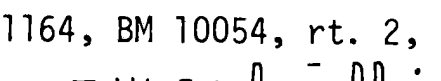
Ex. 1162, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 6: 
rmṯ iny.t .... m-b3ḥ A B C D E iw.w (ḥr) smtr.w, The people who were brought .... before A, B, C, D and E, and whom they examined.

38.2.11. A participle of the verb *wn*.

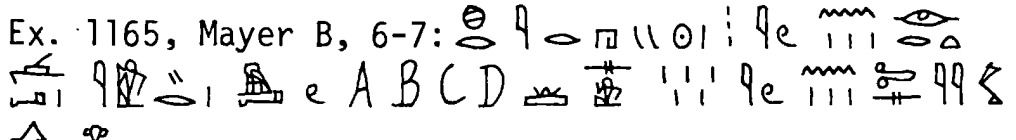
Ex. 1163, *LRL*, 67, 13-14: 
tw.k m t3-sm n t3-ḥm.t .... wn m p3-pr n w'-rmṯ m 20 n rnp.t iw.f (ḥr) gm.t k.t, You are in the situation of the woman .... who lived with a man for twenty years, and he found another (woman).

38.3. Adverbial phrases which precede *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f*.

38.3.1. The construction  , *ḫr ir m rwh3 n hrw 2*, 'On the evening of the following day'.

Ex. 1164, BM 10054, rt. 2, 4:  , *ḫr ir m rwh3 n hrw 2 iw.w (ḥr) ii n.i*, Now on the evening of the following day they came to me.

38.3.2. *ḫr ir hrw.*

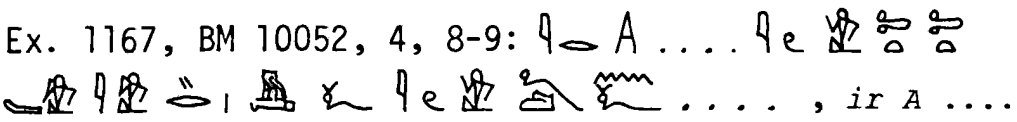
Ex. 1165, Mayer B, 6-7:  , *ḫr ir hrw iw.n (ḥr) ir.t w' irm A B C D dmḏ s 5 iw.n (ḥr) ṯs.t r-ḥry*, Now, after some days we combined with A, B, C, and D; total 5 men. We went up ....

38.4. *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* after non-verbal constructions.

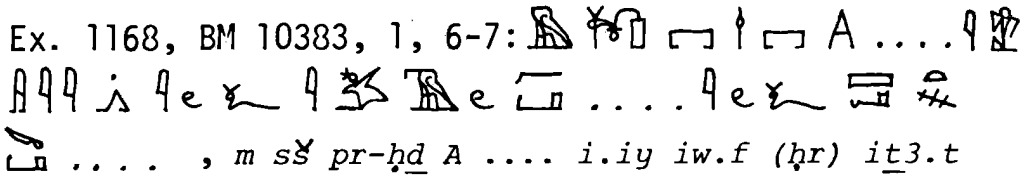
38.4.1. A bimembral nominal sentence.

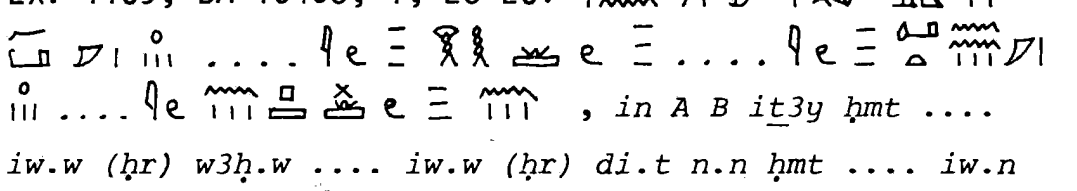
Ex. 1166, BM 10052, 1, 8-9: , *ḏd.f ir ink ink iḫwty n pr imn iw 'nḫ-n-niw.t (A) (ḥr) ii r p3-nty tw.i im iw.s (ḥr) ḏd n.i* ...., He said, "As for me I am a field worker of the temple of Amon. The citizeness (A) came to the place where I was and she said to me, ..."

38.4.2. A frontal extraposition.

Ex. 1167, BM 10052, 4, 8-9:  , *ir A .... iw.i (ḥr) ṯṯṯt irm.f iw.i (ḥr) ḏd n.f* ...., As for A .... I quarrelled with him and I said to him, ...

38.4.3. After a participial statement.

Ex. 1168, BM 10383, 1, 6-7:  , *m sš pr-ḥḏ A .... i.iy iw.f (ḥr) it3.t .... iw.f (ḥr) š'd ....*, It was A, the scribe of the treasury, who came and took .... and he cut off ....

Ex. 1169, BM 10403, 1, 23-26:  , *in A B it3y ḫmt .... iw.w (ḥr) w3ḥ.w .... iw.w (ḥr) di.t n.n ḫmt .... iw.n (ḥr) pš.w (n).n*, It was A and B who took the copper .... They put them .... they gave the copper to us ...., and we divided it among ourselves.

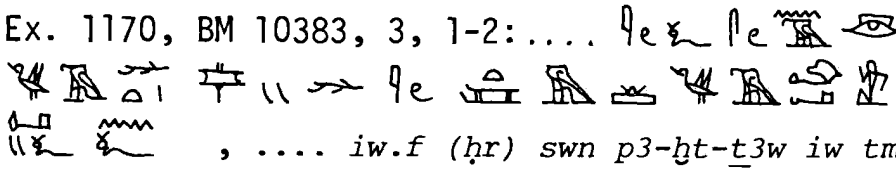
38.5. Bibliography and references.

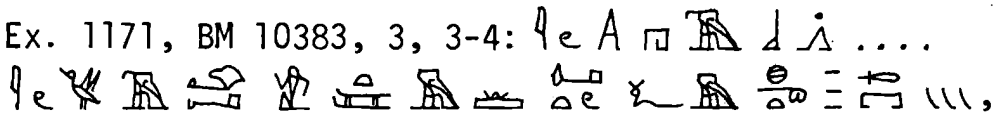
1. Černý, *JEA* 35 (1949), 29; Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 93-96; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 43-54.
2. Baer, *JEA* 51 (1965), 137-143.

CHAPTER 39. THE *IW.F (ḤR) TM STP.F* OF THE PAST

39.1. Morphology.

The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past is made negative by *tm*, which precedes the infinitive. However, when the actor expression is a noun, *tm* may immediately follow *iw*; i.e. precede the nominal subject.

Ex. 1170, BM 10383, 3, 1-2: ....  , ... *iw.f (ḥr) swn p3-ḫt-t3w iw tm p3-ḥ3ty-' (ḥr) di.t.f n.f*, ... And he recognized the mast, but the mayor refused to give it to him.[1].

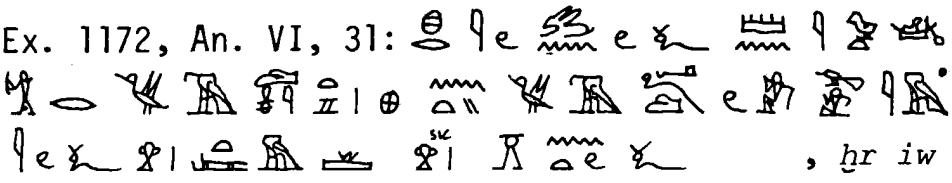
Ex. 1171, BM 10383, 3, 3-4:  *iw A (ḥr) h3b .... iw p3-ḥ3ty-' (ḥr) tm di.t.f m-ḫmt pr-'3 '.w.s.*, And A sent .... but the mayor refused to give it up without the consent of Pharoah, l.p.h..

Note that in Ex. 1170, the element *tm* precedes *p3-ḥ3ty-'*, whereas in Ex. 1171 it follows it.

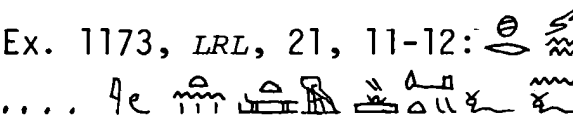
39.2. Classification.

That the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past is an isomorphic negative pattern (i.e. it is identical with its affirmative correlative, except for the fact that it has the additional negative element *tm*) becomes obvious from the following syntactic complexes.

39.2.1. The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* as the apodosis of a *ḫr iw wn.f*[2]. protasis.

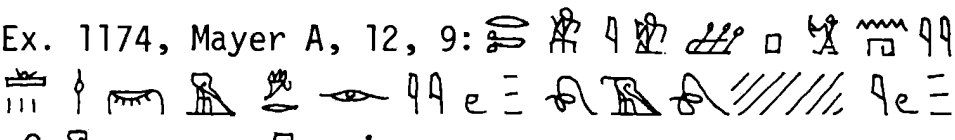
Ex. 1172, An. VI, 31:  , *ḫr iw wn.f mni r p3-dmi nty p3-'ḏd im iw.f ḥr tm in.t.f*, Although he was moored at the village where the lad was, he did not fetch him. (Dynasty 19)

39.2.2. The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* as the apodosis of a *ḫr wnn.f* ..., construction.[3.]

Ex. 1173, *LRL*, 21, 11-12:  , *ḫr wnn A (ḥr) ii n.tn r-ḏd .... iw.tn (ḥr) tm di.t.f n.f*, When A came to you saying .... you did not give it to him.

(See also Exx. 1159-1160.)

39.2.3. The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past as the apodosis of the prepositional subordinate clause *m-ḏr-stp.f*.

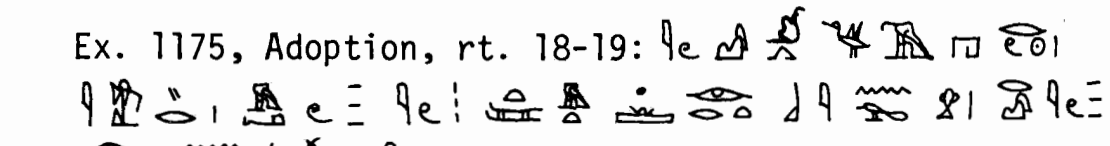
Ex. 1174, Mayer A, 12, 9:  , *rmṯ i.šsp nh3y ḥḏ m-ḏr-iry.w w3w3 iw.w (ḥr) tm šm*, Men who received some silver when they had plotted .... though they did not take part in (it).

39.2.4. Conclusion.

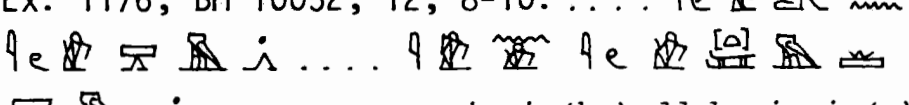
The fact that a *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past can fulfil the same morpho-syntactic functions as the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, i.e. can only function as a non-initial main clause, indicates very strongly that the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past and the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past are one and the same form.[4.]

39.3. Verbal formations which can precede the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past.

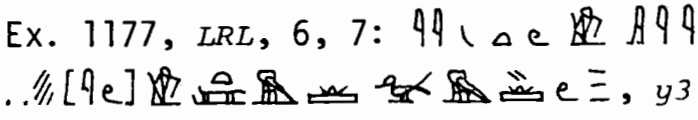
39.3.1. An affirmative *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.

Ex. 1175, Adoption, rt. 18-19:  , *iw.i (ḥr) pḥ p3-hrw irm.w iw.w (ḥr) tm ir.t bin ḥr.i iw.w (ḥr) ir.t n.i nfr*, I have reached this day with them, and they have not done any wrong to me; they have dealt well with me.

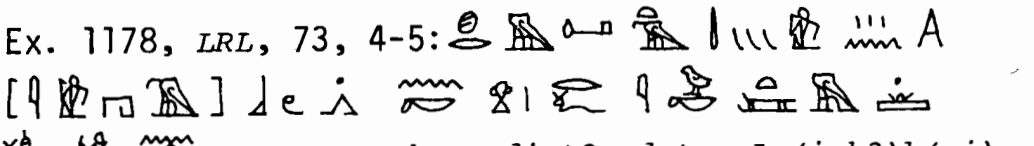
39.3.2. An affirmative *iw.f (ḥr) dd .... i.n.i* complex.

Ex. 1176, BM 10052, 12, 8-10:  , ... *iw.i (ḥr) dd bn iw.i (r) šm .... i.n.i iw.i (ḥr) tm šm*, But I said, "I will not go ...." so I said, and I did not go.

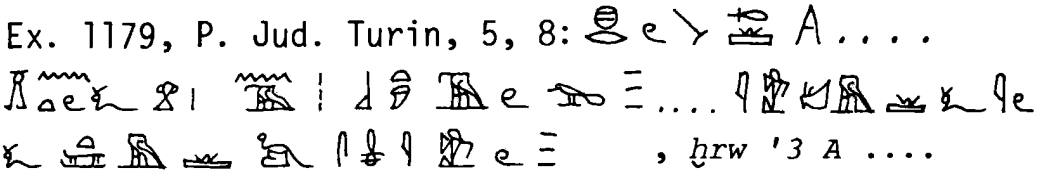
39.3.3. A *tw.i iy.tw* formation.

Ex. 1177, *LRL*, 6, 7:  , *y3 tw.i iy.tw r* .... *(iw).i (ḥr) tm gm.t.w*, Indeed I came to .... but I did not find them.

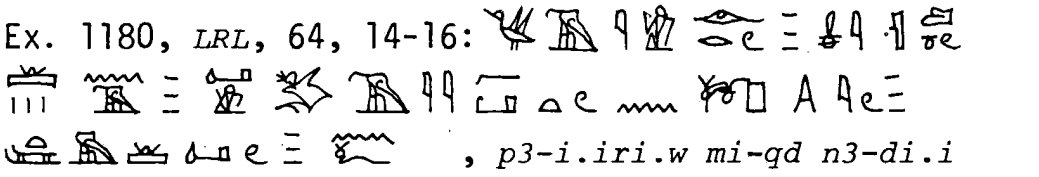
39.3.4. A relative form within a frontal extraposition.

Ex. 1178, *LRL*, 73, 4-5:  , *ḫr m-di t3-md.t n A (i.h3)b(.i) n.k ḥr.f iw.k (ḥr) tm ḫsf n.i* ...., As for the business of A, about which (I wro)te to you, but you did not answer to me ....

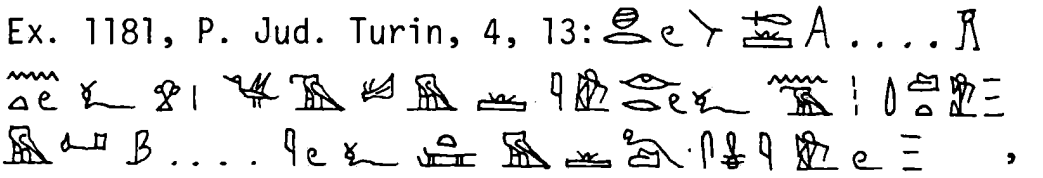
39.3.5. A relative form following a preposition + a defined noun.

Ex. 1179, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 8:  *ḫrw '3 A .... ini.tw.f ḥr n3-bt3.w .... i.sḏm.f iw.f (ḥr) tm ḏd smi.w*, The great criminal A, ... He was brought (in) because of the crimes .... about which he heard, but yet did not report.[5.]

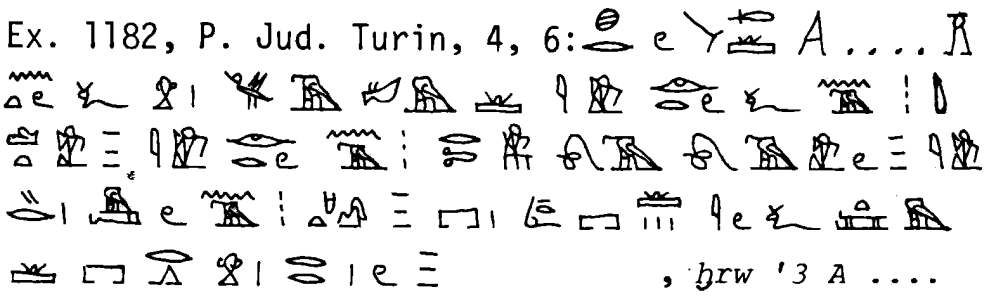
39.3.6. A defined relative form.

Ex. 1180, *LRL*, 64, 14-16:  *p3-i.iri.w mi-qd n3-di.i ṯ3y.tw n sš A iw.w (ḥr) tm di.t.w n.f*, The thing they did is like (the affair of) those which I caused to be taken to the scribe A, but (which) were not given to him.

39.3.7. The complex 'preposition + *p3* + infinitive + relative form'.

Ex. 1181, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 13:  *ḫrw '3 A .... ini.tw.f ḥr p3-sḏm i.iri.f n3-md.t m-di B .... iw.f (ḥr) tm ḏd smi.w*, The great criminal A .... He was brought in because he had heard the matters from B .... (but) he had not reported them.

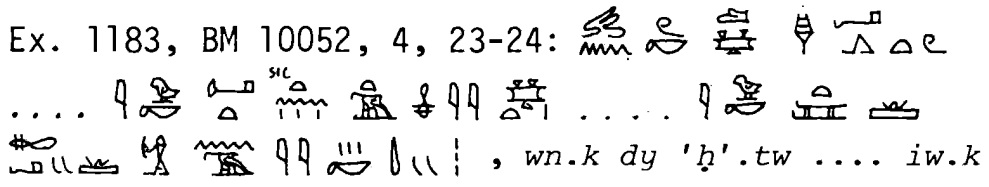
39.3.8. The complex 'preposition + *p3* + infinitive + relative form + direct object + relative form'.

Ex. 1182, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 6:  , *ḫrw '3 A ....*

ini.tw.f ḥr p3-sḏm i.iri.f n3-md.wt i.iri n3-rmṯ w3w3.w irm n3-ḥm.wt pr-ḫnr iw.f (ḥr) tm pr.t ḥr.w,

The great criminal A .... He was brought in because he had heard the plotting which the men did with the women of the harem, but did not reveal it.

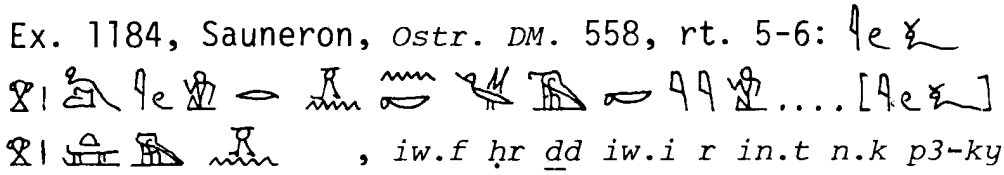
39.3.9. A *wn.f ....* formation.

Ex. 1183, BM 10052, 4, 23-24:  , *wn.k dy 'ḥ'.tw .... iw.k (ḥr) di.t n.n t3-my.t .... iw.k (ḥr) tm ḥ'.t n3y.k-md.wt,*

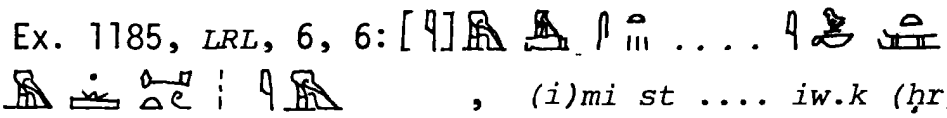
You were standing here ....while you showed us the path .... but you did not complete your account.

39.4. The semantic connotation of the *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* of the past.[6.]

39.4.1. The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* formation expressing the non-execution of an intended purpose, expressed by a preceding third future formation.

Ex. 1184, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM.* 558, rt. 5-6:  , *iw.f ḥr ḏd iw.i r in.t n.k p3-ky .... iw.f ḥr tm in.t,* He said, "I will bring you the other", ... but he failed to bring it.

39.4.2. The *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* formation expressing the non-execution of a command postulated by a preceding imperative formation.

Ex. 1185, *LRL*, 6, 6:  , *(i)mi st .... iw.k (ḥr) tm di.t.w im*, "Put them .... !" but you did not put them in there.

39.5. Bibliography and references.

1. Similarly *HO*, pl. XXV, 2, rt. 12.
2. Gardiner, *RdE* 6 (1951), 120, 1.
3. Baer, *JEA* 51 (1965), 137-143.
4. de Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 161-163.
5. The same phrase P. Jud. Turin, 5, 9; 10.
6. Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 93-96.

CHAPTER 40. THE *IW.F (ḤR) STP.F* OF THE FUTURE

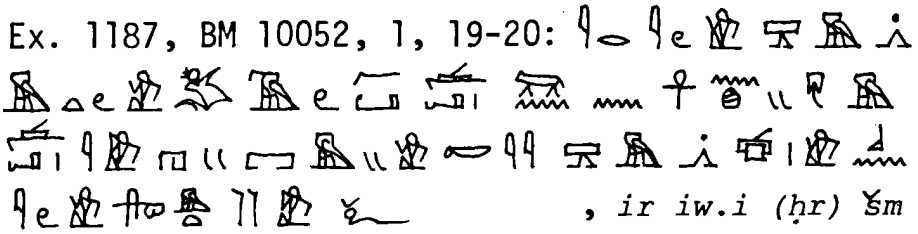
40.1. Following *wnn.f (ḥr) stp.f.*

The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future occurs after the pattern *wnn.f (ḥr) stp.f.*[1]. The , *wnn.f*, plus infinitive is used in temporal clauses referring to the future, especially in the formula very often found in Late Egyptian letters, and written with varying degrees of cursiveness:

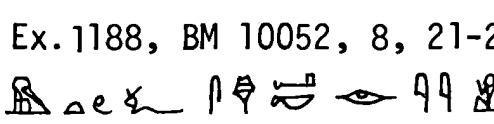
Ex. 1186, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 114, vs. 1-2: , *wnn.f (ḥr) iy n.tn r p3-ḫtm n ////// iw.tn ḥr iy n.f im*, When he comes back to you to the keep of (the tomb), you will come to (meet) him there. (19th. Dynasty.)

40.2. Following *ir.*

The *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future also occurs after *ir* as the protasis of an apodosis composed of a third future (see above 17.9.1.).

Ex. 1187, BM 10052, 1, 19-20:  , *ir iw.i (ḥr) šm mtw.i t3.t w'-ḫn n 'nḫ m w'-ihy mtw ky šm (m-)s3.i bn iw.i (r) smty.f*, "If I went and stole a goat-skin from a cattle-shed, and someone else went after me, would not I inform against(?) him?

The *iw* of the *iw.f ḥr stp.f* of the future does not take the form *iri* when preceding a nominal actor expression (see above 17.12.).

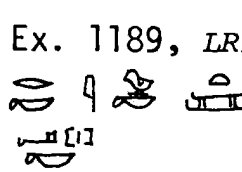
Ex.1188, BM 10052, 8, 21-22:  , *ir iw ky (ḥr) iy mtw.f s'ḥ'.k iry.i*, If someone else comes and accuses you I will do (it again).

40.3. Bibliography and references.

1. Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 41-42, note 1; *JEA* 35 (1949), 29; Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (Chicago, 1952), 20, section g; Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 96-97, section 24 and note 4.

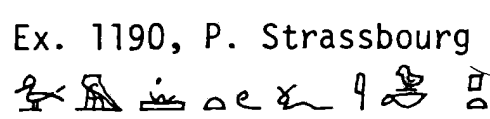
CHAPTER 41. THE NEGATION OF THE *IW.F (ḤR) STP.F* OF THE FUTURE

41.1. Following a *wnn.f .... construction.*

Ex. 1189, *LRL*, 39, 10-11:  , *wnn t3y.i-š'.t (ḥr) spr r.k iw.k (ḥr) tm rw.t.k h3b n.i '.k*, When my letter reaches you, you shall not delay in writing to me about your state of health.

From the fact that *iw.f (ḥr) tm stp.f* is never found either as the adverbial adjunct of an emphatic formation, or as a virtual relative clause following *w'-A*, one can say that it is not a circumstantial subordinate clause; it is indeed non-initial, but successive.

41.2. Following *ir.*[1].

Ex. 1190, P. Strassbourg 39, 12:  , *ir iw.k (ḥr) tm gm.t.f iw.k (r) ptr n3-rmṯ*, If you do not find him, you shall look for the people.

41.3. Bibliography and references.

1. Equivalent of Coptic ⲉⲩⲧⲙⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ , the negative counterpart of ⲉⲩⲩⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .

CHAPTER 42. THE CONJUNCTIVE[1].

42.1. Morphology.

The conjunctive is composed of three elements:

1. *mtw*; i.e. the conjugation base;
2. either the pronominal suffix, a defined noun,[2] or a bare noun;[3]
3. the infinitive of either a transitive or intransitive verb.

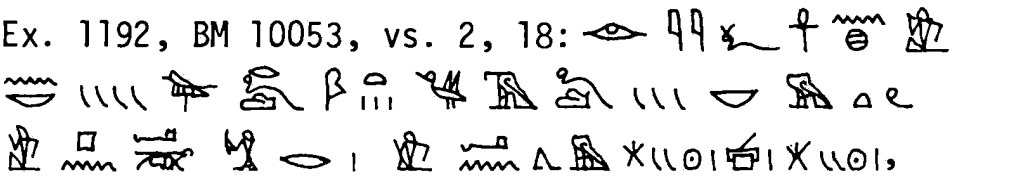
42.2. Classification.

The conjunctive can not be preceded by the direct indicators of initiality. Although there are some constructions in which *mtw.i stp.f* is preceded by *r-dd*, a closer look reveals that *r-dd* belongs, not to the conjunctive, but to a missing sentence pattern.[4]

42.2.1. Oath I.

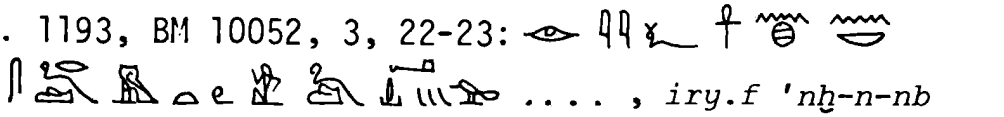
Ex. 1191, BM 10052, 2, 15: , *dd.f* *w3ḥ imn w3ḥ p3-ḥq3 '.w.s. mtw.tw gm.t rmṯ*, He said, "As Amon lives, and as the Ruler, l.p.h., lives, if there be found a man ....

42.2.2. Oath II.

Ex. 1192, BM 10053, vs. 2, 18:  *iry.f 'nḫ-n-nb '.w.s. r-dd m3'.t p3-dd.i nb mtw.i pn' r.i 'n m dw3w (m-)s3 dw3w*, He took an oath by

the lord, l.p.h., saying, "All that I have said is true; if I go back on my word hereafter, ...

42.2.3. Oath III.

Ex. 1193, BM 10052, 3, 22-23:  .... , *iry.f 'nḫ-n-nb '.w.s. r-dd mtw.i dd 'd3* ...., He took the oath by the lord, l.p.h., saying, "If I speak falsely, ..."[4].

42.2.4. Conclusion.

a). Oath I is composed of three sentence patterns:

1. the perfect active *dd.f* formation;
2. the initial prospective *w3ḥ imn* formation;
3. *mtw.f gm.t.f* formation.

b). Oath II is composed of three sentence patterns:

1. the perfect active *iry.f 'nḫ .... r-dd* formation;
2. the adjectival sentence pattern *m3'.t p3-dd.i*;
3. the *mtw.i pn'* formation.

c). Oath III is composed of two sentence patterns:

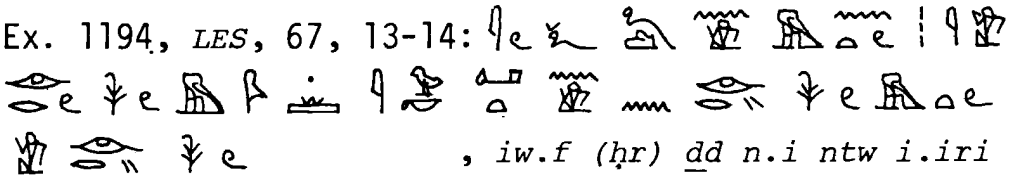
1. the *iry.f 'nḫ* .... formation.
2. the *mtw.i dd 'd3*.

Thus, in Oath III one sentence pattern is missing - comparable to either the *w3ḥ imn* formation or the *m3'.t p3-dd.i*, i.e. the *r-dd* which precedes the conjunctive actually belongs to the missing sentence pattern. This omission occurs very often when the first sentence pattern

is in the passive voice.

The conjunctive is never preceded by the direct indicators of initiality, *ky-dd*, *ḥn'-dd* .... *r-nty* or *r-nty*; nor by the indirect indicators of initiality, the dependent *iw*, the *wn* of the past, and the relative pronoun *nty*.

Since the conjunctive can function syntactically as a non-initial main clause, one may classify as such:

Ex. 1194, *LES*, 67, 13-14:  , *iw.f (ḥr) dd n.i ntw i.iri sw m m3'.t iw.k (r) di.t n.i n ir.t.s mtw.i ir.t.s*,

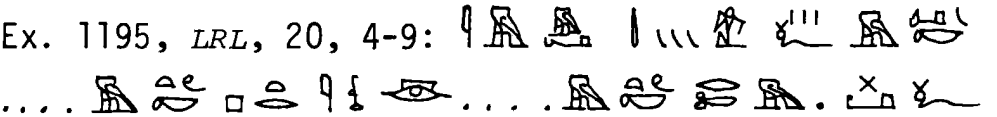
And he answered me, "Truly it was they who did it. If you pay me for doing it I will do it".

Since *mtw.i ir.t.s* here functions as an apodosis one may assume that it can function as a non-initial main clause.

Thus the conjunctive is a verbal formation which expresses mere continuation or succession; it does not express any kind of subordination.

42.3. The conjunctive can continue the following verbal formations.

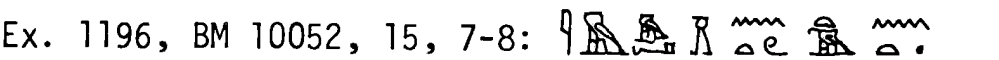
42.3.1. The simple imperative formation.

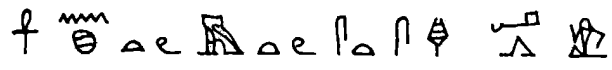
Ex. 1195, *LRL*, 20, 4-9:  ,

imi mdw.f m-di.k .... mtw.k ptr .... mtw.k rtm.f,

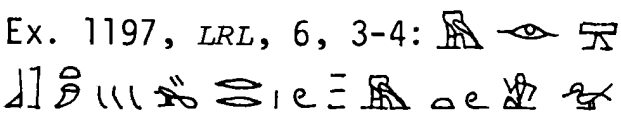
Have him speak with you .... and look to .... and take care of it.

42.3.2. The *imi stp.f* formation.

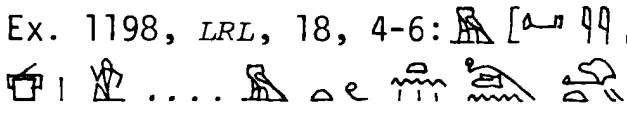
Ex. 1196, BM 10052, 15, 7-8: 


, *imi ini.tw t3-nty 'nḫ.tw mtw.s s'ḥ'.i*, Let the one (the wife) who is alive be brought, and let her accuse me.

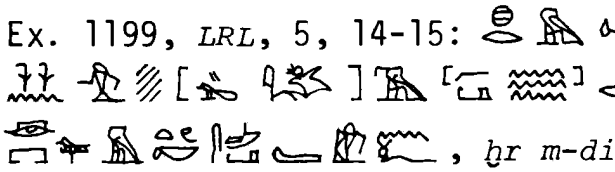
42.3.3. The negative imperative *m iri stp.f*.

Ex. 1197, *LRL*, 6, 3-4: 
, *m iri šm (r ir.t b)t3 r.w mtw.i gm.t.f n.k m bt3 '3*, Do not do them any mischief, lest I count it as a great crime on your part.

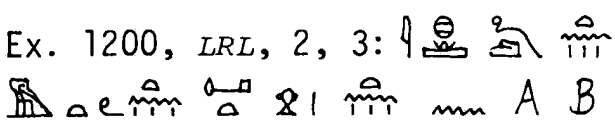
42.3.4. The negative *m dy* .... formation.

Ex. 1198, *LRL*, 18, 4-6: 
m (dy) ḥ3ty.tn m-s3.i .... *mtw.tn dd n ḥ3ty* .... *ḫr.tn*, Do not worry about me, and say to (your) heart, ... so you say.[5.]

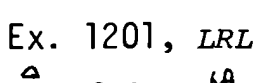
42.3.5. The negative *ḫr m-di tm* + infinitive.

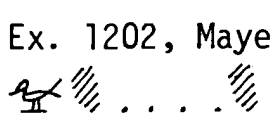
Ex. 1199, *LRL*, 5, 14-15: 
ḫr m-di tm nn.t (it)3.t mw r p3y-f-wb3 mtw.k sm3' n.f, And don't neglect taking water to his courtyard, and pray to him.

42.3.6. The *iḫ stp.k* formation.

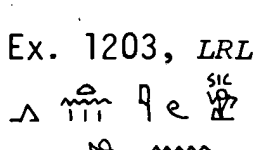
Ex. 1200, *LRL*, 2, 3: 
iḫ dd.tn n imn .... *mtw.tn di.t ḥr.tn n A B*, Tell Amon .... and take care of A and B.

42.3.7. A *iw.f (r) stp.f* formation.

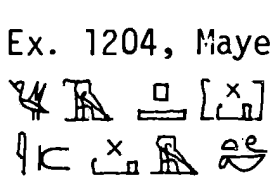
Ex. 1201, *LRL*, 51, 1-2:  , *iw.tn (r) šm .... mtw.tn šsp.w n.s*, You will go .... and will receive them from her.

Ex. 1202, Mayer B, 5-6:  , *iw.n (r) it3.t.k (r) p3-gm ....* *im mtw.k in.t n.k gr ntk*, We shall take you (to) the place in which (we) found it, and you too shall bring (some) away for yourself.

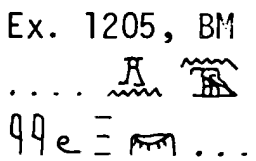
42.3.8. A *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future.

Ex. 1203, *LRL*, 2, 9-11:  , *wnn t3y(.i)-š'.t (ḥr) spr (r).tn iw.tn (ḥr) šm .... mtw.tn swnwn n.f*, When my letter reaches you, go .... and flatter him.

42.3.9. A negative first present followed by a third future.

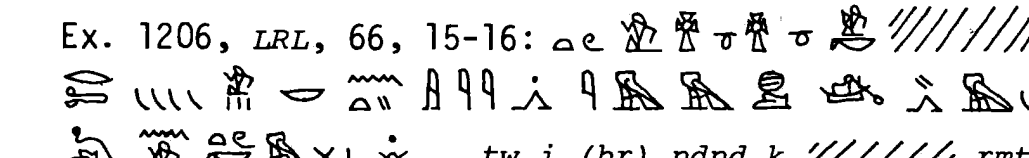
Ex. 1204, Mayer B, 1:  , *bn sw m šs iwn3 p3-pš i.iri.k n.i iw.k (r) it3.t 3 dni.t mtw.k di.t n.i w'*, The share you have given me is not at all fair. You mean to take three parts and leave me one.

42.3.10. An infinitive.

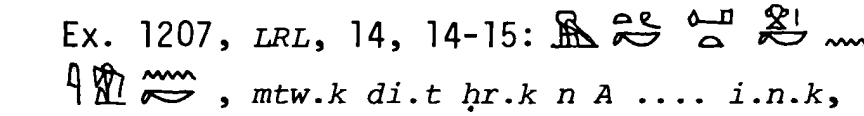
Ex. 1205, BM 10054, vs. 1, 8-9:  , *iw.n (ḥr)*

ḫfḫf .... (ḥr) in.t n3y.w-w.wt nty im.w (ḥr) qwqw p3y.w-nbw .... mtw.i pš.f, We broke open .... and brought away (lit. 'while bringing') the inner coffins which were in them. (We) stripped off (lit. 'while stripping off') their gold .... and I divided it up.

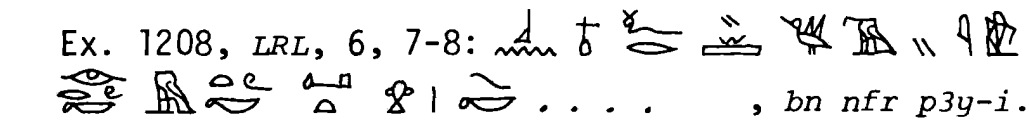
42.3.11. A relative clause.

Ex. 1206, *LRL*, 66, 15-16:  , *tw.i (ḥr) ndnd.k /////// rmṯ nb nty (ḥr) iy im m ḫd mtw.w dd n.i tw.k m šs*, I enquire about you /////// every man who comes from there going north, and they tell me, "You are fine".

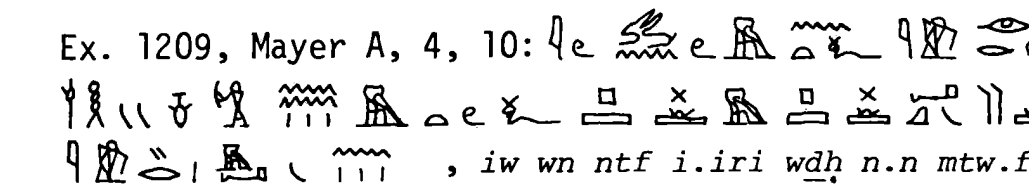
42.4. The conjunctive as a quotation.

Ex. 1207, *LRL*, 14, 14-15:  , *mtw.k di.t ḥr.k n A .... i.n.k*, "And pay attention to A ...." so you said.

42.5. The conjunctive as an additional remark at the end of a letter.

Ex. 1208, *LRL*, 6, 7-8:  , *bn nfr p3y-i.iri.k mtw.k di.t ḥr.k ....*, It is not good, what you did. And pay attention ....

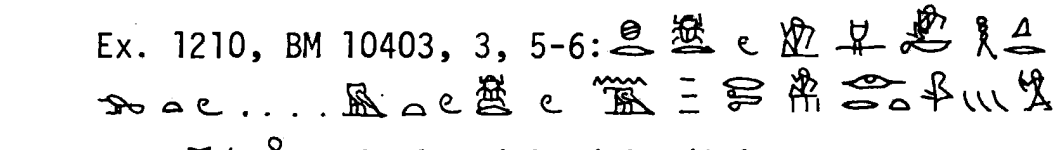
42.6. The conjunctive following a participial statement.

Ex. 1209, Mayer A, 4, 10:  , *iw wn ntf i.iri wḏḥ n.n mtw.f pš m pš ʿq3 irm.n ʿn*, For it was he who used to melt

for us, and then (lit. 'also') divide in fair division with us.[7.]

42.7. The *mtw.ø ḫpr* construction.

It seems that *mtw.ø ḫpr* expresses the notion of 'it happened' or 'it will happen' (see above Ex. 1069).

Ex. 1210, BM 10403, 3, 5-6:  , *ḫr ḫpr.i ḥmsi.k(wi) ḥqr.tw .... mtw-ø ḫpr n3-rmṯ (ḥr) ir.t šwty n ḥmt*, Now I happened to be sitting hungry .... and the men chanced to be trading copper.

42.8. Bibliography and references.

1. Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), 86-96; Mattha, *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 43-55; Černý, *JEA* 35 (1949), 25-30; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 61-62 and 264-274; Lichtheim, *Polotsky Studies*, 1-8; Volten, *Polotsky Studies*54-80.
2. See BM 10052, 3, 15.
3. See BM 10052, 1, 20 (very rare).
4. Also BM 10052, 7, 9; However, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 152; Nims, *JEA* 24 (1938), 77-78.
5. See also *LRL*, 22, 14-16.
6. See also *LRL*, 41, 2.
7. Gardiner, *JNES* 12 (1953), 149, i; Černý, *JEA* 35 (1949), 30-33; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 264; Wente, *JNES* 21 (1962), 304-311.

CHAPTER 43. THE NEGATION OF THE CONJUNCTIVE[1].

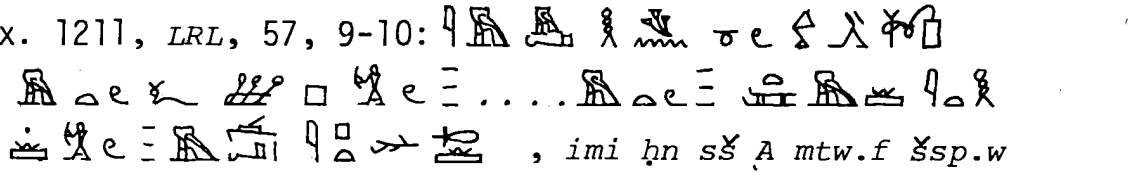
43.1. Morphology.

The conjunctive is made negative by the negative verb *tm*, which precedes the infinitive; i.e. *tm* itself takes the form of an infinitive, as does the following verb (see above Chapter 39).[2].

43.2. Verbal formations which can precede a negative conjunctive.

43.2.1. An affirmative conjunctive formation.

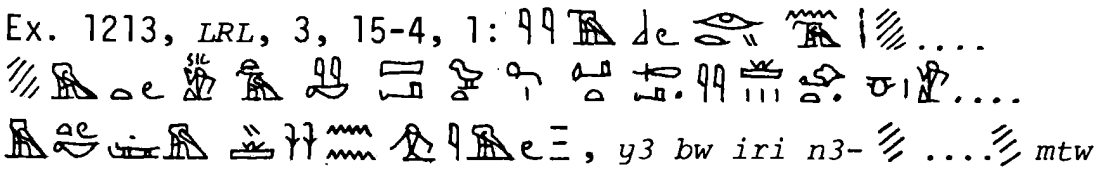
a). An imperative + *mtw.f stp.f* + *mtw.f tm stp.f*.

Ex. 1211, *LRL*, 57, 9-10: 
, *imi ḥn sš A mtw.f šsp.w .... mtw.w tm iṯḥ.w m w'-ip.t '3*, Let the scribe A go and receive them, ... but they are not to draw them out by means of a large *oipe*-measure.

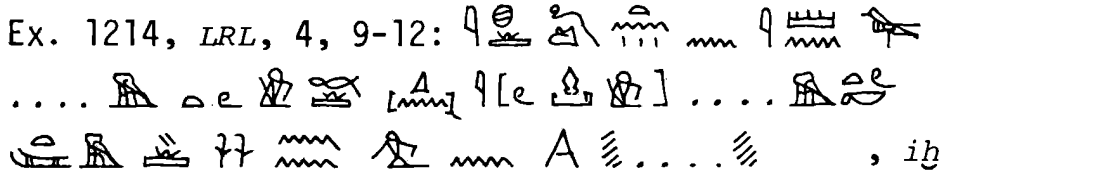
b). *wnn.f (ḥr) stp.f* + *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future + *mtw.f stp.f* + *mtw.f tm stp.f*.

Ex. 1212, *LRL*, 9, 16-10, 14:
, *wnn p3y-mw (ḥr) mḥ iw.k (ḥr) šsp n ḥ3t t3y-'q3y .... mtw.k di.t .... mtw.k tm di.t ....*, As soon as the (lit. 'this') water rises, you will take charge of this boat .... and you will give .... and you will not give ....

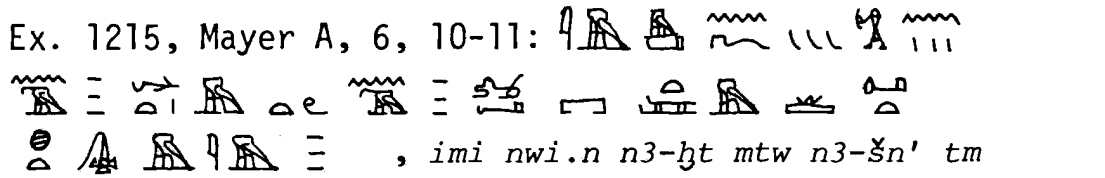
c). *bw iri A (stp.f)* + *mtw.f stp.f* + *mtw.f tm stp.f*.

Ex. 1213, *LRL*, 3, 15-4, 1:  *y3 bw iri n3-* .... *mtw t3y.k-š'.t di.t '3y ḫ3ty.i .... mtw.k tm nn.t im.w*, Indeed, those of .... do not //// and your letter will revive my heart, ... and do not neglect them.

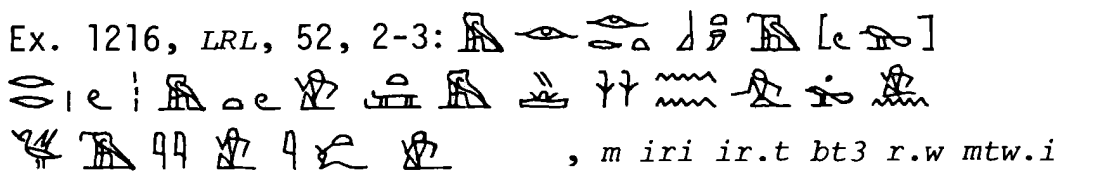
d). *iḫ stp.k + mtw.i stp.f + mtw.k tm stp.f*

Ex. 1214, *LRL*, 4, 9-12:  , *iḫ dd.tn n imn .... mtw.i mḥ qni(.i) .... mtw.k tm nn.t n A ....*, You will pray to Amon .... and I will embrace .... And you will not neglect A ....

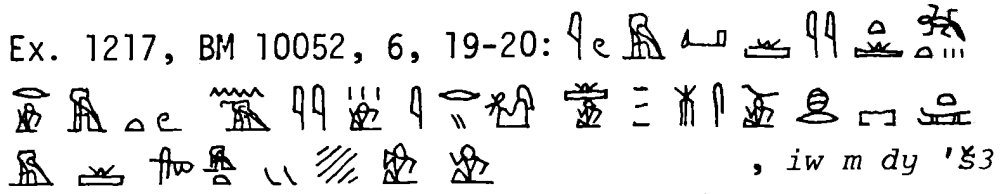
43.2.2. The affirmative imperative formation.

Ex. 1215, Mayer A, 6, 10-11:  , *imi nwi.n n3-ḫt mtw n3-šn' tm di.t ḫ.t im.w*, Let us collect the wood, so that those who are in charge of the workshop will not set fireto it.

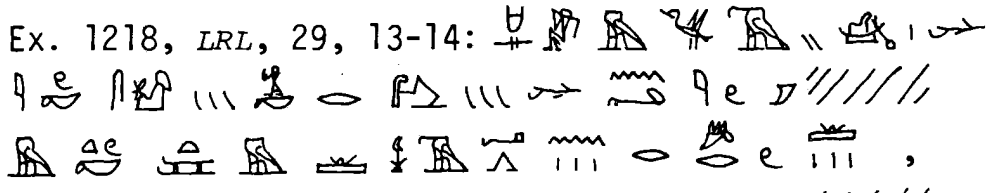
43.2.3. The negative imperative *m iri ir.t* formation.

Ex. 1216, *LRL*, 52, 2-3:  , *m iri ir.t bt3 r.w mtw.i tm nn.t n p3y.i-it*, Do not commit crimes against them, and I shall not neglect my father.

43.2.4. The negative imperative *m dy*.

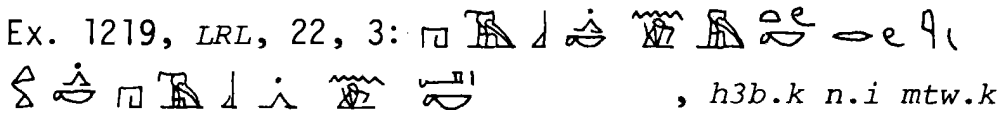
Ex. 1217, BM 10052, 6, 19-20:  , *iw m dy 'š3 r.i mtw n3y.i-iry.w ms-ḫr tm smty.i*, But do not give me too much, so my fellow 'Tomb' workmen will not denounce me.

43.2.5. The *iw.f (r) stp.f* formation which follows an imperative.

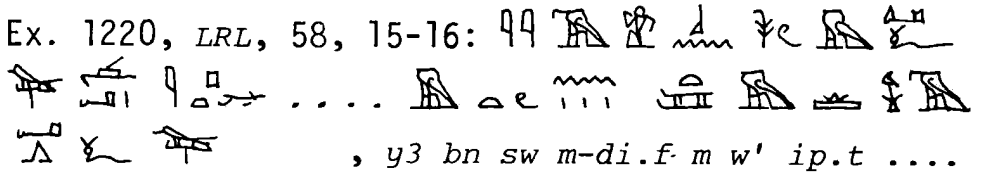
Ex. 1218, *LRL*, 29, 13-14:  , *ḥmsi m p3y-br(?) iw.k (r) s3w.k r 'ḥ3w ni mtw.k tm ḫ3'.n r-dr.w*, Sit in the boat, and protect yourself from arrows and spears, and do not abandon us all.

43.2.6. An initial prospective *stp.f*.

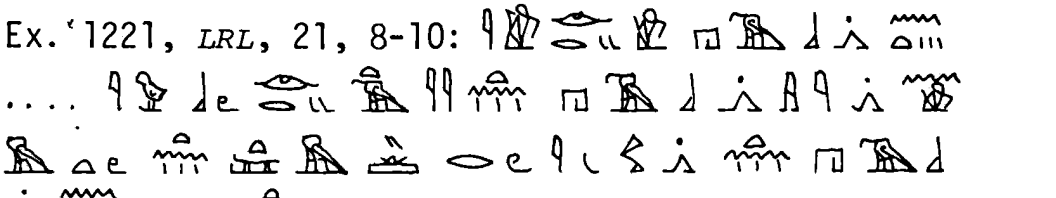
Note that the *tm* can be omitted.

Ex. 1219, *LRL*, 22, 3:  , *ḥ3b.k n.i mtw.k (tm) rw.t.k ḥ3b n.i '.k*, Write to me, and don't fail to write to me how you are.[3].

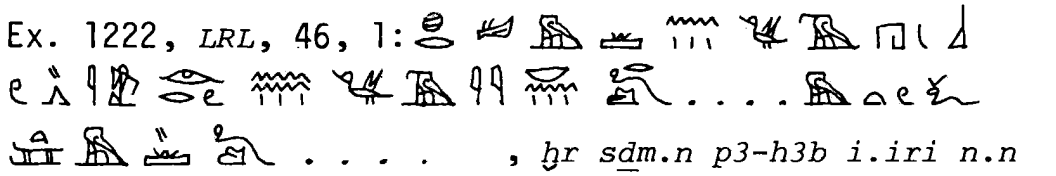
43.2.7. A negative first present.

Ex. 1220, *LRL*, 58, 15-16:  , *y3 bn sw m-di.f m w' ip.t .... mtw.tn tm ḫ3'.f*, Indeed he does not have even one *oipe* .... and don't abandon him.

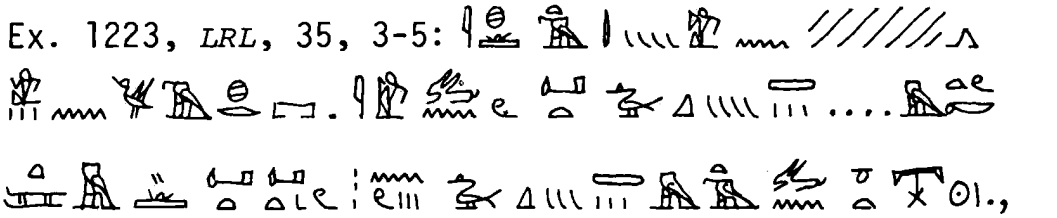
43.2.8. An emphatic formation, in which the emphasised element is a *iw bw i.iri.t.A stp.f* formation.

Ex. 1221, *LRL*, 21, 8-10:  , *i.iri.i h3b n.tn .... iw bw ir.t.f t3y.tn-h3b ii n.i mtw.tn tmrw.t.tn h3b n.i '.tn*, It was before your letter reached me that I wrote to you, and do not stop writing to me how you are.

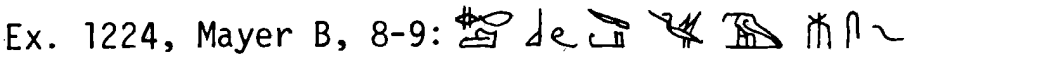
43.2.9. A relative form.

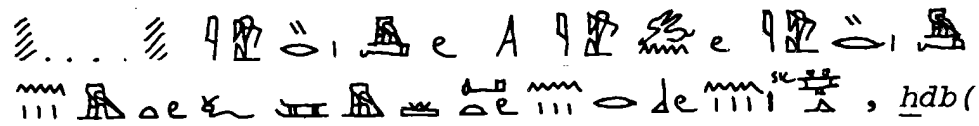
Ex. 1222, *LRL*, 46, 1:  , *ḫr sdm.n p3-h3b i.iri n.n p3y.n-nb r-dd .... mtw.f tm dd ....*, We have taken note of (the message) which our lord sent us saying, ... but he did not say (in his letter) ....

43.2.10. A participle of the verb *wn*.

Ex. 1223, *LRL*, 35, 3-5:  *iḫ t3-md.t n /////n p3-ḫr i.wn (ḥr) di.t 'q.w .... mtw.k tm di.t di.t.w n.w 'q.w m t3-wnw.t*, What about the business of /////// of 'The Tomb' who used to give bread .... but you do not let them be given bread now.

43.2.11. The perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 1224, Mayer B, 8-9: 



p3-ms .... *irm A i.wn irm.n mtw.f tm di.t.n r-bl*, I killed the apprentice .... with A who was with us, so that he might not betray us.

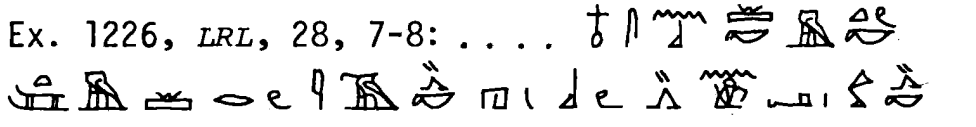
43.2.12. A nominal sentence pattern.

A *iḫ p3-A* pattern.

Ex. 1225, *LRL*, 69, 1-2:

m-di.k mtw.k tm sdm, What is the use of talking to you, if you don't listen?

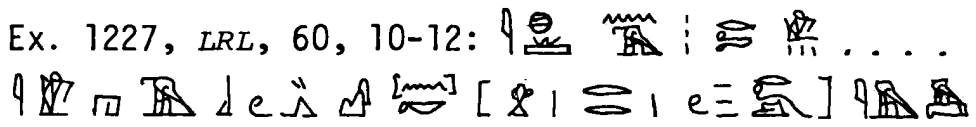
43.2.13. An adjectival sentence.

Ex. 1226, *LRL*, 28, 7-8: 

.... *nfr snb.k mtw.k tm rw.t.k ḥ3b n.i '.k* ...., ... May your health be good, and don't stop writing to me how you are ....

43.3. After particles.

After *ḫr*:

Ex. 1227, *LRL*, 60, 10-12: 

n3-rmṯ .... *i.ḥ3b.i (n).k (ḫr.w r-dd) imi n.w di.w ḫr mtw.k tm di.t n.w 'n*, What does it mean, (the business of) the people .... about whom I sent to you, saying, "Give them rations!" but you have not yet done it.

43.4. Bibliography and references.

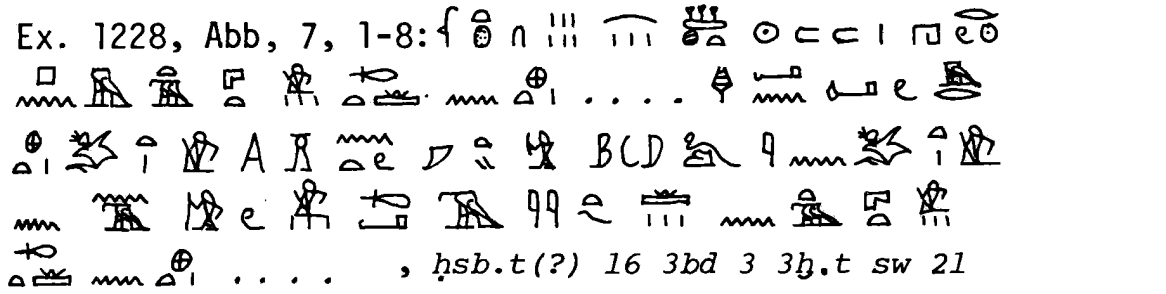
1. Erman, *NAG*, 587.
2. See Plumley, *Grammar*, 230; Groll, *Negative*, 244.
3. For similar Exx. with the *tm* written see *LRL*, 28, 7-8; 38, 7; 38, 14-15; 39, 11 and 40, 5.

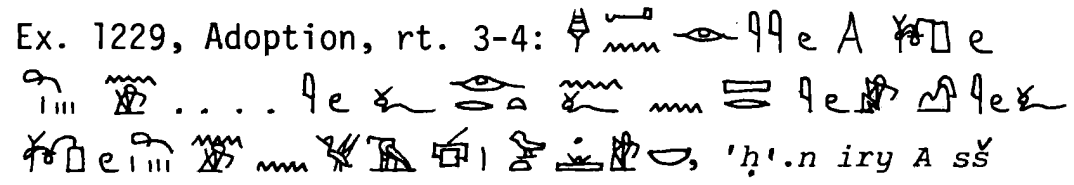
CHAPTER 44. THE *'ḥ'.N .... AND dd.IN .... FORMATIONS*[1].

44.1. Classification.

The *'ḥ'.n stp.f* and the *dd.in.f* formations are almost extinct in non-literary Late Egyptian. They appear only in court procedures; i.e. they are legal terminology. Since they do not follow the direct or indirect indicators of initiality they should be classified as non-initial clauses. However, since they can function as independent units, it is reasonable to classify them as non-initial main clauses.

44.2. *'ḥ'.n stp.f.*

Ex. 1228, Abb, 7, 1-8: 
ḥsb.t(?) 16 3bd 3 3ḫ.t sw 21 hrw pn m t3-qnb.t '3.t n niw.t .... 'ḥ'.n di imy-r-niw.t t3ty A ini.tw ḥmty B C D dd.in t3ty n n3-srw '3.y n t3-qnb.t '3.t n niw.t ...., Year 16, 3rd month of the innundation season, day 21. On this day in the Great Court of Thebes .... Then the Prefect of Thebes and vizier A caused to be brought the coppersmiths B, C, D. Then the vizier said to the great magistrates of the Great Court of Thebes ....

Ex. 1229, Adoption, rt. 3-4: 
'ḥ'.n iry A sš n.i .... iw.f (ḥr) ir.t(.i) n.f m šri.t iw.f (ḥr) sš n.i n p3-swt nb, Thereupon A made a writing for me .... and made me his child and wrote down for me all he possessed.

44.3. The *dd.in* .... formation.

See above Exx. 570 and 1228.

44.4. Bibliography and references.

1. *GG*, 480; Sethe, *ZDMG* 79 (1925), 313; Erman, *NAG*, 316; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 31-36.

GROUP V. NON-INITIAL NON-PREPOSITIONAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

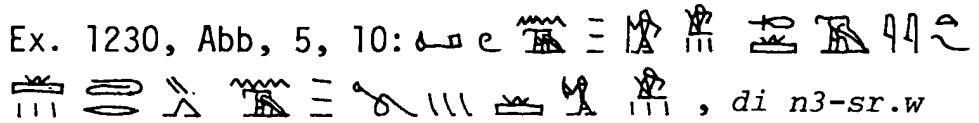
CHAPTER 45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE *STP.F*

45.1. Classification.

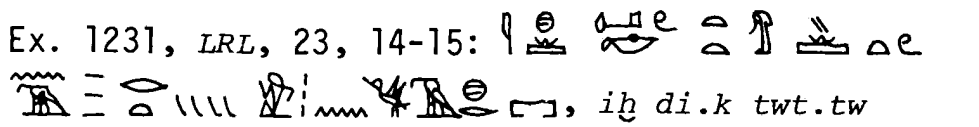
The commonest use of the non-initial prospective *stp.f* is a dependent *stp.f* following *di*, 'cause', generally termed the subjunctive. This form of the *stp.f* is almost alone in being traceable down as far as Coptic, where it appears in such causative forms as ⲧⲁϩⲟ .[1] This Coptic form, and others like it, show that the full vowel stood immediately before the suffix; i.e. **setpof*. In Coptic this form only appears when dependent on the infinitive of *di*, and the number of verbs which appear in this type of formation is reduced to about forty. In Late Egyptian, however, any verb may be used. The verb *di* itself can take any possible verbal formation.

45.2. Verbal formations which the verb *di* can take.

45.2.1. The perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 1230, Abb, 5, 10:  , *di n3-sr.w '3.y phr n3-rwd.w*, The great notables caused the inspectors .... to go round ....

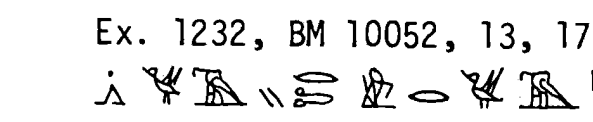
45.2.2. *iḫ stp.k*.

Ex. 1231, *LRL*, 23, 14-15:  , *iḫ di.k twt.tw n3-rmṯ n p3-ḫr*, May you cause to be collected together the men of 'The Tomb'.

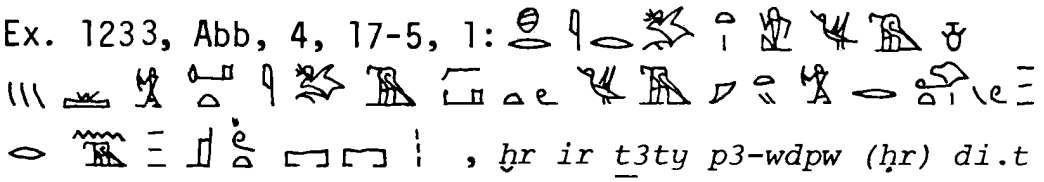
45.2.3. Verbal constructions containing the infinitive.[2]

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE *STP.F*

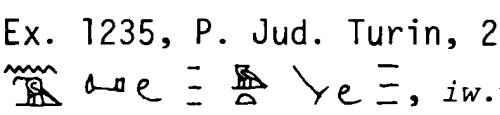
a). The third future.

Ex. 1232, BM 10052, 13, 17-18:  , *bn iw.i (r) di.t 'q p3y-rmṯ r p3y.i-pr*, I will not allow this man to enter my house.

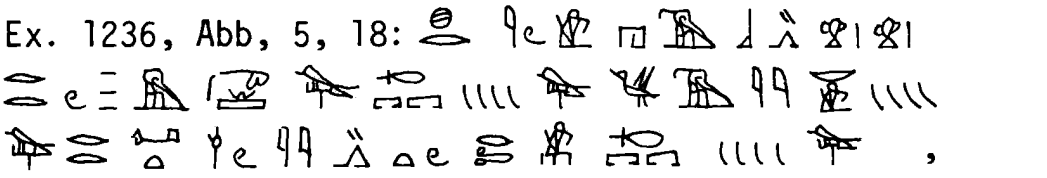
b). The first present.

Ex. 1233, Abb, 4, 17-5, 1:  , *ḫr ir ṯ3ty p3-wdpw (ḥr) di.t iṯ3.tw p3-ḫmty r ḥ3t.w r n3-s.wt*, Now the vizier and the butler had this coppersmith taken in front of them to the places.

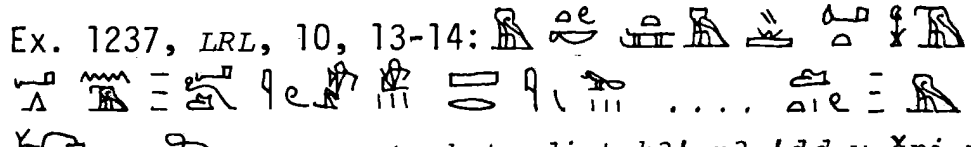
c). The *iw.f (ḥr) di.t* .... of the past.

Ex. 1235, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 6:  , *iw.w (ḥr) di.t mwt.tw n3-di.w mwt.w*, They caused that those who were sentenced to death should die.

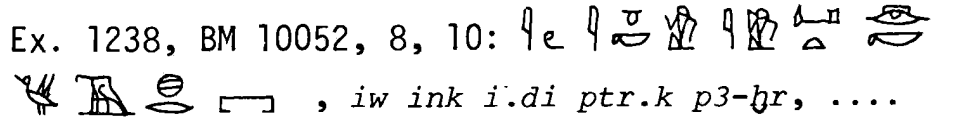
d). *r* + infinitive.

Ex. 1236, Abb, 5, 18:  , *ḫr iw.i (r) ḥ3b ḥr.w m-b3ḥ pr-'3 '.w.s. p3y.i-nb '.w.s. r di.t wḏy.tw rmṯ pr-' '.w.s*, And I will writing about them to Pharoah, l.p.h., my Lord, l.p.h., in order that servants of Pharoah, l.p.h., may be sent.

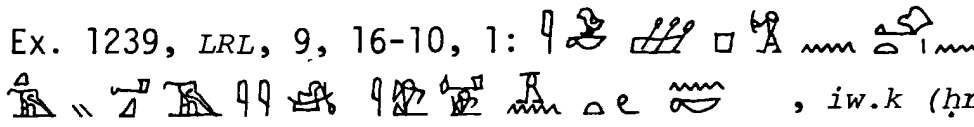
e). The conjunctive.

Ex. 1237, *LRL*, 10, 13-14:  , *mtw.k tm di.t ḫ3' n3-'ḏd.w šri.w .... ḏr.t.w m sš.w*, And you will not let the young lads .... neglect their studies (lit. 'take their hand from writing').

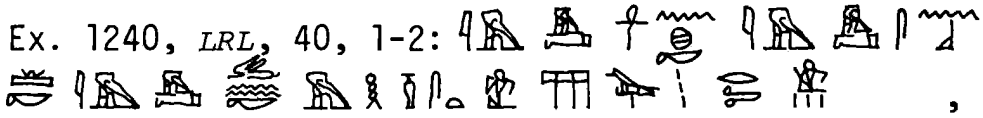
45.2.4. The participle.

Ex. 1238, BM 10052, 8, 10:  , *iw ink i.di ptr.k p3-ḫr*, ... though it was I who showed you 'The Tomb'.

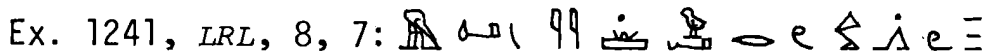
45.2.5. The relative form.

Ex. 1239, *LRL*, 9, 16-10, 1:  , *iw.k (ḥr) šsp n-ḥ3t-n t3y-'q3y i.di.i ini.tw n.k*, You will meet (or 'receive in charge') this barge, which I have had brought to you.

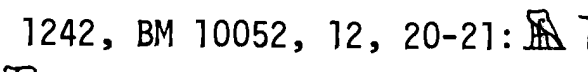
45.2.6. The imperative *imi*.

Ex. 1240, *LRL*, 40, 1-2:  ,
imi 'nḫ.k imi snb.k imi wnn.k m ḥsw.t nṯr.w rmṯ,
May you live! May you be healthy! May you be in the favour of gods and men!

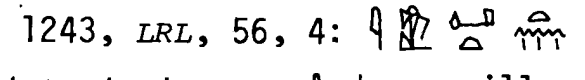
45.2.7. The negative imperative *m dy*.

Ex. 1241, *LRL*, 8, 7:  ,
m dy w'r.w, Do not let them flee!

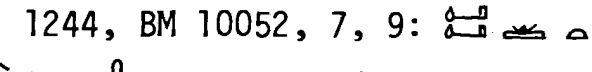
45.2.8. The negative imperative *m iri*.

Ex. 1242, BM 10052, 12, 20-21:  , *m iri.w di.t iry.i g3.t*, Do not force me to lie.

45.2.9. The emphatic formation *i.di.f*.

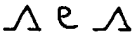
Ex. 1243, *LRL*, 56, 4:  , *i.di.tn iw.i* ...., And you will cause me to come .... .

45.2.10. The perfect passive *stp.f*.

Ex. 1244, BM 10052, 7, 9:  , *dd.tw iry.f 'nḫ-n-nb '.w.s.*, He was made to take an oath by the Ruler, l.p.h..

45.3. Observations.

Note that the non-initial prospective form of the verbs

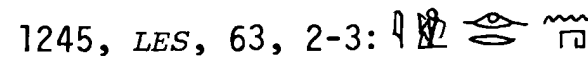
1. *ii*, 'come' is  , *iw* (see Ex. 1243);
2. *iri*, 'do' is , *iry* (see Ex. 1242);
3. *wn*, 'exist' is *wnn* or *wn* (see Ex. 1240 and Černý, *Ostr. DM* 317, rt. 4).

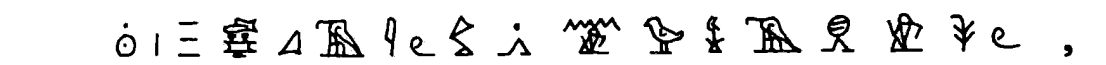
The non-initial prospective *stp.f*, when following *di* can not be made negative; it is only *di* which can take a negative form.

45.4. The non-initial prospective *stp.f* acting as a final or consecutive clause.[3.]

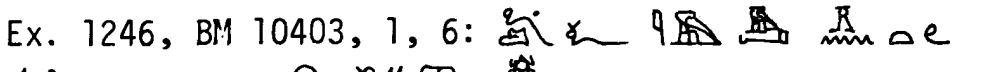
45.4.1. Verbal formations which precede the non-initial prospective *stp.f* acting as a clause of purpose.

The imperative formation.

Ex. 1245, *LES*, 63, 2-3: 

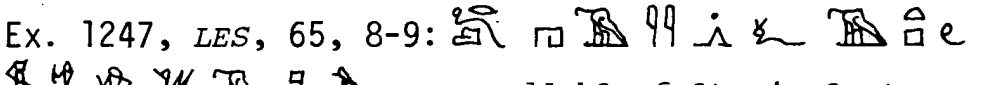


i.iri nh3y hrw.w dy q3i-n.i wḫ3.i sw, Stay here with me a few days so that I can look for it.

Ex. 1246, BM 10403, 1, 6: 

A ḏd.f n.tn p3-ḫpr nb, He said, "Have A brought here, so that he can tell you everything that happened".

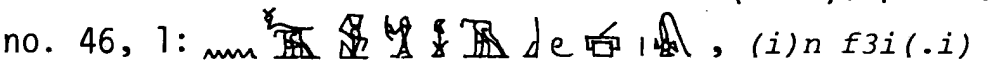
45.4.2. The initial prospective *stp.f*.

Ex. 1247, *LES*, 65, 8-9: 

.... saying, "May it come down , so that I can load the god".

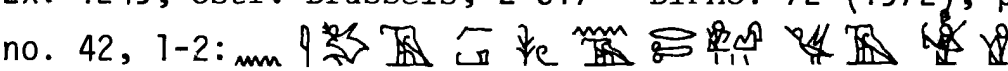
45.5. The non-initial prospective *stp.f* after particles.

The interrogative *(i)n*, compare

Ex. 1248, *Ostr. IFAO.* 859 = *BIFAO.* 72 (1972), p. 53, no. 46, 1: 

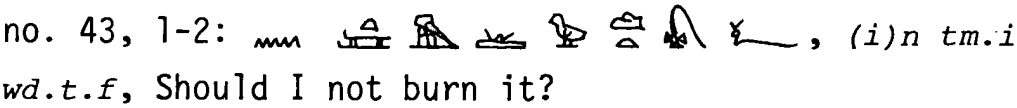
ḫbs, Should I carry the candle?

with

Ex. 1249, *Ostr. Brussels*, E 317 = *BIFAO.* 72 (1972), p. 52, no. 42, 1-2: 

(i)n it3i sw n3-rmṯ p3-mš', Should the soldiers collect it?

and with

Ex. 1250, *Ostr. IFAO.* 854 = *BIFAO.* 72 (1972), p. 52, no. 43, 1-2: 

wd.t.f, Should I not burn it?

45.6. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *AZ* 22 (1884), 28-37.
2. Plumley, *Grammar*, 173-176.
3. Groll, *Negative*, Section 49.

CHAPTER 46. THE NEGATION OF THE NON-INITIAL FINAL PROSPECTIVE *STP.F*

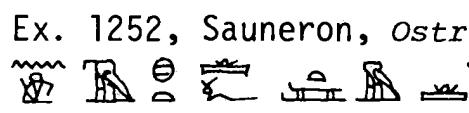
46.1. Classification.

The non-initial final prospective *stp.f* is made negative by means of the negative verb *tm*. The verb *tm* takes the form of the non-initial prospective *stp.f*, and the verb actually negated takes the form of the infinitive.[1].

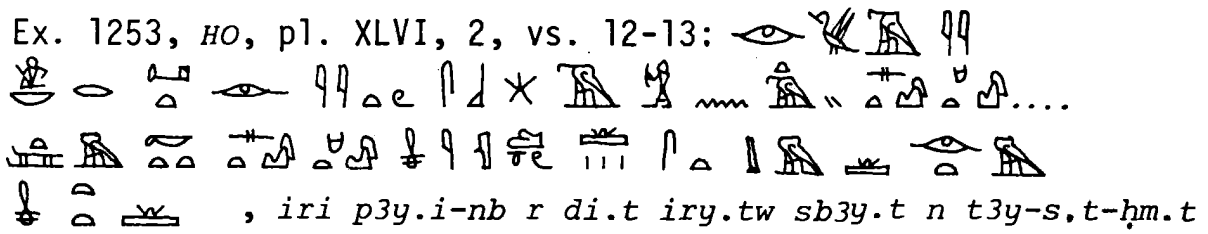
46.2. Verbal formations which can precede the .... *tm.f stp.f* formation.[2].

46.2.1. An imperative.

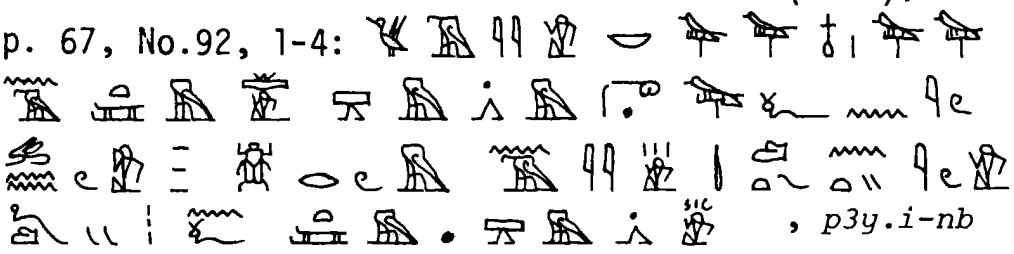
Ex. 1251, *LRL*, 70, 1-2:
imi ḥn.w r in.t n3-di.w(?) tm n3-rmṯ ḥqr, Let them go and fetch the corn rations, so that the people should not starve

Ex. 1252, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM.* 592, 5: 
imi.tw n.i 3ḫ.t.f tm.i w3ḥ.k, Give me my property, or I shall denounce you (lit. 'so that I will not denounce you').

46.2.2. A third future formation.

Ex. 1253, *HO*, pl. XLVI, 2, vs. 12-13: 
iri p3y.i-nb r di.t iry.tw sb3y.t n t3y-s.t-ḥm.t .... tm k.t s.t-ḥm.t mi-qd.s whm ir.t m mitt, May my lord have this woman punished .... so that other women of her type will not repeat her offence. (19th. Dynasty.)

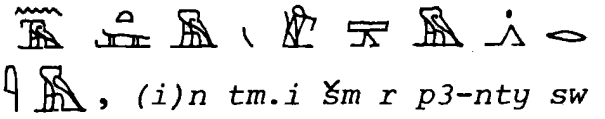
46.2.3. A *Ø-A (ḥr) stp* formation.

Ex. 1254, *Ostr. Gardiner* 198 = *BIFAO.* 72 (1972), p. 67, No.92, 1-4:  , *p3y.i-nb nfr (i)n tm.i šm m-b3ḥ.f (i)n iw wnn (ḥr) ḫpr m n3y.i-md.t nty iw.i (r) dd.f n.f tm(.i) šm*, My good lord, am I to fail to go before him? Would misfortunes befall on my arguments, which I am going to put to him, so that I should not go? (19th. Dynasty.)

Note that here, *wnn* is a noun.

46.3. The .... *tm.f stp.f* formation after particles.

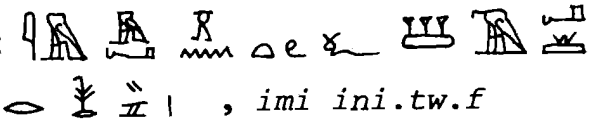
After the interrogative *(i)n*

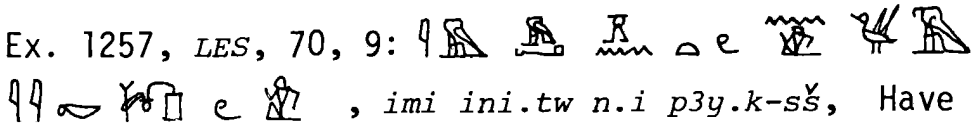
Ex. 1255, *Ostr. IFAO* 851 = *BIFAO.* 72 (1972), p. 57, no. 59:  , *(i)n tm.i šm r p3-nty sw im*, Shall I not go to where he is?

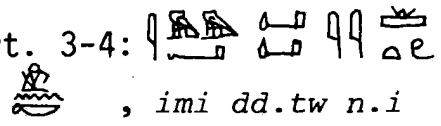
46.4. Bibliography and references.

1. *GG*, 347, 4; Erman, *NAG*, 794.
2. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 253, V, 1; Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 360-373.

CHAPTER 47. THE PASSIVE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE *STP.TW.F*

Ex. 1256, *LES*, 70, 12:  , *imi ini.tw.f ꜣ3'-i.iri.t.i šm r rsy*, Cause that it be brought, until I return to the south!

Ex. 1257, *LES*, 70, 9:  , *imi ini.tw n.i p3y.k-sš*, Have your scribe brought to me!

Ex. 1258, Ostr. Gardiner 140, rt. 3-4:  , *imi dd.tw n.i t3y.i-'3.t i.di.i n.k*, Have my she-donkey that I gave to you given back to me.

Note that mostly, it is the verbs *di* and *ini* which can take the form which contains the element *tw* as a marker of the passive non-initial prospective *stp.f* formation.

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

CHAPTER 48. ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

48.1. Morphology.

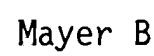
48.1.1. The prothetic *yōd*.

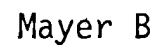
Late Egyptian has only one active participle. Its form is invariable, taking no account of difference of gender or number. Many participles have acquired a prothetic *yōd*, , these being in most cases biliteral verbs or verbs which have become biliteral in Late Egyptian. There are also, however, occasional examples of triliteral verbs (e.g. *w'r*, 'flee'; *sfḫ*, 'loosen'; and *dgs*, 'touch') which have acquired the *yōd*.

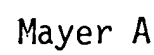
The following are examples of the active participle with the prothetic *yōd*:

Ex. 1259, BM 10383, 1, 6: , *i.iy*;

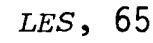
Ex. 1260, BM 10052, 13, 16: , *i.ini*;

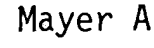
Ex. 1261, Mayer B, 9:  , *i.wn*;

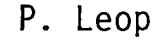
Ex. 1262, Mayer B, 8:  , *i.wn*;

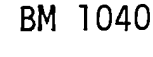
Ex. 1263, Mayer A, 4, 3:  , *i.wn*;

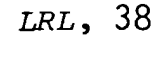
Ex. 1264, BM 10052, 3, 7: , *i.w3ḥ*;

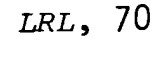
Ex. 1265, *LES*, 65, 5:  , *i.wḏ*;

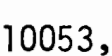
Ex. 1266, Mayer A, 13, B5:  , *i.w'r*;

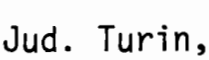
Ex. 1267, P. Leop-Am., 3, 3:  , *i.ḥ3y*;

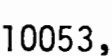
Ex. 1268, BM 10403, 3, 16:  , *i.ptr*;

Ex. 1269, *LRL*, 38, 13:  , *i.ptr*;

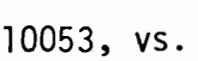
Ex. 1270, *LRL*, 70, 11:  , *i.ḫpr*;

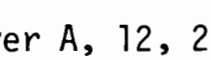
Ex. 1271, BM 10053, vs. 4, 21:  , *i.sfḫ*;

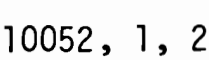
Ex. 1272, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2:  , *i.smtr*;

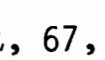
Ex. 1273, BM 10053, vs. 2, 10:  , *i.šm*;

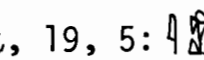
Ex. 1274, Mayer A, 12, 9: , *i.šsp*;

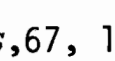
Ex. 1275, BM 10053, vs. 1, 12:  , *i.t3y*;

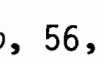
Ex. 1276, Mayer A, 12, 20:  , *i.d3i*;

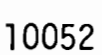
Ex. 1277, BM 10052, 1, 2:  , *i.dgs*;

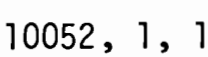
Ex. 1278, *LRL*, 67, 12:  , *i.dd*;

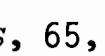
Ex. 1279, *LRL*, 19, 5:  , *i.tttt*;

Ex. 1280, *LES*,67, 13:  ,*i.iri*;

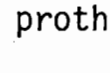
Ex. 1281, *RAD*, 56, 5:  , *i.iri*;

Ex. 1282, BM 10052, 8, 10:  , *i.di*;

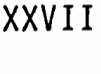
Ex. 1283, BM 10052, 1, 15:  , *i.dy*;

Ex. 1284, *LES*, 65, 5:  , *i.di*;

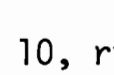
In rare cases this prothetic *yōd* is written as :

Ex. 1285, Ostr. DM. 608, rt. 1-2:  , *r.ini*;

Ex. 1286, *HO*, pl. XXVII, 3, vs. 5-6: , *r.it3i*;

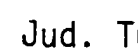
Ex. 1287, Ostr. BM 5624, vs. 4:  , *r.ms*;

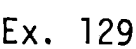
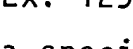
Ex. 1288, P. Bulaq 10, rt. 15: , *r.di*;

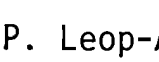
Ex. 1289, *LRL*, 45, 10:  , *r.di*;

Participles without the prothetic *yōd*:

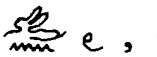
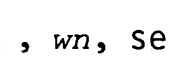
Ex. 1290, Abb, 6, 1: , *dd*; this is probably the Coptic ⲁⲁⲧ.

Ex. 1291, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2:  , *wn*;

Ex. 1292, *LES*, 71, 1:  , *šm*; this is perhaps a specific form, since the infinitive in this text is regularly spelt  .

Ex. 1293, P. Leop-Am, 4, 9:  , *swḏ*;

Ex. 1294, Ostr. DM. 46, vs. 4: , *di*.

It is interesting to observe that while , *i.wn*, and  , *wn*, seem to be used indiscriminately, only  , *wn*, is used in expressions of the type 'A who was (or 'used to be') high priest of Amon'.

48.1.2. The omission of the prothetic *yōḏ*.[2]

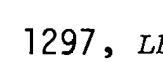
The prothetic *yōḏ* is usually omitted when the participle is preceded by the definite article or by a demonstrative pronoun.

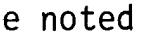
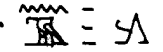
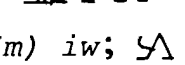
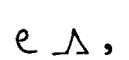
Ex. 1295, BM 10383, 1, 5: , *p3-ḫpr*, What happened.

Ex. 1296, BM 10052, 13, 8: , *p3-iy*, He who came.

48.1.3. The spellings of the verb *ii*.

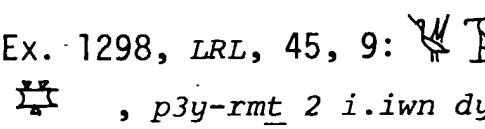
Note the spelling *iw* in the following example:

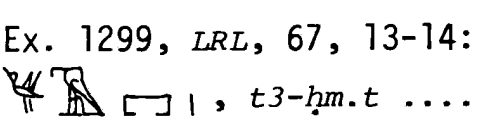
Ex. 1297, *LES*, 74, 1:  , *n3-iw*, Those who are coming.

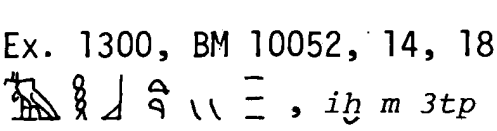
It should be noted however, that  , *iw*, has no parallels; it may be best at this stage of our knowledge to consider  , *n3-iw*, as a mistake for  , *n3-nty (m) iw*;  , *iw*, as the infinitive which follows the preposition *m* would be quite normal.

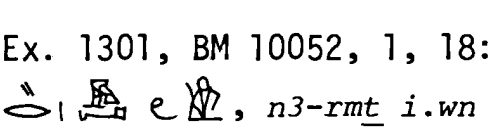
48.1.4. The immutability of participles.

The following examples illustrate the immutability of the participle, regardless of the number or gender of its antecedent.

Ex. 1298, *LRL*, 45, 9:  , *p3y-rmṯ 2 i.iwn dy*, These two men who were there.

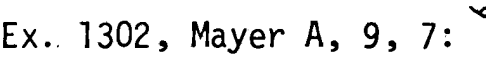
Ex. 1299, *LRL*, 67, 13-14:  , *t3-ḥm.t .... wn m p3-pr*, The wife .... who was in the house.

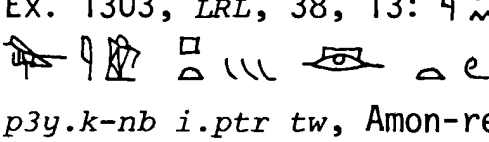
Ex. 1300, BM 10052, 14, 18:  , *iḫ m 3tp t3-wn (ḥr) nḥb.t.w*, What sort of loads had they on their backs (lit. 'were on their necks')?

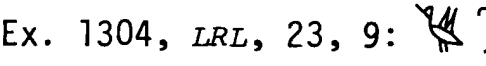
Ex. 1301, BM 10052, 1, 18:  , *n3-rmṯ i.wn irm.i*, The men who were with me.

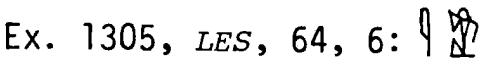
48.2. The expression of the direct object of the participles.

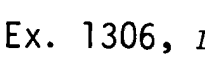
The pronominal direct object of a participle is expressed by the dependent pronoun. As with the imperative, a following 1st. pers. sing. is sometimes written and not .

Ex. 1302, Mayer A, 9, 7:  , *p3-ptr (w)i*, The one who saw me.

Ex. 1303, *LRL*, 38, 13:  , *imn-r' .... p3y.k-nb i.ptr tw*, Amon-re .... your lord, who has been taking care of you.

Ex. 1304, *LRL*, 23, 9:  , *p3y-ptr ti*, He who has been taking care of you.

Ex. 1305, *LES*, 64, 6:  ,
i.t3y sw, Who has robbed it.

Ex. 1306, *LRL*, 8, 16:  , *i.šsp st*,
Who received it (a letter, fem.).

48.3. The tense indication of the active participle.

48.3.1. Classification.

One has to distinguish between two main groups of active participles:

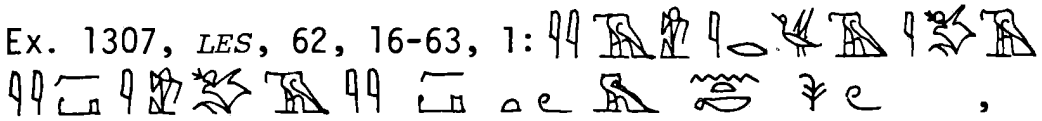
I. the *i.stp sw* group;

II. the *i.iri stp.f* group.

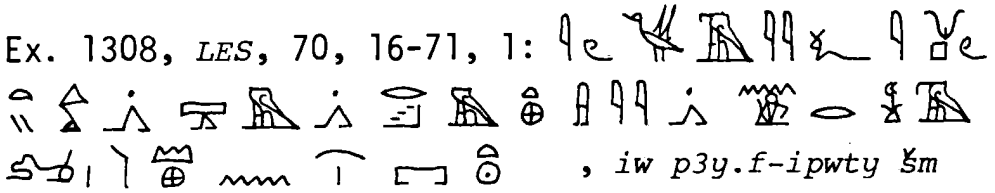
48.3.2. Group I.

The participle of verbs of less than four consonants, when taking the form *i.stp sw* mostly express either the past or the pluperfect tense.

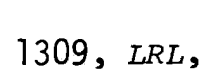
48.3.3. The past tense.

Ex. 1307, *LES*, 62, 16-63, 1:  ,
y3 ir p3-it3y i.t3y tw ntk sw, But in fact the thief who robbed you belongs to you.

48.3.4. The pluperfect tense.

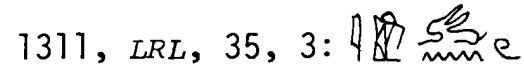
Ex. 1308, *LES*, 70, 16-71, 1:  , *iw p3y.f-ipwty šm r km.t (ḥr) iy n.i r ḫ3rw m 3bd 1 pr.t*, And his envoy, who had gone to Egypt, returned to me in Syria in the first month of the winter season.

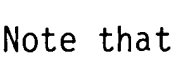
Note that the participle *i.wn* very often expresses the pluperfect tense:

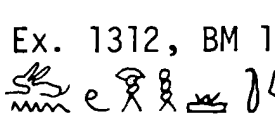
Ex. 1309, *LRL*, 45, 9:  , *i.wn*, Who had been.

Ex. 1310, P. Leop-Am, 4, 1: Date , Date: *hrw n swḏ n3-iṯ3.w wn m p3y-mr*, Date: the day when the thieves who had been in this pyramid were handed over.

48.3.5. Extended or repeated action in the past is expressed by *i.wn (ḥr) stp.f.*

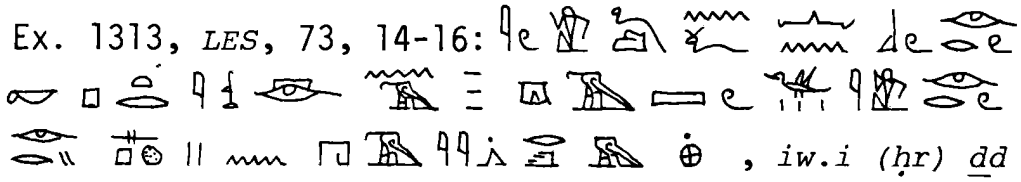
Ex. 1311, *LRL*, 35, 3:  , *i.wn (ḥr) di.t 'q.w*, Who used to give bread.

Note that the participle  , *wn*, + the stative expresses a state in the past.

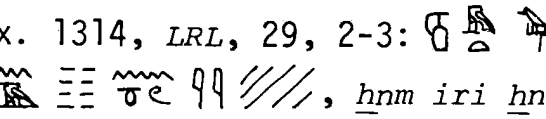
Ex. 1312, BM 10053, vs. 4, 18:  , *t3-s.t wr .... wn w3ḥ.ti*, The great seat .... which lay ....

48.3.6. Group II.

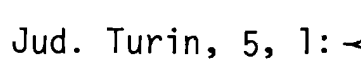
A few verbs of less than four consonants, instead of forming a participle of the type *i.stp sw*, with past meaning, use the participle of the auxiliary verb , *iri*. The difference in form presumably reflects either a difference in tense indication or a semantic variation; we conjecture that these sometimes refer to present time, substituting a lost present (or 'imperfective') participle or a 'can' or 'made to' connotation for the regular *i.stp.sw* variety.[3.]

Ex. 1313, *LES*, 73, 14-16:  , *iw.i (ḥr) ḏd*

n.f (i)n bw iri.k ptr n3-g3š.w i.iri ir.t sp 2 n h3.t r km.t, "Don't you see the migrating birds coming down (lit. 'the migrating birds who are making a second occurrence of descending') on Egypt for the second time?" I asked him.

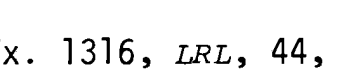
Ex. 1314, *LRL*, 29, 2-3:  , *ḥnm iri ḥnm n3-ḫmnty.w* ////, Khnum,who joins the Ogdoad.

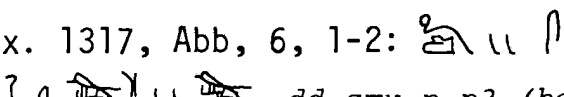
However, this does not apply to verbs of more than three consonants. These, it should be noted, have no participle form, and use instead the participle of , *iri*, with the infinitive.

Ex. 1315, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 1:  , *iri w3w3*, Who plotted.

48.4. The 'imperfective' participle in titles.

A survival of the Middle Egyptian 'imperfective' participle is found in composite titles and epithets, where the participle denotes an habitual activity.

Ex. 1316, *LRL*, 44, 3:  , *t3y-ḫw*, fan-bearer.

Ex. 1317, Abb, 6, 1-2:  , *dd smy n p3-(ḥq3) '.w.s.*, Informer of the (Ruler), l.p.h..

48.5. The syntactic usages of the active participle.

48.5.1. The active participle as a relative clause.

An active participle is the equivalent of a relative clause in which the antecedent is identical with the subject of the relative clause, and therefore the antecedent acts

both as the qualified word, and as the subject of the relative clause.

Ex. 1318, BM 10403, 1, 7: , *n3-iri n3*, Those who did these (things).

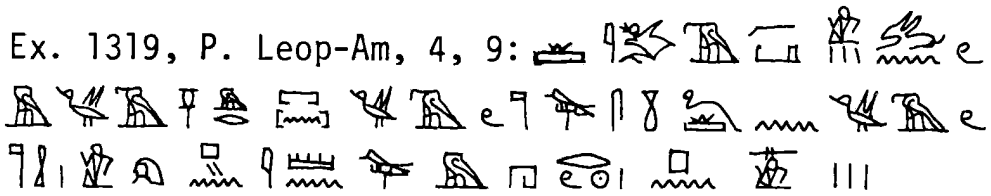
The *n3* which here precedes *iri* acts both as the defined antecedent and as the subject of *iri*, whereas the *n3* which follows *iri* is the direct object of *iri*.

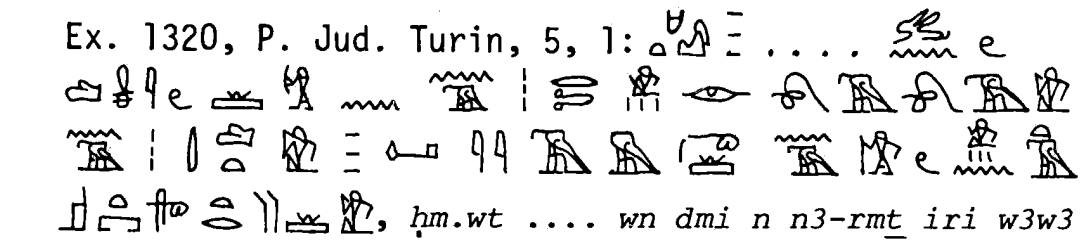
The statement that an active participle is the equivalent of a relative clause is based on the fact that it is made negative by *nty bwpw.f stp.f* (see below 49.1.); i.e. the counterpart relationship between *n3-iri* and *n3 nty bwpw.w ir.t.f* indicates that according to the Egyptian feeling of language a relative clause introduced by *nty* corresponds to a sentence expressed by a participle, and thus they belong to the same syntactic category.

48.5.2. The antecedent of the active participle.

The antecedent of an active participle can be:

1. a defined noun (see below Ex. 1321);
2. a noun followed by *nb* (see above Ex. 967);
3. a proper name (see above Ex. 1223);
4. the definite article (see above Ex. 1302);
5. a bare noun denoting a 'group of people';

Ex. 1319, P. Leop-Am, 4, 9:  , *dmḏ iṯ3.w wn m p3-mr (n) p3w-nṯr swḏ n p3w-ḥm-nṯr tpy n imn m hrw pn s 3*, Total: Thieves who had been in the pyramid of the said god, and were handed over to the said high-priest of Amon on this day; 3 men.

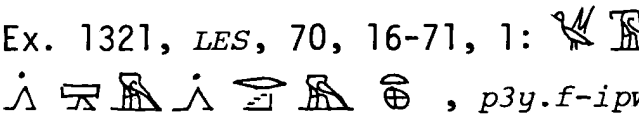
Ex. 1320, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 1:  *ḥm.wt .... wn dmi n n3-rmṯ iri w3w3 n3-md.wt dy m-b3ḥ n3-sr.w n t3-s.t smty*, Wives .... who had conspired with the men who had concocted these plots, and had been brought before the officials of the Court of Examination.

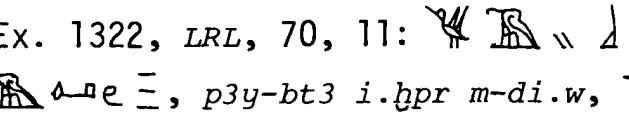
6. the demonstratives (see above Ex. 1304).

48.5.3. The active participle as a noun or adjective equivalent.

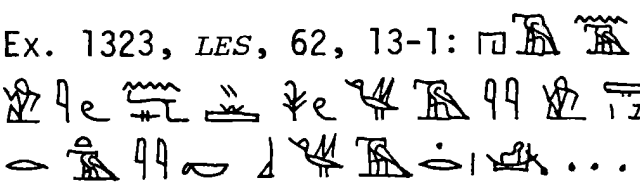
Since a participle is the equivalent of a relative clause, it can act both as the equivalent of an adjective and as equivalent of a noun, when preceded by either a definite article or a demonstrative.

a). As the equivalent of an adjective.

Ex. 1321, *LES*, 70, 16-71, 1:  *p3y.f-ipwty šm r km.t*, His envoy who had gone to Egypt.

Ex. 1322, *LRL*, 70, 11:  *p3y-bt3 i.ḫpr m-di.w*, This damage which was done (lit. 'happened') to them.

b). As the equivalent of a noun.

Ex. 1323, *LES*, 62, 13-1:  *ḥn iṯ3y iw ny-sw p3y.i-t3 p3-ḥ3y r t3y.k-br ....*, If it had been a thief belonging to my country who had burgled your ship ....

48.6. Bibliography and references.

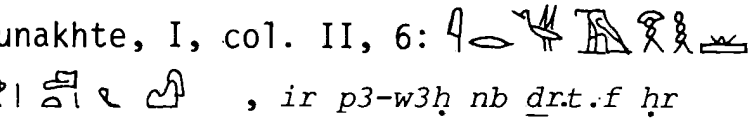
1. Erman, *NAG*, 367-370; *GG*, 357.

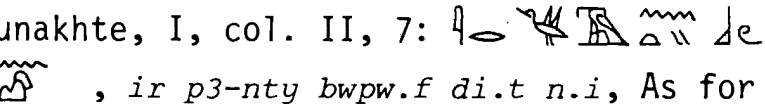
2. Erman, *NAG*, 373.

3. Groll, *Non-verbal*, 64-65, XIV; Erman, *NAG*, 378.

CHAPTER 49. THE NEGATION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

The active participle when indicating the past tense is made negative by *nty bwpw.f stp.f*. Compare

Ex. 1324, Naunakhte, I, col. II, 6:  , *ir p3-w3ḥ nb dr.t.f ḥr dr.t.i*, As for everyone who supported me (lit. 'who laid his hand on my hand'). With

Ex. 1325, Naunakhte, I, col. II, 7:  , *ir p3-nty bwpw.f di.t n.i*, As for the one who did not support me (lit. 'who did not give to me').

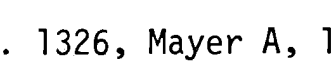
That *p3-nty bwpw.f di.t n.i* is the negative counterpart of *p3-w3ḥ* is based on the observation that in *p3-nty bwpw.f di.t* the antecedent, *p3*, is identical with the subject of the relative clause, the pronominal suffix *.f*; i.e. it is a relative clause which expresses an activity in the past in which the antecedent is indentical with the subject of the relative clause.

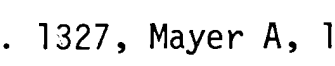
Thus, in contradistinction to the participle, *nty bwpw.f stp.f* has an expressed subject. However, when indicating the simple present tense the participle is negated by *nty bw iri.f stp.f*.

CHAPTER 50. THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE[1].

50.1. Morphology.

Some passive participles of III inf. verbs have the termination . This form is just as frequently omitted, or replaced by . Note also that is added to verbs which have no other form of determination.

Ex. 1326, Mayer A, 12, 12:  , *i.iry*;

Ex. 1327, Mayer A, 13, B 1:  , *i.dy*;

There is also a specific passive form with an ending written as ;

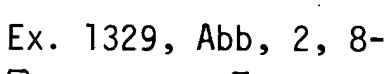
Ex. 1328, *RAD*, 56, 4: , *ddy*.

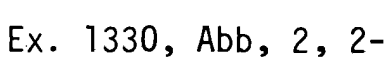
The prothetic , *i.*, disappears where the participle follows the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, just as in the case of the active participle.

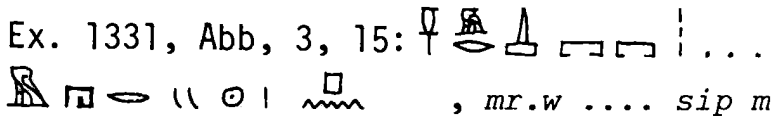
The passive participle is most commonly found as an attribute, following the noun it defines; the noun itself may be either defined or undefined.

50.2. Number and gender.

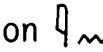
The following examples show that the passive participle does not distinguish number or gender.

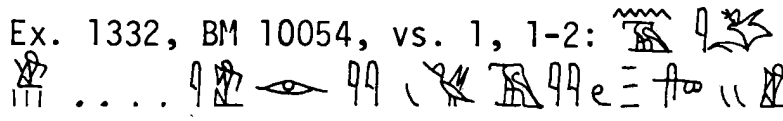
Ex. 1329, Abb, 2, 8-11:  , *p3-mr .... sip m hrw pn*, The pyramid .... examined on this day.

Ex. 1330, Abb, 2, 2-7:  , *t3-3ḫ.t (n)ḥḥ .... sip m hrw pn*, The eternal horizon .... examined this day.

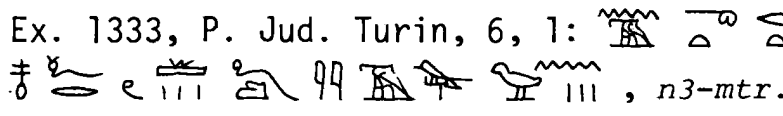
Ex. 1331, Abb, 3, 15:  , *mr.w .... sip m hrw pn*, Pyramids .... examined this day.

50.3. The actor expression of the passive participle.

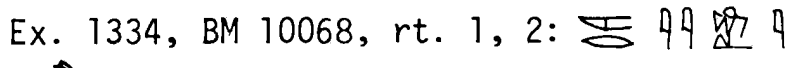
The agent of a passive participle (i.e. its semantic subject) is introduced by the preposition  , *in*, 'by'.

Ex. 1332, BM 10054, vs. 1, 1-2:  , *n3-it3.w .... i.iry p3y.w-smty in A ....*, The thieves .... who were examined by A .... .

An isolated case, where the agent is expressed by a pronominal suffix is no doubt an archaism.

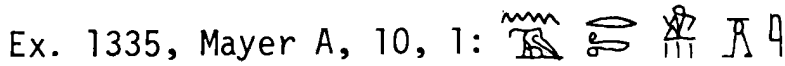
Ex. 1333, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 1:  , *n3-mtr.t nfr ḏdy.i n.w*, The good instructions given to them by me (lit. 'my said to them'; *ḏdy.i* the king speaks).

Another archaic survival is found in a few cases where the agent is expressed as a direct genitive. These are limited to the participle of the verb *mri*, 'love', when followed by the name of a deity.

Ex. 1334, BM 10068, rt. 1, 2:  , *mry imn-r'*, Beloved of Amonre.

50.4. The antecedent of the passive participle.

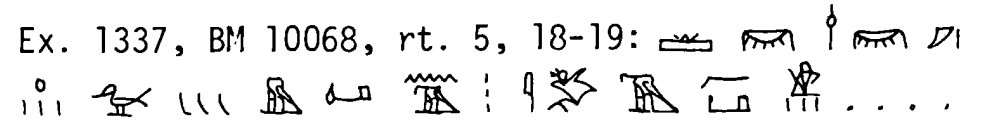
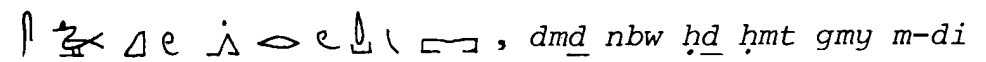
50.4.1. A defined noun.

Ex. 1335, Mayer A, 10, 1:  , *n3-rmṯ iny*, The men who were brought.

However, *ø-rmṯ* and *ø-nbw-ḥḏ ø-ḥmt* can function as an antecedent of a passive participle.

Ex. 1336, Mayer A, 11, 17: ,
ø-rmṯ i.ḏḏḥ, Men who were imprisoned.

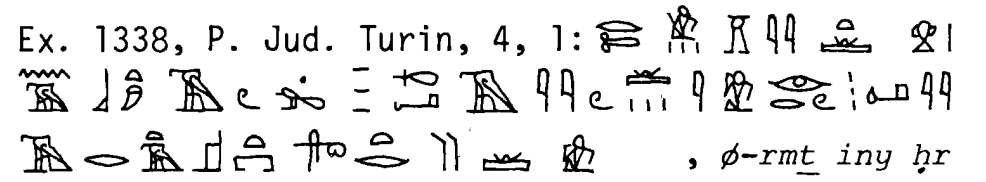
Two passive participles can qualify the same antecedents.

Ex. 1337, BM 10068, rt. 5, 18-19: 
 , *dmḏ nbw ḥḏ ḥmt gmy m-di n3-iṯ3.w .... s'q r wḏ3*, Total: gold silver and copper found in the possession of the thieves .... (and) delivered into (the) storehouse.

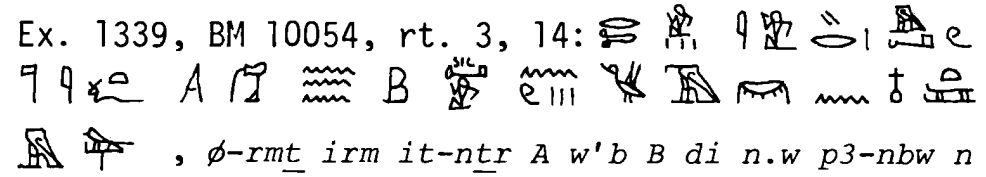
50.4.2. A definite article or demonstrative.

See below Ex. 1346.

50.4.3. A single noun as antecedent for more than one passive participle.

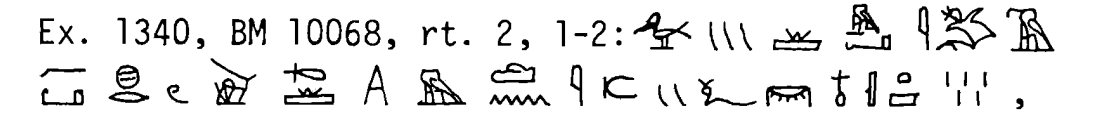
Ex. 1338, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 1:  , *ø-rmṯ iny ḥr n3-bt3.w '3.y i.iri.w dy r t3-s.t smtr*, Persons brought in because of the great crimes they had committed, and placed before the Court of Examination.

50.4.4. A single passive participle with more than one antecedent.

Ex. 1339, BM 10054, rt. 3, 14:  , *ø-rmṯ irm it-nṯr A w'b B di n.w p3-nbw n nfr-tm*, Men, along with divine-father A and the *wēb*-priest B, to whom the Gold of Nefertum was given.

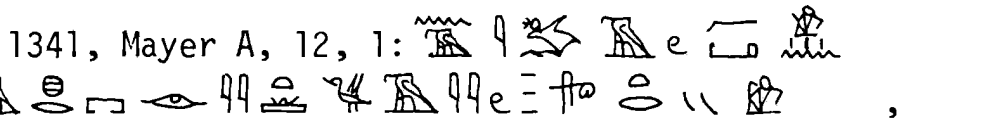
50.4.5. The passive participle with no antecedent.

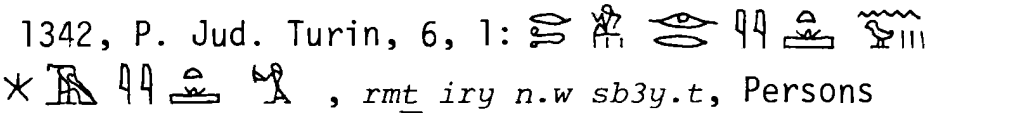
An archaic feature of administrative documents is the use in list headings of the passive participle with no preceding article or noun. The noun or nouns to which the participle refers follow the headings.

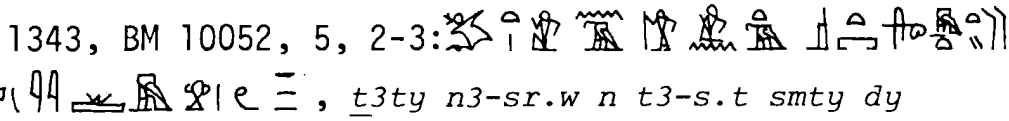
Ex. 1340, BM 10068, rt. 2, 1-2:  , *gmy m-di it3 ḫrw '3 A m dni.t.f nbw nfr qd.t 5*, Found in the possession of (the) thief, the great criminal A, as his share: good gold, 5 *qite*.

50.5. The passive participle with a subject of its own.[2.]

The formation *p3-A iry B* is always followed by a resumptive pronoun referring to the antecedent.

Ex. 1341, Mayer A, 12, 1:  , *n3-it3.w n p3-ḫr iry p3y.w-smtr*, The robbers of 'The Tomb' who had been examined. (Lit. 'The robbers .... whose examination had been made.')

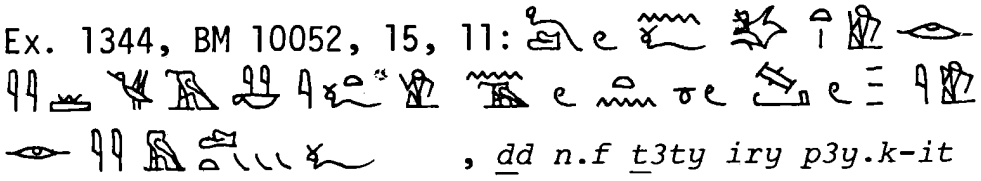
Ex. 1342, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 1:  , *rmt iry n.w sb3y.t*, Persons punished. (Lit. 'Persons, made to them punishment.')

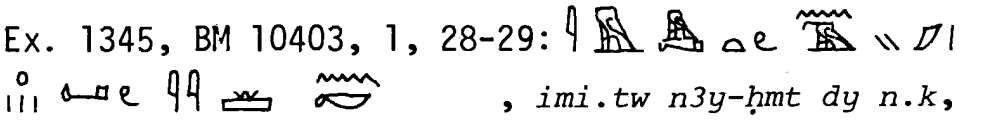
Ex. 1343, BM 10052, 5, 2-3:  , *t3ty n3-sr.w n t3-s.t smty dy m ḫr.w*, The vizier and the officials of the Place of Examination to whom (the matter) had been submitted (lit. 'given before them').

50.6. The rarity of the passive participle.

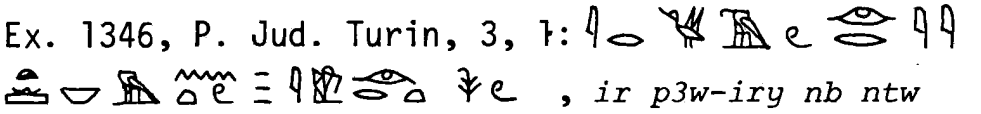
Although quite a large number of examples of different usages of the passive participle have been given in the preceding paragraphs, it should be pointed out that only two,

instances of this form have been found in quotations of direct speech, and that these, furthermore, are the participles of the two commonest verbs in the language, , *iri*, 'do', and , *di*, 'give'.

Ex. 1344, BM 10052, 15, 11:  , *dd n.f t3ty iry p3y.k-it n3-wtn.w i.iry m dr.t.f*, The vizier said to him, "Did your father do the borings which were done, himself (lit. 'with his hand')".

Ex. 1345, BM 10403, 1, 28-29:  , *imi.tw n3y-ḥmt dy n.k*, Hand over the copper which was given to you.

A third example is contained in a fictitious speech of the deceased king Ramesses III.

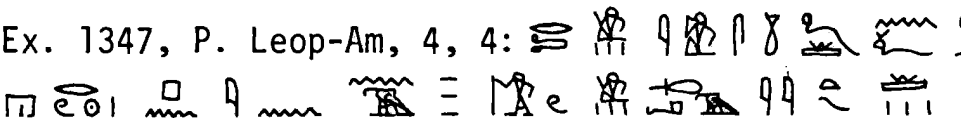
Ex. 1346, P. Jud. Turin, 3, 1:  , *ir p3w-iry nb ntw i.iri sw*, As for all this that was done, it is they who did it.

All other examples are taken from various scribes' summaries and accounts, and even these are restricted to commonly recurring verbs. All this, when taken together with a complete lack of examples in the *Late Ramesside Letters* and in Wenamun's report, seems to justify the assumption that the passive participle, unlike its active counterpart, was a dying form in Late Egyptian, only surviving as a traditional usage among administrative officers.

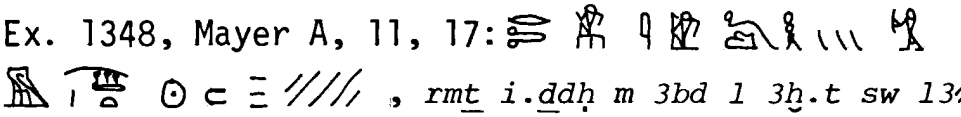
50.7. The tense indication of the passive participle.

The passive participle expresses only past time.

50.7.1. A passive participle followed by the time expression *hrw pn*.

Ex. 1347, P. Leop-Am, 4, 4:  , *rmṯ i.swḏ n.f m hrw pn in n3-sr.w '3.y*, People handed over to him on this day by the Great Magistrates.

50.7.2. A passive participle followed by a date indicating past time.

Ex. 1348, Mayer A, 11, 17:  , *rmṯ i.ḏḏḥ m 3bd 1 3ḫ.t sw 13///*, Men who were imprisoned in the first month of the inundation season, day 13///.

50.8. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 371, 374 and 375.
2. Erman, *NAG*, 382-383.

CHAPTER 51. THE RELATIVE FORM[1].

51.1. Definition.

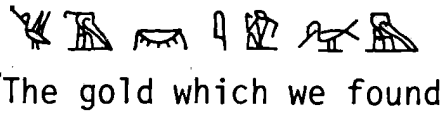
The relative form is a verbal form equivalent to a relative clause whose subject is different from its antecedent.

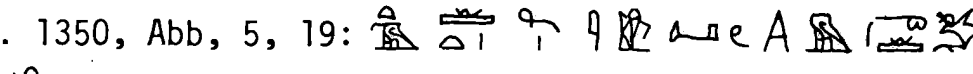
51.2. The subject expression of the relative form.

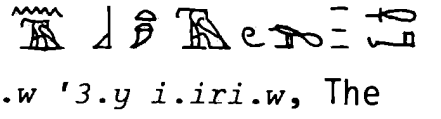
The subject of the relative form can be either a noun (see below Ex. 1350) or a pronoun (see below Ex. 1349); in this latter case it is expressed by the pronominal suffixes. Note however, that the pronominal suffix *.tw* is used very rarely with the relative form.[2],

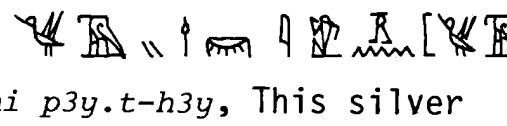
51.3. The antecedent of the relative form.

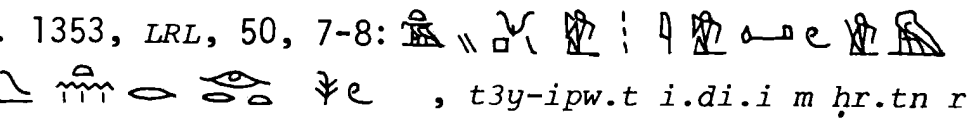
51.3.1. A defined noun.

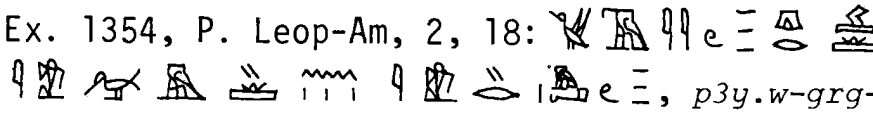
Ex. 1349, P. Leop-Am, 2, 15-16:  , *p3-nbw i.gmi.n*, The gold which we found.

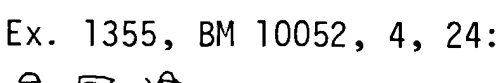
Ex. 1350, Abb, 5, 19:  , *t3-md3.t i.di A m-b3ḥ t3ty*, The copy of the document which A gave to the vizier.

Ex. 1351, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 1:  , *n3-bt3.w '3.y i.iri.w*, The great crimes which they committed.

Ex. 1352, BM 10052, 10, 13:  , *p3y-ḥd i.ini p3y.t-h3y*, This silver which your husband has brought.

Ex. 1353, *LRL*, 50, 7-8:  , *t3y-ipw.t i.di.i m ḥr.tn r ir.t.s*, This work which I ordered you to do.

Ex. 1354, P. Leop-Am, 2, 18:  , *p3y.w-grg-pr i.gmi.n irm.w*, The (lit. 'their') equipment which we found in their possession.

Ex. 1355, BM 10052, 4, 24:  , *bn dd(.i) rmṯ nb i.ptr.i*, I cannot tell who all the people were. (See Ex. 924)

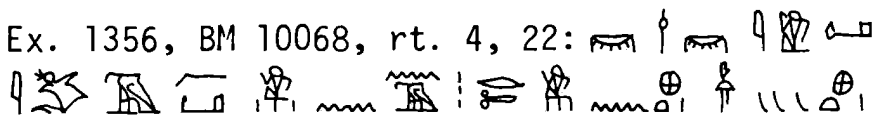
51.3.2. A defining element.

Note that when a relative form is preceded by a definite article or by a demonstrative pronoun, it acts as a defined noun equivalent; in other words the definite articles and the demonstratives function both as defining and as substantivizing elements.

The definition of the relative form is necessary in bimembral nominal sentences (see below 57.12.26.-57.12.35.) whose second member is a relative form

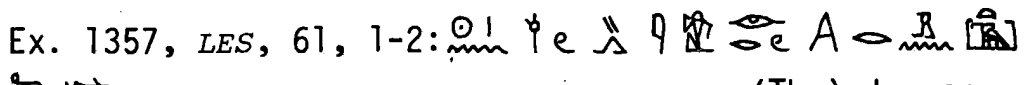
51.3.3. Exceptions.

a). The antecedent of a relative form can be undefined if the antecedent is the heading of a list.

Ex. 1356, BM 10068, rt. 4, 22:  ,
nbw ḥḏ i.di n3-iṯ3.w n n3-rmṯ n niw.t imnt.t niw.t,
Gold and silver, which the thieves gave to the people of Thebes and Western Thebes.

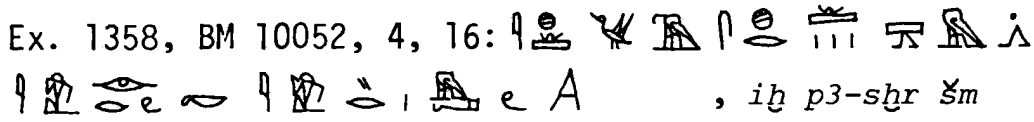
A list of names follows, with numbers of persons and quantities of metals.

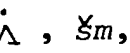
b). When the function of the relative form of the verb , *iri*, is to give past meaning to an infinitive, the infinitive in question, if used to specify the time at which an event took place, is undefined.

Ex. 1357, *LES*, 61, 1-2:  , *hrw n wḏ i.iri A r in.t t3-tt*, (The) day on which A set out to fetch the timber. (Lit. 'Day of setting out which A made ....')

51.3.4. Apparent exceptions.

Apparent exceptions are cases such as

Ex. 1358, BM 10052, 4, 16:  , *iḫ p3-sḫr šm i.iri.k irm A*, What is the story of your going with A? (Lit. 'What is the manner of going which you made with A?')

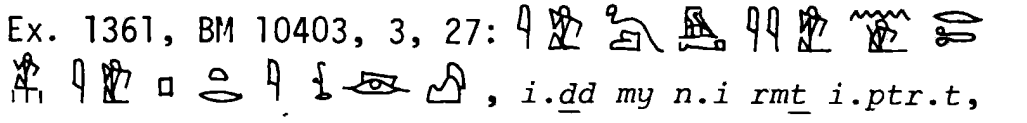
The relative form does not here refer to the infinitive , *šm*, but to the defined noun  , *p3-sḫr*. This is proved by examples like the following where the infinitive is absent.

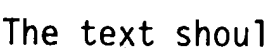
Ex. 1359, Mayer A, 1, 5: , *p3-sḫr i.iri.w 'q3*, Exactly the way they acted.

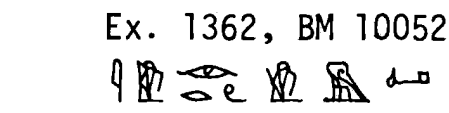
Thus, nouns in direct genitive relationship share the same article, and are regarded as a single unit.

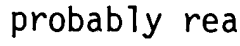
Ex. 1360, *LRL*, 68, 7-8: , *i.ḏd my md.wt n ḥḏ (n3)-ḏd.i r.k m-b3ḥ p3y.k-it*, Please repeat any insulting remarks I have made about you in your father's presence.

I have corrected , which is marked in the text as damaged, to .

Ex. 1361, BM 10403, 3, 27:  , *i.ḏd my n.i rmṯ i.ptr.t*, Please tell me who you saw.

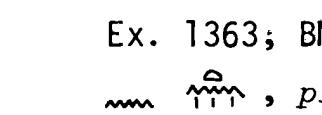
The text should be emended to  , *rmṯ nb*, 'all people' which is in fact found in BM 10403, 1, 4 and BM 10052, 4, 3.

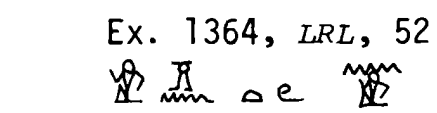
Ex. 1362, BM 10052, 7, 7-8:  , *ptr(.i) m ir.t.i i.iri.i m-di A*, I saw it with my own eyes in A's possession.

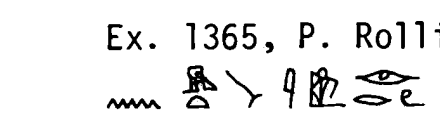
is at the end of line 7 and is damaged. One should probably read  , lit. 'It was seeing with my (own) eyes (suffix of the first person omitted) that I made'.)

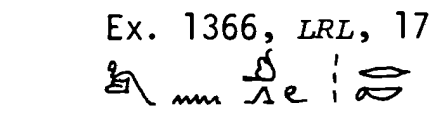
51.3.5. Extensions of the antecedent.

The relative form usually follows immediately after its antecedent, though this latter may be expanded by an adjective (including the adjective , *nb*), a noun following the *n* of the indirect genitive, a numeral (see Ex. 1372), or a participle extended by adverbial phrases (see Ex. 1371).

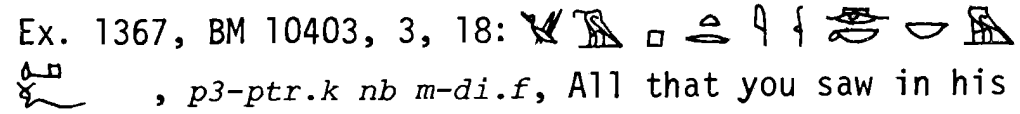
Ex. 1363; BM 10052, 5, 22:  , *p3y-ḥḏ '3 i.ḏḏ(.i) n.tn*, This main treasure about which I have told you.

Ex. 1364, *LRL*, 52, 7:  , *š'.wt nb i.di p3y.k-sn ini.tw n.i*, All the letters which your brother sent me.

Ex. 1365, P. Rollin, 5:  , *n3-bt3.w '3.y n mwt i.iri.f*, The great captial crimes which he had committed.

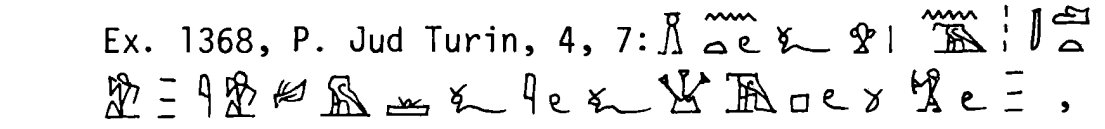
Ex. 1366, *LRL*, 17, 14:  , *n3-š'.wt twt i.ḏḏ.k (i)n pḥ.w r.k*, Those letters of yours about which you inquired, asking if they had reached me ....

When the antecedent is the definite article, *nb* does not follow it; it follows the relative form.

Ex. 1367, BM 10403, 3, 18:  , *p3-ptr.k nb m-di.f*, All that you saw in his possession.

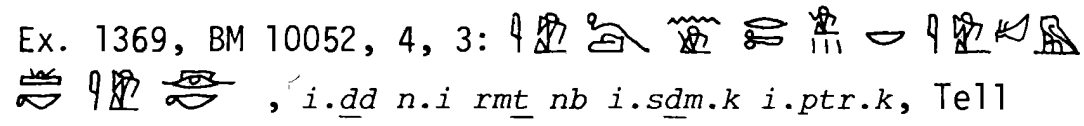
51.3.6. Relative forms sharing an antecedent.

Two relative forms can follow each other, sharing the same antecedent, only when they refer to a single event. However, if a relative form is followed by a verbal formation which refers to a successive event, the successive activity is expressed by the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past.[3.]

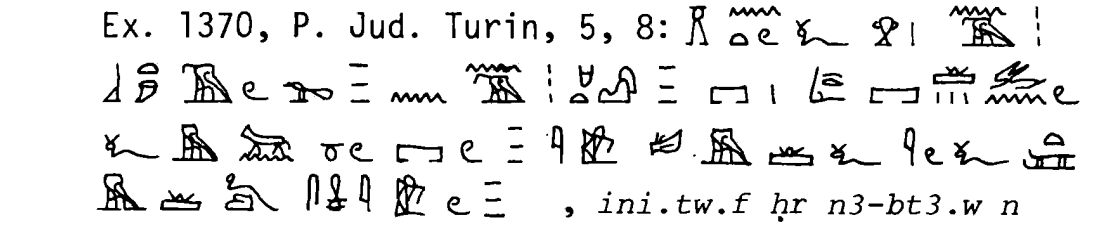
Ex. 1368, P. Jud Turin, 4, 7:  , *ini.tw.f ḥr n3-md.wt i.sḏm.f iw.f (ḥr) ḥ3p.w*, He was brought because of the things which he had heard about, but had concealed.

Note that the activity of 'concealing' must have come after that of 'hearing'.

When, however, the event expressed by the verbal formation which follows the relative form occurs at the same time as that of the relative form, a second relative form is used.

Ex. 1369, BM 10052, 4, 3:  , *i.ḏd n.i rmṯ nb i.sḏm.k i.ptr.k*, Tell me about every man you heard or saw.

Occasionally two consecutive relative forms are found attached to two different antecedents.[4.]

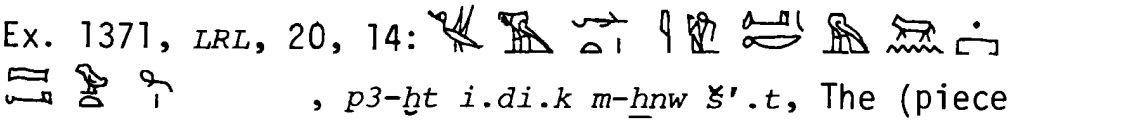
Ex. 1370, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 8:  , *ini.tw.f ḥr n3-bt3.w n n3-ḫm.wt pr-ḥnr wn.f m-ḥnw.w i.sḏm.f iw.f (ḥr) tm ḏd smi.w*, He was brought because of the crimes of the women of

the harem, among whom he had been; he had heard (about the crimes) but had not reported them.

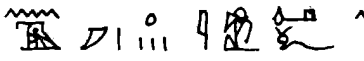
The antecedent of *wn.f* is *n3-ḥm.wt pr-ḫnr*, whereas the antecedent of *i.sḏm.f* is *n3-bt3.w*; it seems that *wn.f* must follow immediately after its antecedent.

51.4. Number and gender of the relative form.

Each verb has only one relative form, and it is used regardless of the grammatical gender or number of the antecedent.

Ex. 1371, *LRL*, 20, 14:  , *p3-ḫt i.di.k m-ḫnw s'.t*, The (piece of) wood which you have put inside the letter.

Ex. 1372, *LRL*, 50, 13: , *t3y-5 b3k.w i.di.i*, These five slave-women I gave.

Ex. 1373, Mayer A, 2, 21:  , *n3-ḥmt i.di.f n.i*, The (pieces of) copper he gave me.

Note that the relative forms *i.di.k* (Ex. 1371), *i.di.i* (Ex. 1372), and *i.di.f* (Ex. 1373) take the same form, although their antecedents are *p3-ḫt*, *t3y-b3k*, and *n3-ḥmt*; the Late Egyptian relative forms had only one form after they lost their Middle Egyptian marked endings.

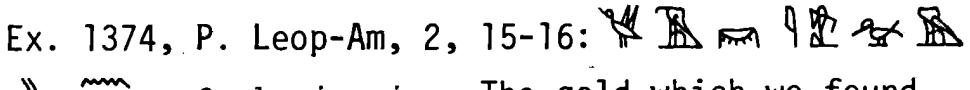
51.5. The tense indication of the relative form.

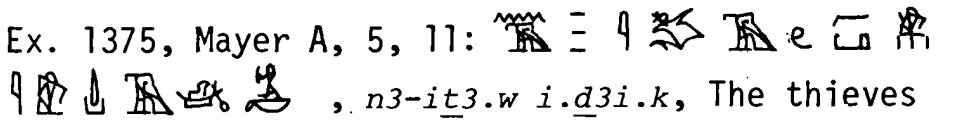
The relative form when taking the form *i.stp.f* always expresses the past tenses; however, when taking the form *i.iri.f ir.t.f* (i.e. when containing the auxiliary *i.iri.f*) it very often expresses the present tenses.[5.]

51.6. The syntactic peculiarities of the relative form.

51.6.1. The direct semantic object when identical with the antecedent.

The direct semantic object of a relative form, if it is identical with the antecedent, remains unexpressed.

Ex. 1374, P. Leop-Am, 2, 15-16:  *p3-nbw i.gmi.n*, The gold which we found. (Not **p3-nbw i.gmi.n sw*, *The gold which we found it.)

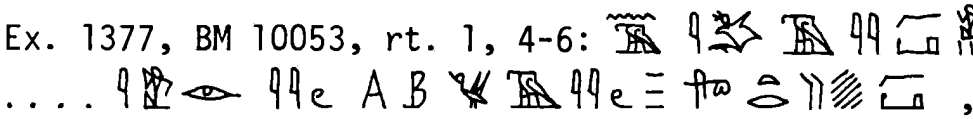
Ex. 1375, Mayer A, 5, 11:  , *n3-it3.w i.d3i.k*, The thieves whom you ferried over.

The antecedents *p3-nbw* and *n3-it3.w* in Exx. 1374 and 1375 and the unexpressed direct objects of *i.gmi.n* in Ex. 1374 and of *i.d3i.k* in Ex. 1375 are identical; i.e. the antecedent functions both as the noun qualified and as the unexpressed semantic direct object.

51.6.2. The direct object when not completely identical with the antecedent.

The direct object of a relative form may contain an element which refers back to the antecedent, if it is not completely identical with it.

Ex. 1376, BM 10052, 5, 12: , *n3-rmt i.dd n3-kth.w-it3.w p3y.w-rn-rn*, The men the list of whom the other thieves have given.

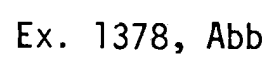
Ex. 1377, BM 10053, rt. 1, 4-6:  , *n3-it3.w .... i.iry A B p3y.w-smtr*, The thieves .... whom A and B examined.

Note that *.w* in *p3y.w-rn-rn* (Ex. 1376) and *.w* in *p3y.w-smtr* (Ex. 1377), although referring back to the antecedents *n3-rmt* and *n3-it3.w* are expressed.

51.6.3. The direct object when different from the antecedent.

When the direct object of the relative form is different

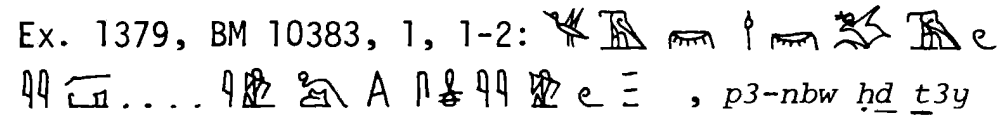
from the antecedent it is fully expressed.

Ex. 1378, Abb, 5, 6:  , *t3-s.t 2 i.w3ḥ.f dr.t ḥr.w*, The two places he had pointed out (lit. 'he had laid (the) hand on them').

51.6.4. Relative forms compound with a bare noun are treated as a single unit (see Exx. 1378 and 1356).

51.6.5. The expression of the direct object of compound relative forms.

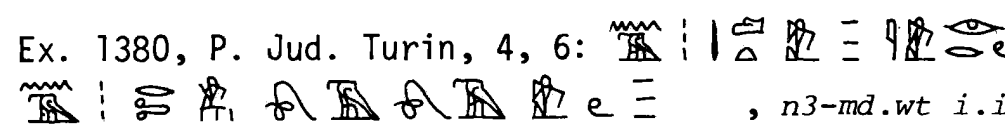
When a relative form is composed of two words, the direct object is expressed, even if it is indentical with the antecedent.

Ex. 1379, BM 10383, 1, 1-2:  , *p3-nbw ḥd t3y .... i.dd A smy.w*, The gold and silver which were stolen .... which A reported.

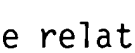
The *w* following *smy*, refers back to *p3-nbw ḥd*.

51.6.6. The expression of the direct object of relative forms containing the auxiliary verb *iri*.

When a verb has more than three consonants it cannot take a relative form. The relative form of the verb , *iri*, is used instead, with the infinitive of the verb involved. In these cases a resumptive pronoun, identical with the antecedent, is required, and this is appended to the infinitive in the form of a pronominal suffix.

Ex. 1380, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 6:  , *n3-md.wt i.iri n3-rmṯ w3w3.w*, The matters which the men had plotted.

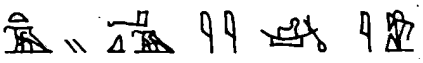
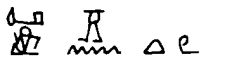
51.6.7. The direct object expression of relative forms composed with the , *wn*, of the past.

The relative form of  , *wn*, + *(ḥr)* + an infinitive is followed by a direct object, even when the direct object is identical with the antecedent.

Ex. 1381, BM 10054, rt. 2, 8-9:
, *p3-ḥd p3-nbw i.wn.n (ḥr) gm.t.f m n3-(mi)ḥ'.t*, The silver and gold which we used to find in the tombs.

51.6.8. The relative forms of causative formations.

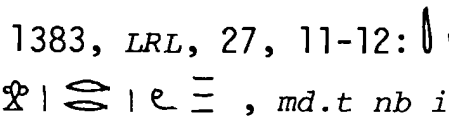
When a relative form constitutes a causative formation (i.e. the construction composed of the verb *di*, 'to cause' + the non-initial prospective *stp.f*) and when the direct semantic object is identical with the antecedent, the prospective *stp.f* is not followed by the direct object.

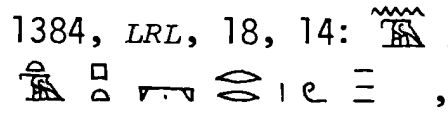
Ex. 1382, *LRL*, 9, 16-10, 1: 

, *t3y-'q3y i.di.i ini.tw n.k*, This transport boat which I have brought to you. (Not **ini.tw.s*).

Conclusion: The construction *i.di.f stp.f* must be classified as a single unit, whereas the two elements of the construction *i.dd.f smi* (Ex. 1379) can still be treated as basically separated.

51.6.9. The indirect object.

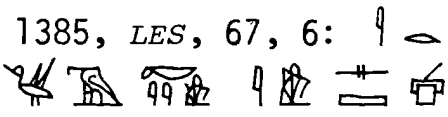
When the antecedent is identical with the indirect object of the relative form of a transitive verb, the relative form must have a resumptive element, usually a suffix pronoun introduced by a preposition. The pronoun refers back to the antecedent.

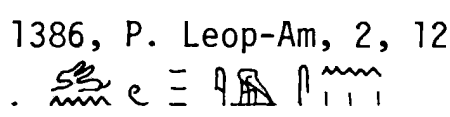
Ex. 1383, *LRL*, 27, 11-12:  , *md.t nb i.h3b.k n.i ḥr.w*, All the matters about which you wrote to me.

Ex. 1384, *LRL*, 18, 14:  , *n3-sš.w i.ḥwi ø-mw t3-p.t r.w*, The documents on which it rained.

51.6.10. The resumptive pronoun of the relative form of intransitive verbs.

When the relative form is composed of an intransitive verb, the resumptive element is necessary.

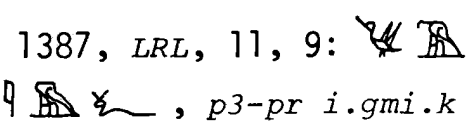
Ex. 1385, *LES*, 67, 6:  , *ir p3y-ddn p3-ky i.sš.k r.f* ...., As for Sidon, that other (place) you passed .... .

Ex. 1386, P. Leop-Am, 2, 12:  , *n3y.w-db3y.w .... wn.w im.sn*, Their coffins in which they (i.e. the king and queen) were.

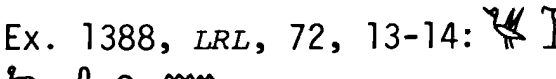
Note that leaving out the elements *.sn* in *im.sn* (Ex. 1386), *.f* in *r.f* (Ex. 1385) would in each case create two unconnected units.

51.6.11. Direct objects and resumptive pronouns of the relative forms of transitive verbs.

If the antecedent of the relative form of a transitive verb is different from its direct object, the direct object and the resumptive elements have to be expressed.

Ex. 1387, *LRL*, 11, 9:  , *p3-pr i.gmi.k A im.f*, The house in which you found A.

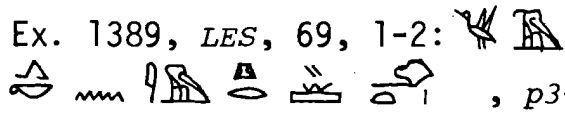
The direct object, A, has to be expressed, since it is different from the antecedent *p3-pr*; and since the direct object and the antecedent have to be connected, *im.f* is necessary.

Ex. 1388, *LRL*, 72, 13-14:  , *p3-rmṯ i.swḏ.k st n.f*, The man to whom you entrusted them.

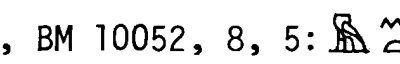
Note that *st* is the direct object, and *.f* in *n.f* connects *st* to *p3-rmṯ*.

51.7. The relative construction equivalent to English 'where'.

When the relative form expresses the notion of a location 'from which one came' or 'in which one was', it is preceded by the definite article, and its resumptive element is the adverb *im*.

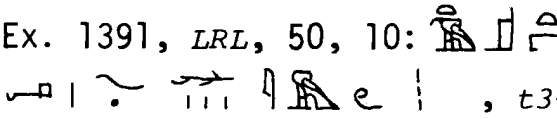
Ex. 1389, *LES*, 69, 1-2:  , *p3-t3 n km.t p3-iw.k im ḥry-ḥ3t*, The land of Egypt, from which you have come.

Note, however, that *p3-wn.i* + *im* as a resumptive element denotes the 'place in which I was'.

Ex. 1390, BM 10052, 8, 5:  , *ntw n3-wn.i imꜣ*, They are the ones (tombs) in which I was.

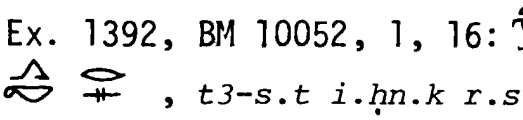
51.8. The relative construction equivalent to English 'from where'.

The combination *p3-A* + a relative form of a transitive verb + *im* indicates the notion of 'the place from which'.

Ex. 1391, *LRL*, 50, 10:  , *t3-s.t i.ini n.i A n3-ꜥ.w im.w*, The place from which (M\M⊿Y) A got (lit. 'brought') the poles for me.

Since *s.t* is singular, *im.w* cannot be classified as the preposition *im* + the pronominal suffix *.w*, but only as the

adverb *im*. If the relative form denotes the notion of 'going to a place', and not 'coming from', a pronominal suffix is used as the resumptive element.

Ex. 1392, BM 10052, 1, 16:  , *t3-s.t i.ḥn.k r.s*, The place to which you went.

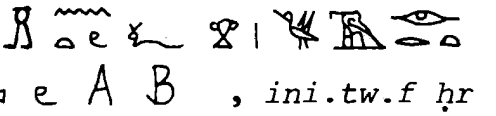
Note that *.s* in *r.s* corresponds in number and gender to *t3-s.t*.

Summary: The adverb *im* is used as a resumptive element for both the notion of 'being in' and the notion of 'coming from'.

51.9. The construction *p3-stp* + *i.iri.f*.[6.]

51.9.1. Morphology.

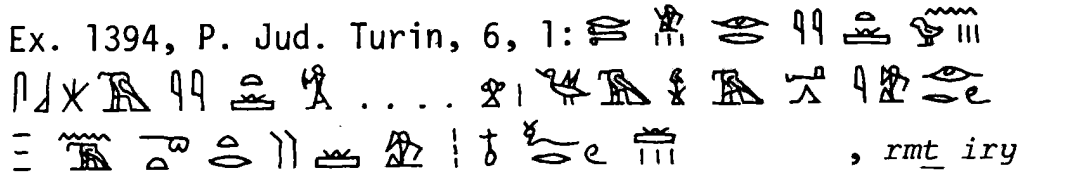
When the relative form of the verb , *iri*, 'do' is appended to an infinitive, it causes this otherwise timeless verbal form to acquire the meaning of a past infinitive. This infinitive must be defined, except when it refers to a particular time (see above 11.5.3.). That the element *i.iri.f* is grammatically necessary is clear from the following example.

Ex. 1393, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 4:  , *ini.tw.f ḥr p3-ir.t i.iri.f w' irm A B*, He was brought in because he had made common cause with A and B. (Lit. 'He was brought in because of the making which he had made in common with A and B.')

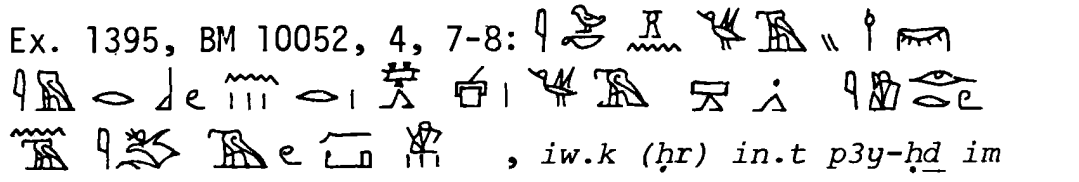
Thus, even when the verb *iri* itself is the main verb, the formation *p3-ir.t i.iri.f* is used, and not **p3-i.iri.f*. That is to say, *i.iri.f* has lost its full lexical meaning, and now serves only as a grammatical constituent.

51.9.2. Use after prepositions.

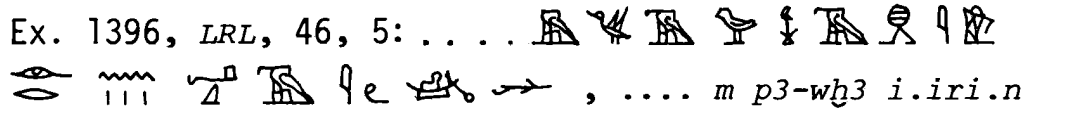
a). After the prepositon *ḥr*.

Ex. 1394, P. Jud. Turin, 6, 1:  , *rmṯ iry n.w sb3y.t .... ḥr p3-ḫ3' i.iri.w n3-mtr.w nfr.w*, People punished .... because they had not obeyed these good instructions.

b). After the preposition *m-s3*.

Ex. 1395, BM 10052, 4, 7-8:  , *iw.k (ḥr) in.t p3y-ḥd im r-bl (m-)s3 p3-šm i.iri n3-iṯ3.w*, You brought this silver out of it (the tomb) after the thieves had gone (lit. 'after the thieves having gone').

c). After the preposition *m*.

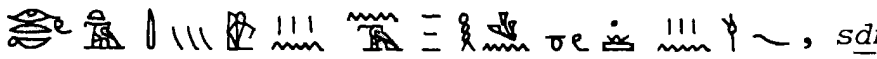
Ex. 1396, *LRL*, 46, 5: . . . .  , ... *m p3-wḫ3 i.iri.n 'q3i*, ... about our search for a transport ship.

Note that the direct object follows the element *i.iri.f*, and not the main verb; that *n3-mtr.w* (in Ex. 1394) follows *i.iri.f* and not *p3-ḫ3'*; and that *'q3i* (in Ex. 1396) follows *i.iri.n* and not *p3-wḫ3*.

Conclusion: Although the direct object is an extension of the main verb, it comes after the auxiliary element; thus, the defined infinitive and the element *i.iri.f* are a closed prosodic unit.

51.9.3. Use as the direct object of a preceding verbal formation.

Ex. 1397, *LRL*, 9, 6-8:

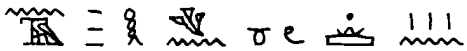
 , *sḏm.i*

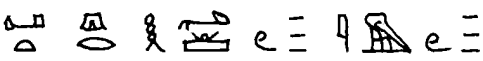
.... *p3-ḏd i.iri.k t3-md.t n n3-ḥn.w n wḏ*, I understood

....what you said about the matter of the new vessels.

51.10. The incompatibility of *i.ḏd.f* with *r-ḏd* (see above 10.10.1. a.).

The relative form of , *ḏd*, 'say', is often followed by a report of what has been said. Note however, that the quotation itself is never introduced by , *r-ḏd*, 'saying'.

Ex. 1398, *LRL*, 9, 8-9: 

....  ,

n3-ḥn.w n wḏ .... i.ḏd.k tw.i (ḥr) di.t grḫ.w im.w,

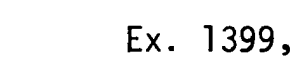
The new vessels .... which you said you were going to get finished.

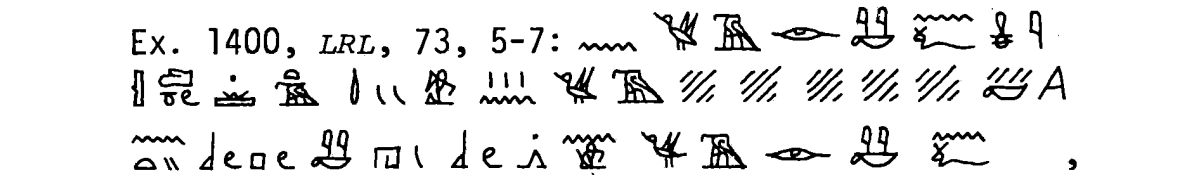
51.11. Bibliography and references.

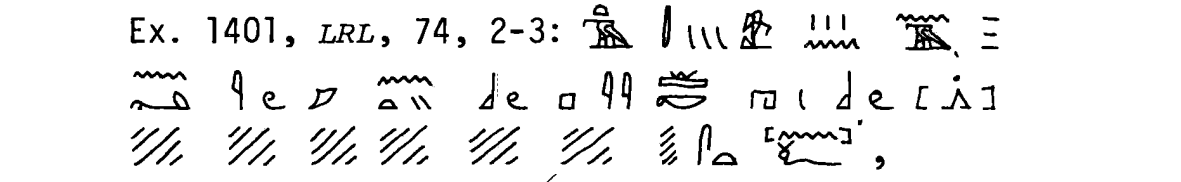
1. Erman, *NAG*, 392-396; *GG*, 380-389.
2. Erman, *NAG*, 387; Černý, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 114, note o.
3. Groll, *JEA* 55 (1969), 96, Exx. 38-40.
4. Groll, *Negative*, 186.
5. Erman, *NAG*, 396; Černý, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 113; note g; Groll, *Negative*, Ex. 450.
6. Erman, *NAG*, 411-412; Groll, *Negative*, 182-188.

CHAPTER 52. THE NEGATION OF THE RELATIVE FORM

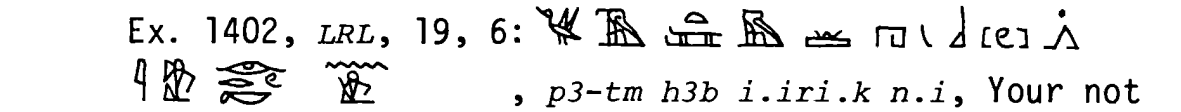
52.1. The relative form is made negative by *nty bwpw.f stp.f.*[1].

Ex. 1399, *LRL*, 17, 16:  , *ir t3y nty bwpwy.w in.t.s n.i*, This is the only one which has not been brought to me.

Ex. 1400, *LRL*, 73, 5-7:  , *(i)n p3-iry.k n.f mi-qd t3-md.t n p3-///..../// k A nty bwpwy.k h3b n.i p3-iry.k n.f*, Is what you have done to him like the business of .... A, concerning whom you have never written to me regarding what you did to him?

Ex. 1401, *LRL*, 74, 2-3:  , *t3-md.t n n3-ny nty bwpwy.k h3b .... .s (n.)f*, The business of the spears which you did not .... send to him.

52.2. The negation of the formation *p3-stp i.iri.f.*

Ex. 1402, *LRL*, 19, 6:  , *p3-tm h3b i.iri.k n.i*, Your not having written to me. (Lit. 'The not sending which you did to me'.)

Note that the negative is not **p3-h3b nty bwpw.k ir.t n.i*, *'The sending which you did not do to me'.

52.3. The negation of the relative form when indicating the simple present tense.

When indicating the simple present tense the relative form is negated either by *nty bn sw (ḥr) stp.f* (see above Ex. 826),

or by *nty bw iri.f stp.f* (see above Ex. 866).

52.4. Bibliography and references.

1. Polotsky, *Papers*, 192-193 (= *Études*, 88-89): Groll, *Negative*, Exx. 9-10.

CHAPTER 53. RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY *NTY*

53.1. *nty* can precede the following verbal formations.

53.1.1. The first present.

The antecedent different from the subject of the relative clause.	The antecedent identical with the subject of the relative clause.
p3-A .... nty + sw ḥr stp.f	*p3-A .... nty ḥr stp.f*
p3-A .... nty + sw stp.ø	*p3-A .... nty stp.ø*
p3-A .... nty + sw im	*p3-A .... nty im*
p3-A .... nty + bn sw im	*p3-A .... nty bn sw im*
p3-A .... nty + bn sw (ḥr) stp.f	*p3-A .... nty bn sw (ḥr) stp.f*

53.1.2. The third future.

p3-A .... nty + iw.f (r) stp.f

p3-A .... nty + iri A (r) stp.f

p3-A .... nty + bn iw.f (r) stp.f

53.1.3. The negative relative form.

p3-A .... nty + bwpw.f stp.f

53.1.4. The negative simple present tense.

p3-A nty + bw iri.f stp.f

53.2. The following formations can not be preceded by *nty*.

nty can only precede initial main clauses, but not every initial main clause can be preceded by *nty*. Formations which can not be preceded by *nty* are:

The perfect active *stp.f*.

The initial prospective *stp.f*.[1].

53.3. Classification of relative clauses.

Late Egyptian knows three kinds of relative clause.

A. Clauses containing a participle or relative form (see above Chapter 48-52).
B. Clauses introduced by the relative adjective , *nty*.
C. Virtual relative clauses introduced by the circumstantial , *iw*, (see below Chapter 54).

53.4. The morphology of the relative adjective *nty*.[2].

The relative adjective *nty*, which in Middle Egyptian still had three distinct forms for masculine singular, masculine plural, and feminine (singular and plural) and agreed with its antecedent in number and gender, has only one form in Late Egyptian. It is usually written : seldom, and probably only by oversight, . Its is often written indistinctly, so that the best transcription is then . A writing or (sometimes abbreviated to or) also occurs in the XXth. Dynasty. This originates in a confusion with , *r-ntt*, 'to the effect that', which, conversely, is sometimes written , or only . Since the preposition was pronounced *ḫ* in Late Egyptian, it is evident that *nty* must have been pronounced *ḫnt*, or even *et*, at that period, as in Coptic ⲛⲧ, ⲉⲧ.

53.5. *nty* compatible only with defined antecedents.

Only such clauses as refer to defined antecedents are introduced by *nty*.

The antecedent is defined if it is:

1. a proper name;
2. a personal pronoun;
3. the definite article itself;

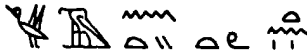
4. a noun provided with the definite article, a demonstrative pronoun, a possesive article, or a pronominal suffix.
5. a noun followed by the adjective , *nb*, 'every'.

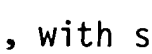
The rare cases, mostly in literary or semi-literary texts, where an antecedent noun stands without a definite article, are undoubtedly due either to the influence of Middle Egyptian, or to error.

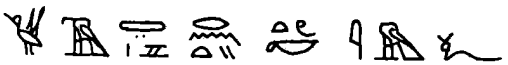
53.6. The syntactic functions of a relative clause.

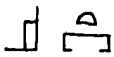
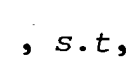
A relative clause introduced by *nty* can function either as an adjective equivalent or as a noun equivalent, in which case it is substantivized by the definite article.

, *p3-nty*, often means 'the (place) which', and has then, instead of a resumptive pronoun, the adverb , *im*, 'there'.

Ex. 1403, *LRL*, 45, 11:  , *p3-nty tw.tn im*, Where you are. (Lit. 'The (place) where you (are) there'.)

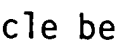
The preposition , *m*, with suffix, that is  , *im.f*, is in this case quite exceptional. A preposition with suffix is, however, obligatory when the antecedent is one of the nouns designating a place.

Ex. 1404, *LRL*, 30, 7:  , *p3-t3 nty tw.k im.f*, The land you are in.

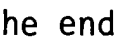
However, after  , *s.t*, 'place', a mere  , *im*, is also found.

53.7. The phrase *p3-nty nb*.

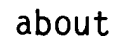
When the antecedent is provided with the adjective , *nb*, 'every', the latter always comes immediately after the

antecedent; when, however, *nty* is substantivized, and the definite article becomes its antecedent (), *nb* follows *p3-nty*.

Ex. 1405, *LRL*, 40, 6: , *p3-nty nb*,
Every one.

It is only at the end of the XXth. Dynasty that  , the regular form of the XXIst. Dynasty, appears. One text from the end of Dynasty XX wrongly combines *p3-nty nb* and *p3-nb nty*:

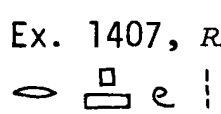
Ex. 1406, *LRL*, 39, 12: , *p3-nty nb nty*,
Everything which.

From about the middle of Dynasty XX  begins to appear in negative sentences, with the meaning 'anyone'.

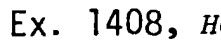
53.8. *nty* used independently.

In headings of lists and accounts *nty* is found used either with undefined antecedent or with no antecedent whatsoever. In reality, however, the part of the antecedent is played by the item or items of the list that follows the heading.

53.8.1. *nty* without antecedent.

Ex. 1407, *RAD*, 48, 3:  , *nty n A nty m-di B nty iw.tw r pš.w*,
What belongs to A, and what is in the possession of B shall be divided.

53.8.2. *nty* preceded by an antecedent without a definite article.

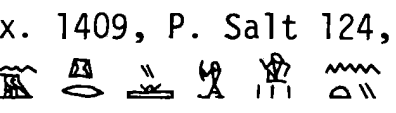
Ex. 1408, *HO*, pl. LVII, 1, rt. 1:  , *3ḫ.t n A nty m-di B*, Property of A which is in B's possession.

53.9. *nty* + the first present.

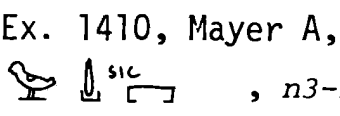
53.9.1. *nty* as both subordinizer and actor expression.

When the antecedent is identical with the subject of the relative clause, *nty* acts both as the relative subordinizer and as the subject of the relative clause.

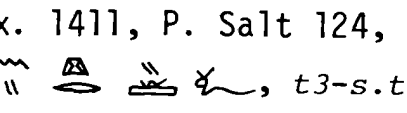
a). *n3-A .... nty (ḥr) stp.f.*

Ex. 1409, P. Salt 124, rt. 2, 9-10:  , *r di.t rḫ.tw n3-ḥrty.w nty ḥr b3k n.f*, List of the quarrymen who work for him.

b). *n3 ..... nty* + stative.

Ex. 1410, Mayer A, 6, 18:  , *n3-nty ẖ3ḥ m p3-wḏ3*, Those which are deposited in the store-house.

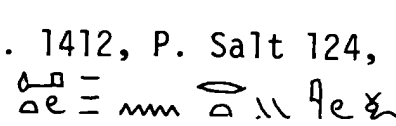
c). *t3-A .... nty* + adverbial predicate.

Ex. 1411, P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 2-3:  , *t3-s.t sḏr nty ḥr.f*, The place of rest which belonged to him (lit. 'was under him').

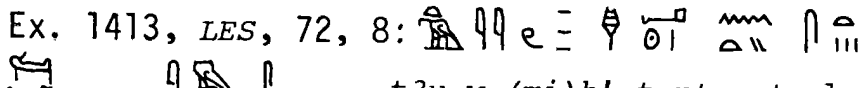
53.9.2. *nty* with the antecedent different from the subject of the relative clause, within the first present.

When the antecedent of the relative clause is different from the subject of the relative clause, *nty* acts as the relative subordinizer only, and the subject of the relative clause is fully expressed.

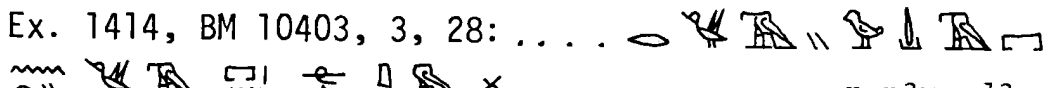
a). *n3-A .... nty tw.tw (ḥr) stp.f.*

Ex. 1412, P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 3:  , *n3-ḫ.t nty tw.tw ḥr di.t.w n ø-rmṯ iw.f mwt*, The things which one gives to dead men (Lit. 'a man who is dead').

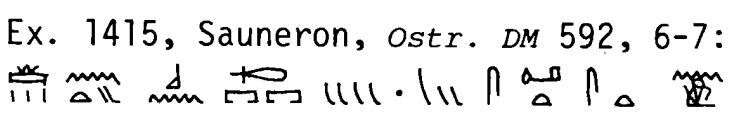
b). *t3-A .... nty st sḏr.ø* (a stative).

Ex. 1413, *LES*, 72, 8:  , *t3y.w-(mi)ḥ'.t nty st sḏr im.s*, The tomb they are buried in (lit. 'sleeping in').

c). *p3-A nty p3-B* + adv. predicate.

Ex. 1414, BM 10403, 3, 28: ....  , ... *r p3y-wḏ3 nty p3-pr-n-st3 im.f*, ... into the storeroom in which the portable shrine was.

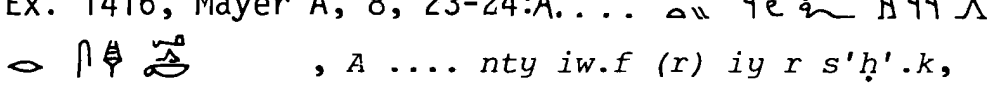
53.10. *nty* + the negative first present.

Ex. 1415, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM* 592, 6-7:  , *ir p3-nk.t nty bn pr-'3 '.w.s. (ḥr) di.t.s n.i*, As for the thing which Pharoah, l.p.h., is not giving to me.

Note that *nty* precedes *bn*.

53.11. *Nty* outside the first present.

53.11.1. *nty* + the third future.

Ex. 1416, Mayer A, 8, 23-24:A....  , *A .... nty iw.f (r) iy r s'ḥ'.k*, A .... who will come to accuse you?"

Note that although the antecedent of the relative clause *nty iw.f (r) iy*, that is *nfw A*, and the subject of the relative clause are identical, the subject is fully expressed. However, it does not take the form of *nfw A*; it takes the form of the pronominal suffix *.f*.

53.11.2. *nty + bwpw.f stp.f*.

See above Chapters 49 and 52.

53.11.3. Conclusion:

There is a similarity between the behaviour of *nty* within the framework of the affirmative first present and within that of the active participles. The active participle is a verbal formation which has no actor expression of its own; it is used when the antecedent is identical with the actor expression of the relative clause. In as much as the antecedent of a participle acts both as an antecedent and as the subject of the relative clause, so *nty* within the framework of the affirmative first present acts both as the relative subordinizer and the subject of the first present formation.

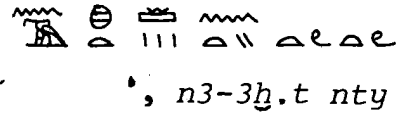
antecedent	participle/relative clause
p3-A	*i.stp.ø*
p3-A	*nty ø (ḥr) stp.f*

53.12. The direct object expression of the relative clauses introduced by *nty*.

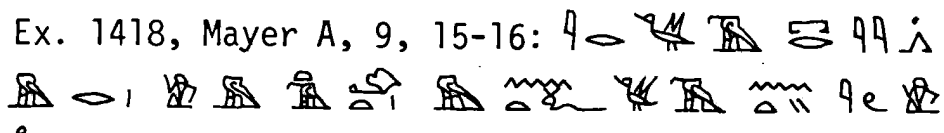
53.12.1. The expression of the direct object.

When the direct object and the antecedent of a relative clause are identical, the direct object is fully expressed.

53.12.2. *n3-nty tw.tw (ḥr) stp.w.*

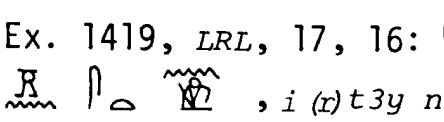
Ex. 1417, P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 3:  ', *n3-3ḫ.t nty tw.tw ḥr di.t.w n rmṯ iw.f mwt*, The things which are given to a dead person.

53.12.3. *p3-nty iw.i (r) stp.f.*

Ex. 1418, Mayer A, 9, 15-16:  , *ir p3-pry nb m r.i m t3-ḥ3t ntf p3-nty*

iw.i (r) dd.f, All that my mouth uttered previously, that is what I shall say.

53.12.4. *t3y-nty bwpw.f stp.s.*

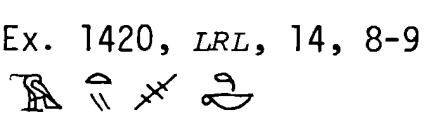
Ex. 1419, *LRL*, 17, 16:  , *i (r) t3y nty bwpw.w in.t.s n.i*, This is the only one which has not been brought to me.

53.12.5. Conclusion.

In contradistinction to the relative form, the direct objects are fully expressed even when identical with the antecedents of the relative clauses.

53.12.6. The inability of *nty* to precede a *stp.f* formation.

nty can not precede a *stp.f* formation. The following example should be classified as *nty (ḥr) stp.f* and not as *nty stp.f*.

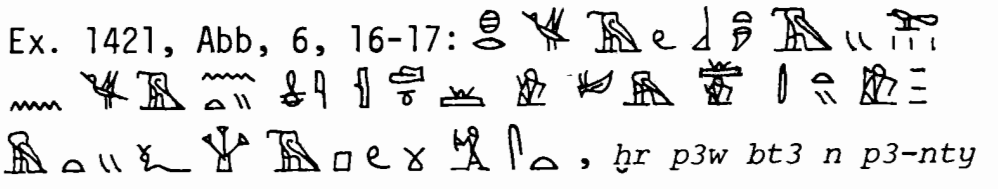
Ex. 1420, *LRL*, 14, 8-9: . . . .  , ... *nty (ḥr) hn.k n.f (m) 3ty.k*, ... against whom you lean your back.

53.13. The tense indication of relative clauses introduced by *nty*.

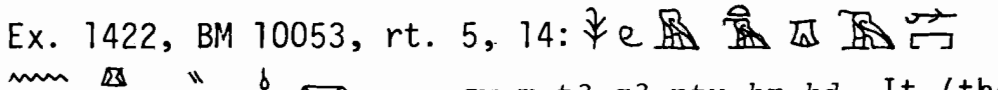
53.13.1. *p3-A nty* + adverbial predicate.

p3-A nty + an adverbial predicate expresses either a state in the present or a state in the past; i.e. when *nty* functions both as both the relative subordinizer and the subject its time indication is determined to a certain extent by its preceding verbal formation.

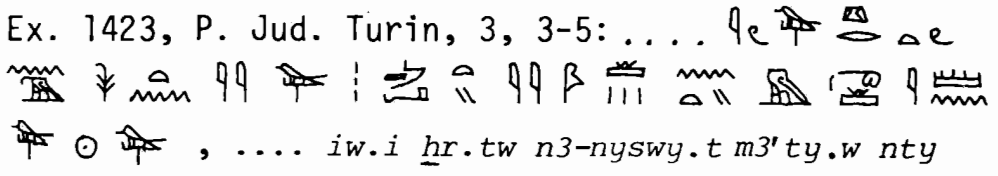
a). After a nominal sentence indicating present tense.

Ex. 1421, Abb, 6, 16-17:  , *ḥr p3w bt3 n p3-nty mi-qd.i sḏm.i md.t mtw.f ḥ3p.s*, For it would be a sin in (lit. 'of') one in my position to hear a thing and to conceal it.

b). After a first present with adverbial predicate indicating a state in the present.

Ex. 1422, BM 10053, rt. 5, 14:  , *sw m t3-g3 nty ḥr ḥḏ*, It (the vase) is in the chest containing silver (lit. 'which is under silver').

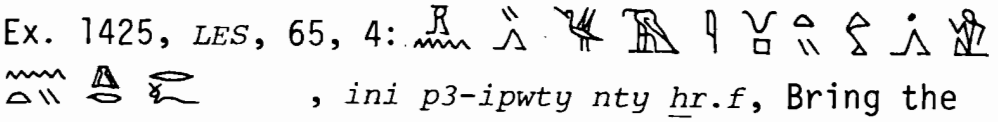
c). After a circumstantial first present indicating present tense.

Ex. 1423, P. Jud. Turin, 3, 3-5: ....  , ... *iw.i ḥr.tw n3-nyswy.t m3'ty.w nty m-b3ḥ imn-r'*, ... while I am among the just kings who are before Amonre.

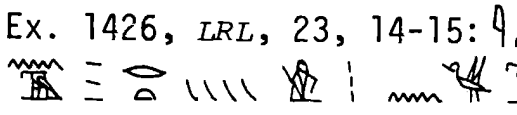
d). After a third future indicating a state in the present.

Ex. 1424, *LES*, 73, 4-5: , *iw.k (r) šsp mw imnt.t mi-qd n(3)-nṯr.w nty dy*, You will receive water of the West, like the gods who are there.

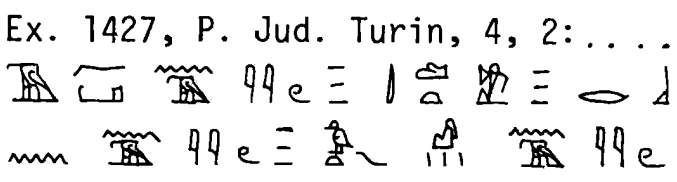
e). After an imperative, indicating a state in the present.

Ex. 1425, *LES*, 65, 4:  , *ini p3-ipwty nty ḥr.f*, Bring the messenger who carries him (lit. 'is under him').

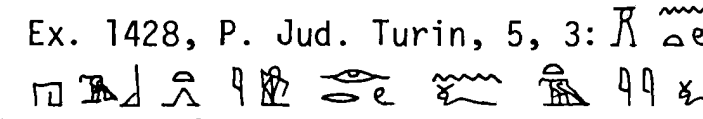
f). After *iḫ stp.f* indicating a state in the present.

Ex. 1426, *LRL*, 23, 14-15: 
iḫ di.k twt.tw n3-rmṯ n p3-ḫr nty im m niw.t, Let the men of 'The Tomb' who are there in Thebes be gathered.

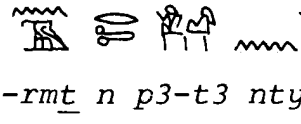
g). After the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the past, indicating past tense.

Ex. 1427, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2: .... 
, ... *iw.f (ḥr) ḫpr (ḥr) iṯ3.t n3y.w-md.wt r-bl n n3y.w-mw.wt n3y.w-sn.w nty im*, ... he had begun to bring out their words to their mothers and brothers, who were there.

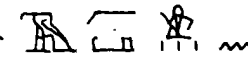
h). After *p3-stp* + a relative form, indicating past tense.

Ex. 1428, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 3: 
, *ini.tw.f ḥr p3-h3b i.iri n.f t3y.f-sn.t nty m pr-ḥnr*, He was brought in because his sister, who was in the harem, had written to him.

53.13.2. *p3-A nty (ḥr) stp.f*, indicating the simple present tense.

Ex. 1429, BM 10068, rt. 6, 13: 
, *n3-rmṯ n p3-t3 nty ḥr šd.t.w*, The people of the land who rescue them.

53.13.3. *p3-A nty m 'q* (the infinitive of a verb of motion), indicating the present continuous tense.

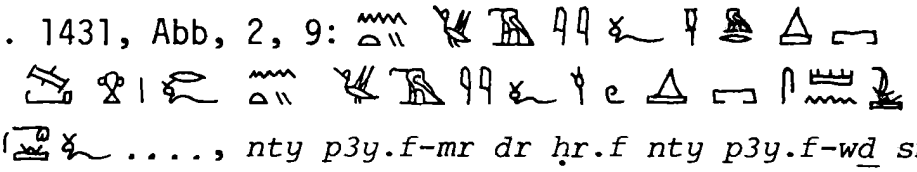
Ex. 1430, P. Leop-Am, 4, 10: 

it3.w n p3y-mr n p3w-ntr nty m tš, Thieves of this pyramid-tomb of this king, who are missing.

However, it seems that when the subject of the relative clause is different from the antecedent, the time indication of the relative clause is determined less by the preceding verbal formation.

53.13.4. *p3-A nty B + (ḥr)* + the infinitve of a transitive verb, indicating the simple present tense (see above Ex. 1412).

53.13.5. *p3-A nty B* + the stative of a transitive verb expresses past time, whereas a following relative clause with a stative of an intransitive verb indicates a state in the present.

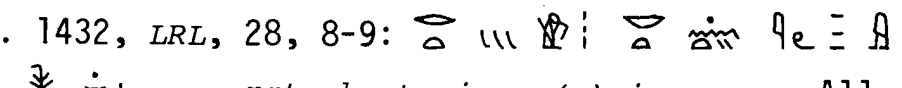
Ex. 1431, Abb, 2, 9: 

nty p3y.f-mr dr ḥr.f nty p3y.f-wḏ smn m-b3ḥ.f ...., whose pyramid has been removed, but its stela is still fixed in front of it .... .

53.13.6. *nty* followed by the third future always refers to a future action.

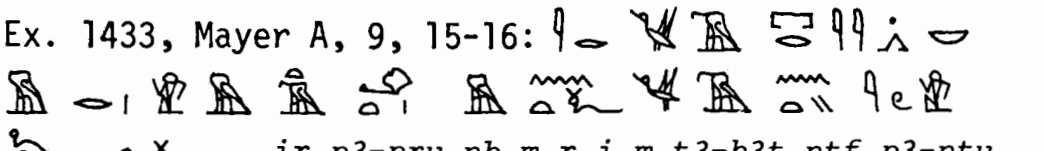
The time indication is the same whether the subject of the relative clause is identical with or different from the antecedent.

a). The subject of the relative clause identical with the antecedent.

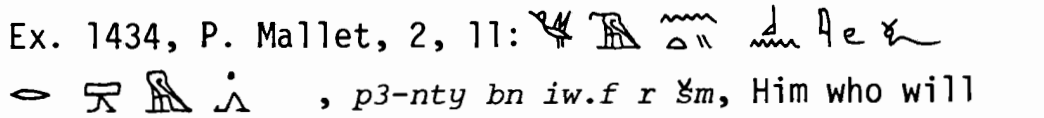
Ex. 1432, *LRL*, 28, 8-9: 

rmṯ nb nty iw.w (r) iy r rsy, All people who will come south.

b). The subject of the relative clause different from the antecedent.

Ex. 1433, Mayer A, 9, 15-16:  , *ir p3-pry nb m r.i m t3-ḥ3t ntf p3-nty iw.i (r) dd.f*, All that my mouth uttered previously, that is what I shall say.

53.13.7. The negative relative third future pattern *nty + bn iw.f (r) stp.f*.

Ex. 1434, P. Mallet, 2, 11:  , *p3-nty bn iw.f r šm*, Him who will not go.

53.13.8. A *nty + bwpw.f stp.f*, indicating the past tense.

See above Chapter 52.

53.14. *p3-A nty* + the emphatic formation.

See above Ex. 1060.

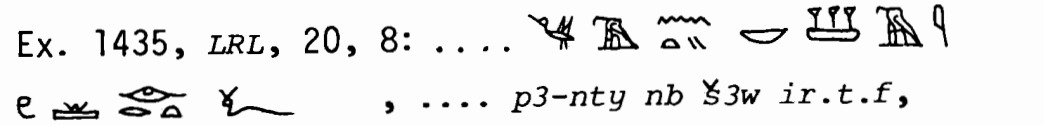
53.15. *p3-A nty + wn + ø-A*.

See above Ex. 1100.

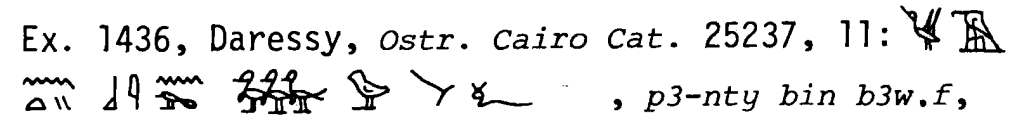
53.16. *p3-A nty* + non-verbal constructions.

p3-A nty + adjectival sentence patterns.[3].

nty + nb + š3w + infinitive pattern.

Ex. 1435, *LRL*, 20, 8: ....  , ... *p3-nty nb š3w ir.t.f*, ... which should be done (lit. 'everything which is fitting to do').

53.17. The *p3-nty + nfr + A* construction.

Ex. 1436, Daressy, *Ostr. Cairo Cat.* 25237, 11:  , *p3-nty bin b3w.f*,
Whose strength is terrible.

53.17. Bibliography and references.

1. Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 26, Anm. 1; Wolf, *AZ* 69 (1933), 112, no. 847; Groll, *Negative*, 36-37B.
2. Erman, *NAG*, 214 and 836; However, see Wolf, *AZ* 69 (1933), 108, no. 213 ff.
3. Groll, *Non-verbal*, Ex. 320-322.

CHAPTER 54. THE VIRTUAL RELATIVE CLAUSES[1].

54.1. Classification.

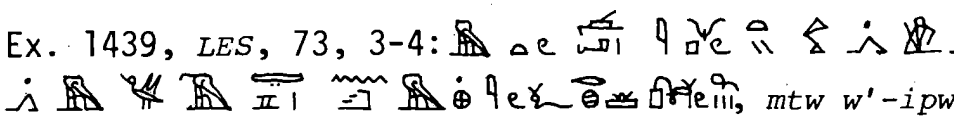
When the antecedent is either a bare noun or a noun preceded by the indefinite article, its relative clause is a sentence pattern preceded by the dependent *iw*; i.e. circumstantial formations act as virtual relative clauses in such cases.

54.2. The virtual relative clause indicating the present tenses.

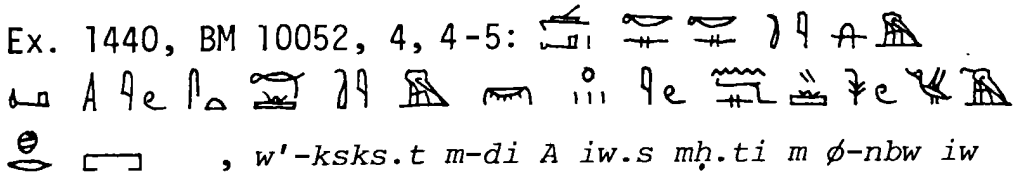
54.2.1. *w'-A* + the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* (the circumstantial first present).

Ex. 1438, *LES*, 75, 5: , *(i)n mn w' im.tn iw.f (ḥr) sḏm md.t km.t*, Is there no one among you who understands Egyptian?

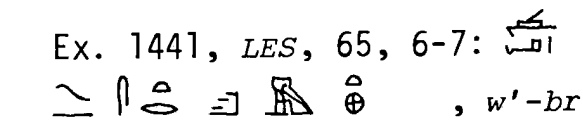
54.2.2. *w'-A* + *iw.f (ḥr) rḫ* + infinitive (the circumstantial first present, indicating the notion of 'can').

Ex. 1439, *LES*, 73, 3-4:  , *mtw w'-ipwty iy m p3-t3 km.t iw.f (ḥr) rḫ sš*, And a messenger who can write will return from Egypt.

54.2.3. *w'-A .... iw.s* + stative.

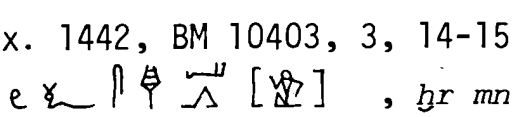
Ex. 1440, BM 10052, 4, 4-5:  , *w'-ksks.t m-di A iw.s mḥ.ti m ø-nbw iw ny-sw p3-ḫr*, A basket(?) which was full of gold belonging to 'The Tomb' was in the possession of A.

54.2.4. *w'-A .... iw.A* + adverbial predicate.

Ex. 1441, *LES*, 65, 6-7:  , *w'-br iw ḥr.s r km.t*, A boat which is going to Egypt (lit. 'its face is towards Egypt').

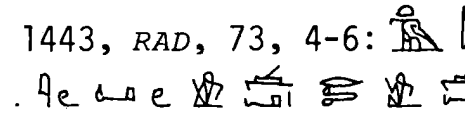
54.3. The virtual relative clause indicating future tenses.

(w')-A + iw iw.f (r) stp.f.

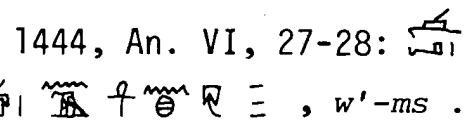
Ex. 1442, BM 10403, 3, 14-15:  , *ḫr mn ø-rmṯ iw iw.f (r) s'ḥ' (.i)*, And there is no-one who will accuse (me).

54.4. The virtual relative clause indicating past tenses.

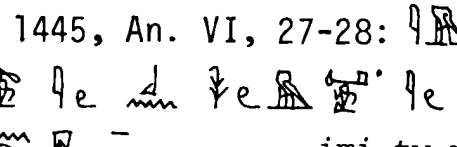
54.4.1. *iw* + the perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 1443, *RAD*, 73, 4-6:  , *t3-md.t n ky-3ḥ.t .... iw di.i w' rmṯ w' ḥtr ḥr.f*, The matter of another holding .... upon which I had placed one man and one yoke (of oxen).

54.4.2. *iw + wn.f* + adverbial predicate.

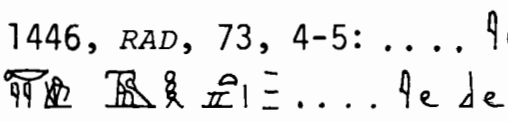
Ex. 1444, An. VI, 27-28:  , *w'-ms .... iw wn.f m-s3 n3-'nḫ.w*, A lad .... who had been tending the goats. (19th. Dynasty.)

54.5. The negative virtual relative clause indicating the present tenses.

Ex. 1445, An. VI, 27-28:  , *imi.tw w'-ms-ḫm ẖri iw bn sw m-di.i iw wn.f m-s3 n3-'nḫ.w*, "Produce a small slave boy" whom

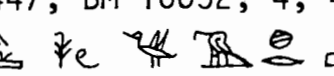
I have not got, and who had been tending the goats. (19th. Dynasty.) (See also above Exx. 789-790.)

54.6. The negative virtual relative clauses indicating the past tenses.

Ex. 1446, *RAD*, 73, 4-5: ....  .... *iw.w (ḥr) dd n.i t3-md.t n ky-3ḥ.t .... iw bwpw.f tḫb*, And they mentioned to me the matter of another holding .... which had not been flooded.

54.7. Virtual relative clauses of non-verbal formations.

54.7.1. The *ny-sw* .... pattern.

Ex. 1447, BM 10052, 4, 4-5:  , *w'-ksks.t .... iw ny-sw p3-ḫr*, A basket(?) belonging to 'The Tomb'.

54.7.2. The *ntk sw* pattern.

Ex. 1448, P. Strassburg 39, 9: , *imi ḥn ø-šms iw ntk sw m.s3.f*, Send one of your servants to hurry after him.

54.8. Conclusion.

The system of virtual relative clauses reveals a precise pattern of tense indication.

54.9. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 830-834; Plumley, *Grammar*, 351; Groll, *Negative*, 35-36; Exx. 425 and 500-502; p. 200-201.

CHAPTER 55. NON-INITIAL NON-PREPOSITIONAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES MARKED BY A SINGLE DISTINCTIVE VERBAL FORMATION

55.1. Classification.

This group contains verbal formations introduced by *wnn* or by *ḫr wnn*; i.e. *wnn* or *ḫr wnn* act as distinctive elements, limited to this specific function. The *wnn.f* .... formation is classified as 'non-initial' because it seems never to follow either the direct or indirect indicators of initiality. There is, indeed, a slight difference between the non-initiality of the prospective *stp.f*, which is always preceded by another verbal formation, and the non-initiality of the *wnn.f* and *ḫr wnn* .... formations, which are not necessarily preceded by other verbal formations. However, their common feature is their incompatibility with either the direct or the indirect indicators of initiality.

55.2. *wnn.f* .... in subordinate clauses of time.

The most common case of a subordinate clause of time containing the verb *wnn* is the standing phrase of letters;

Ex. 1449, *LRL*, 40, 4: ,

wnn t3y.i-šʾ.t (ḫr) spr r.k, When my letter reaches you;

followed by an instruction:

Ex. 1450, *LRL*, 40, 4: ,

iw.k (ḫr) dd n imn-rʾ, You shall say to Amon-re.

55.3. Morphology.

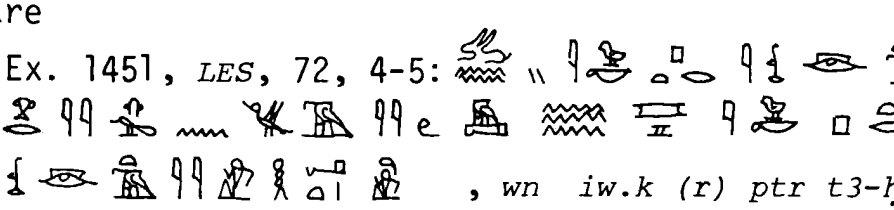
Examples containing are so overwhelming in number that no importance need be attached to occasional spellings ,[1.] or even with only one *n*, ,[2.] The infinitive *spr* appears in varying degrees of cursiveness, from ,[3.] and the most normal ,[4.] down to .[5.]

55. NON-INITIAL NON-PREPOSITIONAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES MARKED BY A SINGLE DISTINCTIVE VERBAL FORMATION

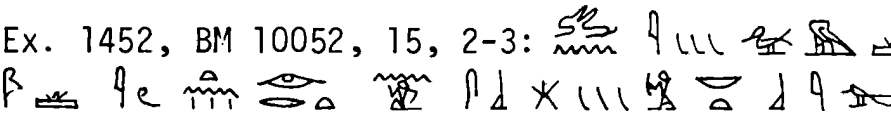
Although the geminated form *wnn* is the marked element of this formation, there exists a certain uncertainty in regard to it; in some cases the *wnn* of the future is spelt as *wn*, whereas in others the *wn* of the past is spelt as *wnn*.

55.4. *wnn* for the *wn* of the past.

Compare

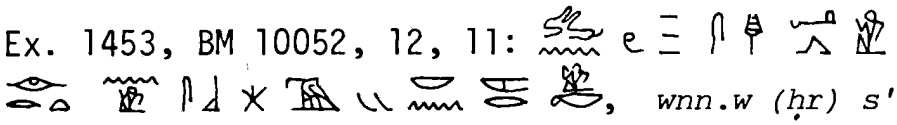
Ex. 1451, *LES*, 72, 4-5:  , *wn iw.k (r) ptr t3-ḥry.t n p3-ym iw.k (r) ptr t3y.i-ḥ'.t*, If you dare consider the terror of the sea, you shall consider mine also;

with

Ex. 1452, BM 10052, 15, 2-3:  , *wn iw.tw (r) gm.t m3'.t iw.tn (r) ir.t n.i sb3y.t nb bin*, If it is found to be true, you shall inflict on me any dreadful punishment.

There is no doubt that *wnn* in Ex. 1451,is the *wn* of the past preceding a third future formation. This *wn* expresses the notion that it would be better that the future activity should remain unfulfilled, in the speakers point of view.[6.]

55.5. *wn* for *wnn*.

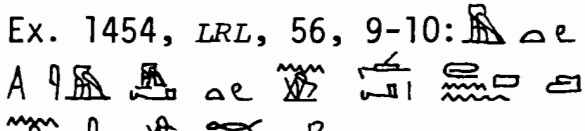
Ex. 1453, BM 10052, 12, 11:  , *wnn.w (ḥr) s'ḥ'.i iw.k (ḥr) ir.t n.i sb3y.t nb n mr.t.k*, If they accuse me, you will give me any punishment you like.

55.6. Time indication as a criterion of morphological classification.

Thus, very often it is time indication which helps us to

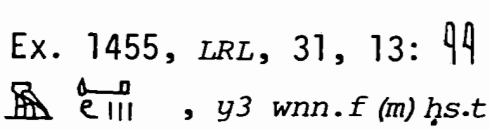
decide whether the form involved is *wnn* or *wn*. It is more difficult to decide how the *wnn.f* .... formation is to be analysed, whether as *wnn* + a first present pattern, or as a non-initial *stp.f* formation + an adverbial adjunct.

55.7. The *wnn.f* .... following a conjunctive.

Ex. 1454, *LRL*, 56, 9-10:  , *mtw.t dd n k3wty A imi.tw n.i w'-dbn n dḥ.t wnn.f (ḥr) di.t.f n.t iw.i (ḥr) mḥ B*, And you shall tell (lit. 'say to') the worker A to give you one *deben* of lead, and when he gives it to you, I will pay B.

55.8. *wnn.f* after particles.

After *y3*.

Ex. 1455, *LRL*, 31, 13:  , *y3 wnn.f (m) ḫs.t m-di.w*, Indeed as long as you are in favour with them (lit. 'as he is .... with them').

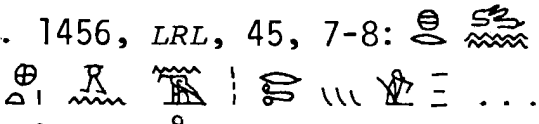
55.9. Bibliography and references.

1. *LRL*, 22, 13.
2. *LRL*, 2, 9.
3. *LRL*, 53, 3.
4. *LRL*, 2, 9.
5. *LRL*, 12, 13.
6. Till, *AZ* 69 (1933), 112-117.

CHAPTER 56. THE *ḫR WNN* COMBINATIONS[1].

56.1. Classification.

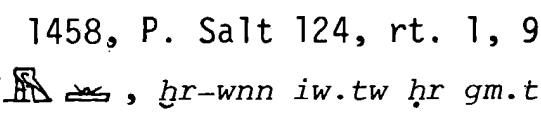
One must apparently distinguish between *ḫr* + the *wnn* of the future and '*ḫr-wnn*' where the *wnn* is really the *wn* of the past. This *ḫr-wnn* of the past is a closed prosodic unit equivalent to the combination *ḫr ir*. Note that *ḫr-wnn* is apparently the ancestor of ⲱⲁⲛ in ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ. Compare

Ex. 1456, *LRL*, 45, 7-8:  , *ḫr wnn tw.i (m) n'.t m niw.t (r) in.t n3-rmṯ .... iw.i (ḥr) gm.t rmṯ-is.t A B*, And when I was walking in Thebes in order to bring the people .... I met the workmen A and B;

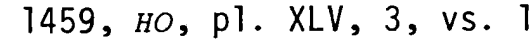
with

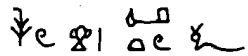
Ex. 1457, P. Mallet, 3, 15: , *ḫr ir tw.i m ḫnt iw.i (ḥr) sḏm r-ḏd tw.k ḫḏ.tw*, As I was going southwards I heard that you had departed north.

Conclusion: Since on the one hand the combination *ḫr ir* converts a first present formation to a subordinate clause of past time (see above Ex. 1457) and *ḫr-wnn* also, when preceding a first present (see above Ex. 1456) converts it also to a subordinate clause of past time, it is only reasonable to assume that *ḫr-wnn* and *ḫr-ir* are syntactical equivalents. Compare also

Ex. 1458, P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 9:  , *ḫr-wnn iw.tw ḥr gm.t*, When one finds;

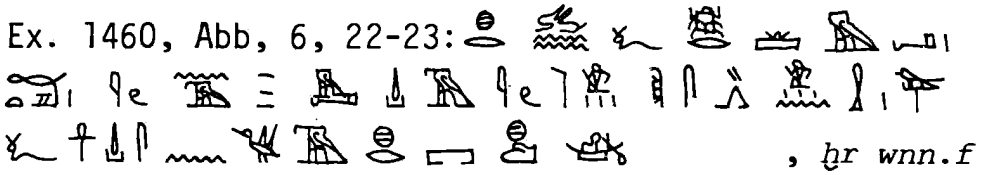
with

Ex. 1459, *HO*, pl. XLV, 3, vs. 1-2: 

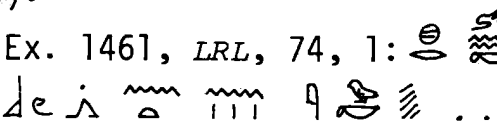
 , *ḫr ir iw bn sw ḥr di.t.f n.k*,
When he does not give it to you.

The difficulty arises when *ḫr wnn* is followed by the pronominal suffix. In this case it is impossible to distinguish between *ḫr* + the *wnn* of the future and the *ḫr-wnn* of the past; it is only the syntactic context which can help us.

56.2. The *ḫr-wnn* formation indicating the past tense.

Ex. 1460, Abb, 6, 22-23:  , *ḫr wnn.f (ḥr) ḫpr m ' mḥty iw n3-md3i.w šms.w n ḥm.f '.w.s. n p3-ḫr (ḥr) ḫd*, If he chanced to be in Lower Egypt, the police of 'The Tomb', his Majesty's l.p.h. servants, went downstream.

56.3. *ḫr* + *wnn* formations (i.e. formations indicating future tense).

Ex. 1461, *LRL*, 74, 1:  , *ḫr wnn.k (ḥr) 'm3 r-dd sw h3b n.tn iw.k (ḥr) ....*, And when you learn that it has been sent off to you, you shall .... .

56.4. Bibliography and references.

1. Baer, *JEA* 51 (1965), 137-143.

CHAPTER 57. THE NOMINAL SENTENCE PATTERNS

57.1. Introduction to the nominal sentence.

A nominal sentence pattern is an identity pattern composed of two nominal members, either nouns or noun equivalents (e.g. independent pronouns, various kinds of relative clauses, demonstratives, or infinitives). Thus, there is no trimembral pattern in non-literary Late Egyptian; i.e. there is no pattern in which the nexus expression is carried by a specific member. The nexus expression of the two nominal members which are in juxtaposition is not expressed by an additional morpheme; in other words, it is not a visible element. Theoretically, two nouns in juxtaposition can be either nouns in apposition or a nominal sentence. Since nouns in apposition are in syntactic parallelism, whereas nouns constituting an identity sentence pattern require a subject-predicate relationship, one tends to assume that in the former pattern the two nouns have unequal stress, whereas in the latter pattern the member which is logically prominent (i.e. the predicate) has strong stress and the "subordinate" member has weak stress. Thus, the nexus expression is perhaps achieved by the respective diminution and increase in the phonetic substance of subject and predicate.[1.] This is perhaps indicated by the following grammatical phenomena;

1. The sheer existence of a one-membral nominal sentence pattern (see 57.9.-57.10.) as an identity sentence indicates very strongly that we are here dealing with a noun which has extra stress.

2. The complementary relationship between the *(p3-)A p3y* patterns and the *A-ø* pattern in the negative construction (i.e. both are negated by *bn A iwn3* (see 58.2.)) indicates that they both belong to the same syntactic category. In other words, since the *p3y* of the *(p3-)A p3y* pattern never occurs in the

negative pattern, one is entitled to assume that it is not expressive of the prominent information, but rather of the already known fact, and therefore can be omitted.

Thus, since in the pattern *(p3-)A p3y* (see below 57.4.-57.7.) the predicate is always *(p3-)A* and the subject is always *p3y*, the morpho-syntactic peculiarites of *(p3-)A* and *p3y* are typical predicate-subject ones. *t3y*, *p3y* and *n3y*, when acting as the subject of a nominal sentence:

1. always occupy the second position;
2. agree in number and gender with *(p3-)A*.

Also, since a demonstrative represents the highest degree of definition, one can say that the morpho-syntactic peculiarities of a typical subject are:

1. the highest degree of definition. Thus, the more defined the less predicative;
2. adaption in number and gender to the preceding member; i.e. syntactic leaning backwards.[2].

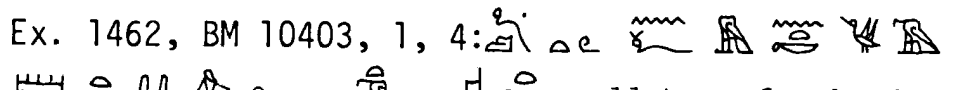
However, when a demonstrative reveals characteristics of syntactic independence, it is always the predicate; e.g. since the pattern *p3-A p3y* stands in contrast to *p3w (t3-)A* (see below 57.8.) one can assume that the *p3w* of Ex. 1483 is the predicate. In other words, since *p3w* in Ex. 1483 does not agree in gender with *bt3*, where *p3y* in Ex. 1479 agrees with *p3-sḫr* one can assume that when a demonstrative is not adapted to a preceding noun it is the predicate.

57.2. The '*ntf* is *p3-B*' pattern.

Since the two members are equally defined, there is no visible nexus expression. Thus it is only the philological analysis which can help us to classify the subject and predicate.

57.2.1. After the direct indicators of initiality.

a). The verb *dd*.

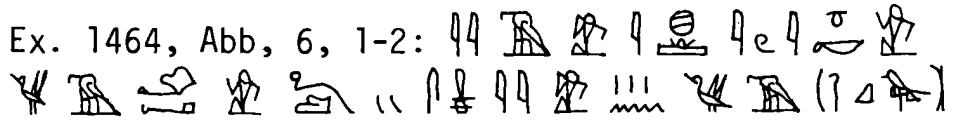
Ex. 1462, BM 10403, 1, 4:  , *dd.tw n.f ntk p3-mnty n t3y-s.t*, They said to him, "You are the door-keeper of this place".

b). *r-dd*.

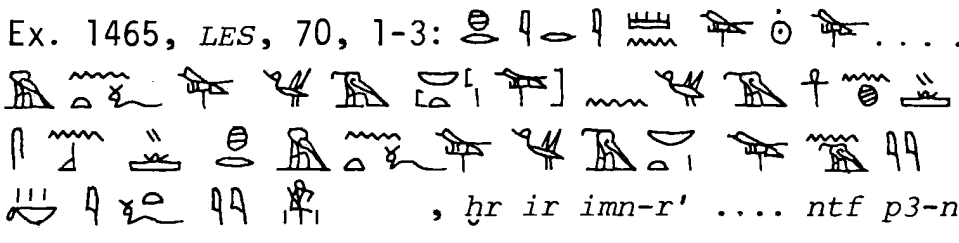
Ex. 1463, *LRL*, 29, 15: , *y3 tw.k rḫ.tw r-dd ntk p3y.n-it r-dr.w r-dr.w*, You know that you are the father of every one of us.

57.2.2. After the indirect indicators of initiality.

The dependent *iw*.

Ex. 1464, Abb, 6, 1-2:  , *y3 iḫ iw ink p3-ḥ3ty-' dd smy n p3-ḥq3 '.w.s.*, What do you mean by it? I being the mayor, and I report (lit. 'who reports') to the Ruler, l.p.h..

57.2.3. The time indication of the '*ntf* is *p3-B*' pattern.

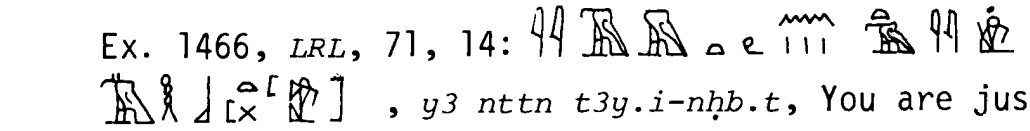
Ex. 1465, *LES*, 70, 1-3:  , *ḫr ir imn-r' .... ntf p3-nb n p3-'nḫ snb ḫr ntf p3-nb (n) n3y.k-it.y*, But as for Amon-re ...., he is the lord of life (lit. 'the life'), and health, and he was the lord of your fathers.

It seems that the '*ntf* is *p3-B*' pattern as such is indifferent to time indication; a specification of time is

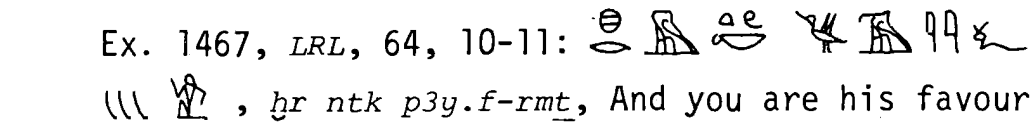
achieved by the context.

57.2.4. After particles.

a). After *y3*.

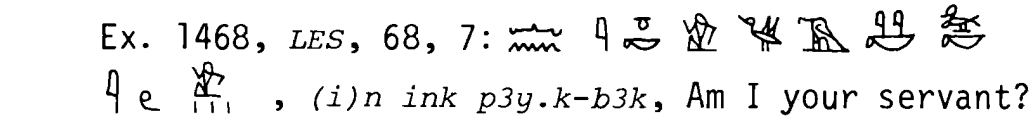
Ex. 1466, *LRL*, 71, 14:  , *y3 nttn t3y.i-nḥb.t*, You are just what I want (lit. 'my wish').

b). After *ḫr*.

Ex. 1467, *LRL*, 64, 10-11:  , *ḫr ntk p3y.f-rmṯ*, And you are his favourite (lit. 'man').

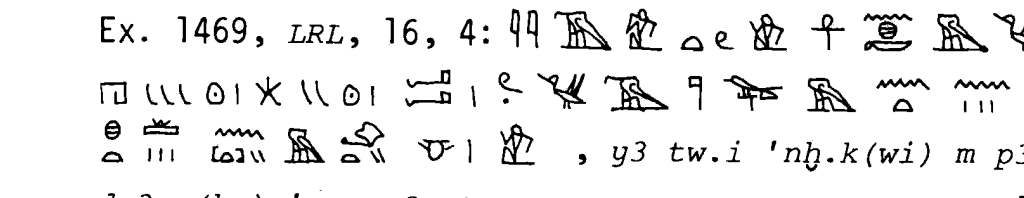
Note that *ntk* is here written like the preformative of the conjunctive; it is a very strong indication that it is the spelling of the unaccented independent pronoun; i.e. *p3y.f-rmṯ* is the predicate.

c). After the interrogative *in*.

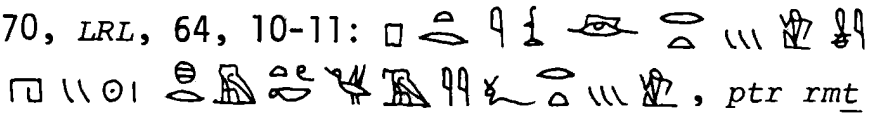
Ex. 1468, *LES*, 68, 7:  , *(i)n ink p3y.k-b3k*, Am I your servant?

57.2.5. Sentence patterns which can precede an '*ntf* is *p3-B*' pattern.

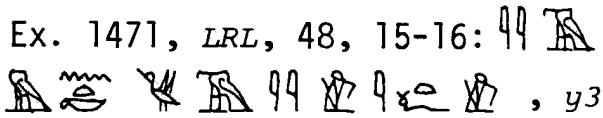
a). A first present pattern indicating a state in the present.

Ex. 1469, *LRL*, 16, 4:  , *y3 tw.i 'nḫ.k(wi) m p3-ḥrw dw3w (ḫr) '.wy p3-nṯr nttn t3-ḫ.t nty m ḥ3ty.i*, I am alive today; tomorrow is in the hands of god .. You are the thing which is in my heart.

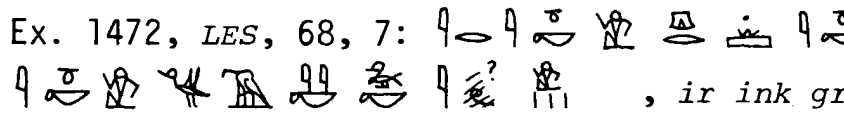
b). An emphatic passive *stp.f*.

Ex. 1470, *LRL*, 64, 10-11:  , *ptr rmṯ mi p3-hrw ḫr ntk p3y.f-rmṯ*, A man is tested (lit. 'seen') in a day like this (lit. 'like today'). And you are his man.

c). A '*ntf* is *nfr*' pattern.

Ex. 1471, *LRL*, 48, 15-16:  , *y3 ntk nfr ḫr ntk p3y.i-it*, Indeed you are generous. And you are my father.

d). A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

Ex. 1472, *LES*, 68, 7:  , *ir ink gr ink (i)n ink p3y.k-b3k*, As for me too, am I your servant?

57.3. The '*ntf* is *ø-B*' pattern.

In this pattern *ø-B* is always the predicate; i.e. the nexus expression is carried by the inequality of definition of the two members. The less defined, the more predicative.

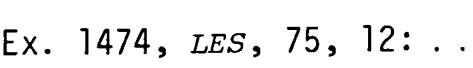
57.3.1. After the direct indicators of initiality.

After the verb *ḏd*.

Ex. 1473, BM 10052, 10, 8: , *iw t3y.i-mw.t (ḥr) ḏd n.f ntk ø-i3w š3š3*, But my mother said to him, "You are a silly old man".

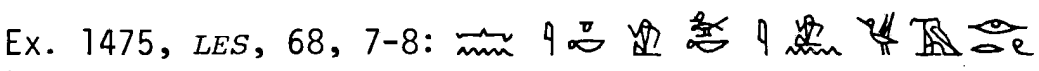
57.3.2. After the indirect indicators of initiality.

After the dependent *iw*.

Ex. 1474, *LES*, 75, 12: . . . .  , ... *iw ink ipwty n imn*, ... though I am a messenger of Amon.

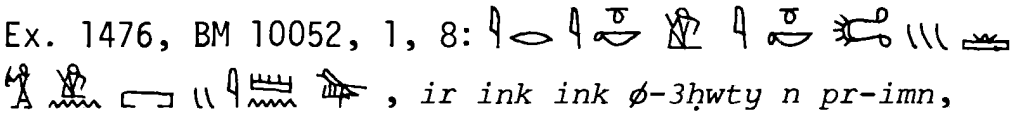
57.3.3. After particles.

The interrogative particle *in*.

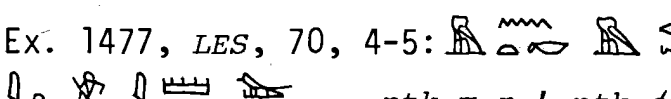
Ex. 1475, *LES*, 68, 7-8:  , *(i)n ink ø-b3k n p3-iri wḏ.k m r-'*, Or am I a servant of the man who sent you?

57.3.4. Constructions which can precede a '*ntf* is *ø-B*' pattern.

a). A frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

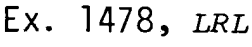
Ex. 1476, BM 10052, 1, 8:  , *ir ink ink ø-3ḫwty n pr-imn*, As for me, I am a farmer on Amon's estate.

b). A frontal extraposition introduced by *ntk m r-'*.

Ex. 1477, *LES*, 70, 4-5:  , *ntk m r-' ntk ø-b3k n imn*, And you too, you are a servant of Amon too.

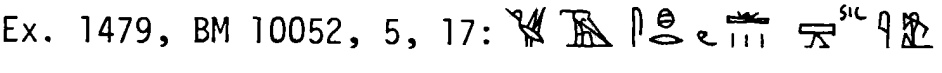
57.4. The '*ntf* is *p3y*' pattern.

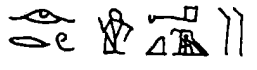
In this pattern *ntf* is always the predicate.

Ex. 1478, *LRL*, 68, 1:  , *ink p3y*, Such am I.

57.5. The '*p3-A* is *p3y*' pattern.

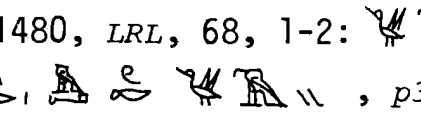
In this pattern *p3-A* is always the predicate.

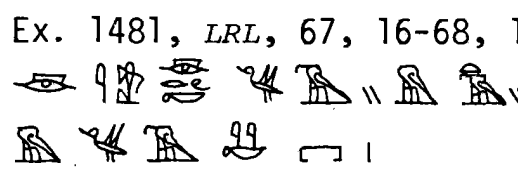
Ex. 1479, BM 10052, 5, 17: 

 , *p3-sḫr šm i.iri.i 'q3 p3y*,
This is the exact account of how I went.

57.6. The '*p3* + infinitive + relative form is *p3y*' pattern.

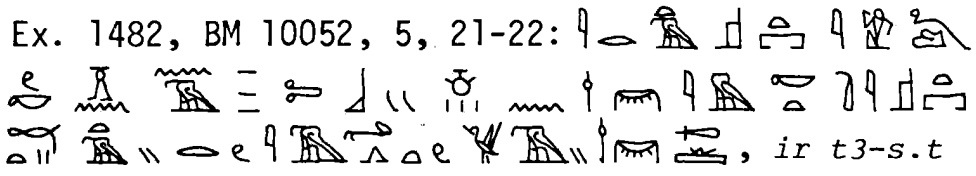
In this pattern *p3* + infinitive .... is always the predicate.

Ex. 1480, *LRL*, 68, 1-2:  , *p3-sbi i.iri.i irm.k p3y*,
Such is my joke with you. (Lit. 'This is the laughing which I made with you.)

Ex. 1481, *LRL*, 67, 16-68, 1:  , *(i)n p3-'m3 i.iri.k p3y m t3-20 n rnp.t i.iri.i m p3y.k-pr*, Is this the knowledge you have acquired during the last twenty years I have been spending in your house?

Note that in Ex. 1481 *p3y* precedes the adverbial extension of time.

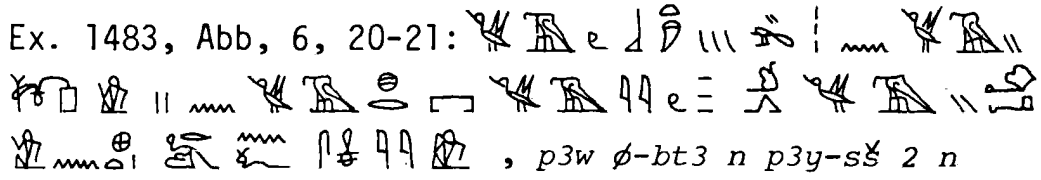
57.7. The '*ø-A* is *p3y*' pattern after an extraposition.

Ex. 1482, BM 10052, 5, 21-22:  , *ir t3-s.t i.dd.k ini(.i) n3-tb.w n ḥd im k.t-s.t mḥ.t 2 t3y rwi.tw (r) p3y-ḥd '3*, The tomb you said you had brought the silver *tjeb*-vases from is a completely different tomb, a second tomb, quite distinct from the main treasure.

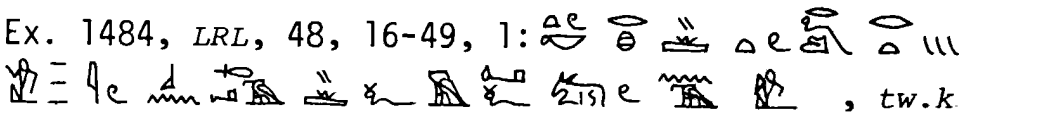
57.8. The '*p3w* is *ø-A* (+ infinitive)' pattern.

Since the demonstrative fills the first position, in

contrast to the '*A p3y*' pattern, the change of position indicates that *p3w* has a stronger stress, thus, although *ø-bt3* in Ex. 1483 is bare, *p3w* is to be classified as the predicate and the rule of inequality of definition does not apply here. In this pattern *p3w* is always the predicate. Moreover, since *bt3* is feminine,[3] and *p3w* is neuter, *p3w* is the predicate.

Ex. 1483, Abb, 6, 20-21:  *p3w ø-bt3 n p3y-sš 2 n p3-ḫr p3y.w-pḥ (r) p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t r dd n.f smy*, It was an offence on the part of these two scribes of 'The Tomb', namely to go to this mayor of Thebes to report to him.

57.9. The one-membral nominal pattern, after *r-dd*.[4]

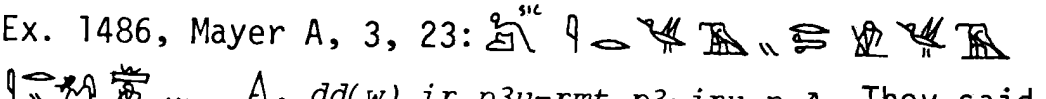
Ex. 1484, *LRL*, 48, 16-49, 1:  *tw.k rḫ.tw r-dd rmṯ iw bn '3.f m-di.f iwn3*, You know that (he) is a man who has no experience (lit. 'his growing up is not in his possession').

57.10. The one-membral nominal pattern introduced by *ir*.

Compare

Ex. 1485, Mayer A, 3, 9: *dd n3-sr.w ir p3-sn n t3y.f-ḥm.t m iri ini.tw.f r.f*, The Court said, "He is his wife's brother; let him not be brought against him".

with

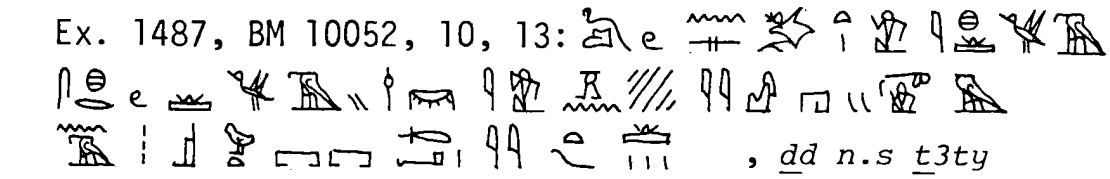
Ex. 1486, Mayer A, 3, 23:  A, *dd(.w) ir p3y-rmṯ p3-iry n A*, They said, "As for this man, he is the accomplice of A".

57.11. The '*iḫ* is *p3-A*' pattern.

In this pattern *iḫ* is always the predicate.

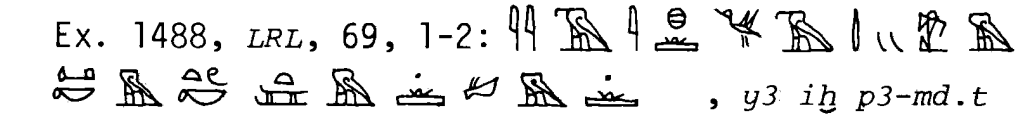
57.11.1. After the direct indicators of initiality.

The verb *ḏd*.

Ex. 1487, BM 10052, 10, 13: 
ḏd n.s t3ty iḫ p3-sḫr p3y-ḥḏ i.ini (p3)y.t-h3y m n3-s.wt '3.yt,
The vizier said to her, "What is the story of this silver which your husband brought away from the Great Tombs?"

57.11.2. After particles.

After *y3*.

Ex. 1488, *LRL*, 69, 1-2: 
y3 iḫ p3-md.t m-di.k mtw.k tm sḏm, Indeed, what is the use of talking to you, when don't listen?"

57.12. Cleft sentences.

57.12.1. Classification.

A nominal cleft sentence is a sentence in which the first member is a noun, independent pronoun, demonstrative or infinitive, and the second member is a relative clause; the relationship between the first member and the relative clause is an identity relationship. The member filling the first position is always the predicate.

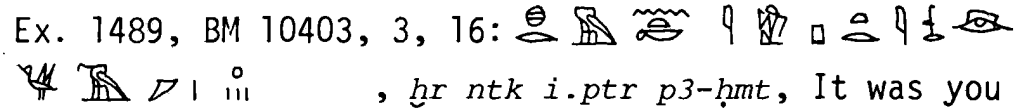
57.12.1. Type I.

ink is *i.stp (sw)* (i.e. the participle of a transitive verb); i.e. the so called 'participial statement'.

57.12.3. Peculiarities of type I.

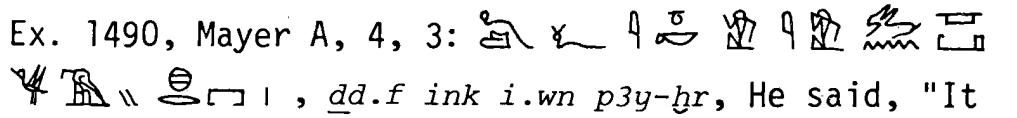
1. The participles of transitive verbs are never defined.

2. The direct object is a necessary element in type I.

Ex. 1489, BM 10403, 3, 16:  , *ḫr ntk i.ptr p3-ḥmt*, It was you who saw the (piece of) copper.

57.12.4. Type I after the direct indicators of initiality.

a). After the verb *dd*.

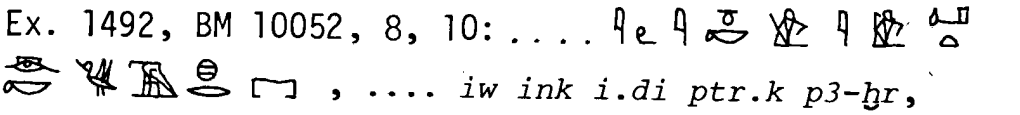
Ex. 1490, Mayer A, 4, 3:  , *dd.f ink i.wn p3y-ḫr*, He said, "It was I who opened this tomb".

b) After *r-dd*.

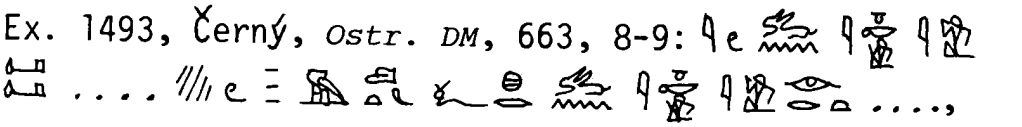
Ex. 1491, BM 10052, 3, 7: , *r-dd ink i.w3ḥ dr.t.tn*, For he said that it was he who had pointed (it) out to us.

57.12.5. Type I after the indirect indicators of initiality.

a). After the dependent *iw*.

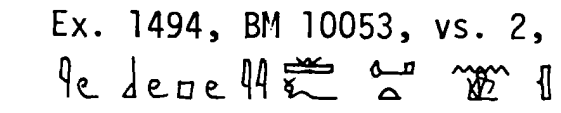
Ex. 1492, BM 10052, 8, 10: ....  , ... *iw ink i.di ptr.k p3-ḫr*, ...Although it was I who showed you 'The Tomb'.

b). After *wn*.

Ex. 1493, Černý, *Ostr. DM*, 663, 8-9:  , *iw wn ink i.dd ....///.w m-dr.t.f ḫr wn ink i.iri* ...., Since it was I who used to give .... them by his hand, and it was I who used to do ....(?).

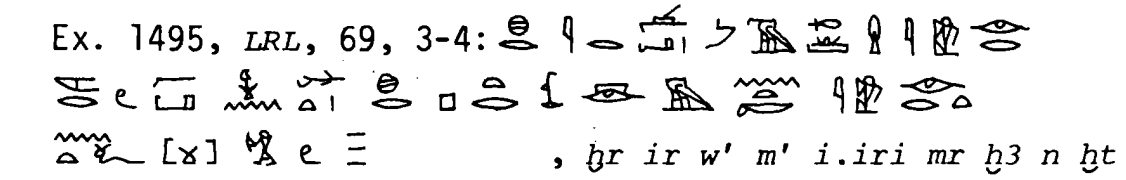
57.12.6. The time indication of type I.

a). Past time (the time indication of the participial statement and that of *bwpw.f stp.f* are identical.

Ex. 1494, BM 10053, vs. 2, 9:  , *ntf b3k sw iw bwpwy.f di.t n.i qd.t im.f*, It was he who worked it .... and he did not give me a *qite* of it.

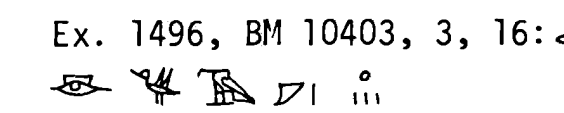
b). The simple present tense.

(See above Exx. 1313-1314).

Ex. 1495, *LRL*, 69, 3-4:  , *ḫr ir w' m' i.iri mr ḫ3 n ḫt ḫr ptr ntk i.iri ntf.w*, It is one creeper that can bind a thousand trees, but look, it is you who can release them.

57.12.7. Type I after particles.

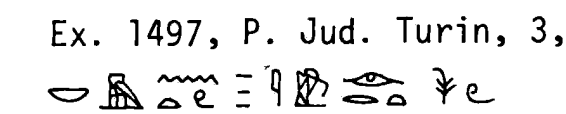
a). After *ḫr*.

Ex. 1496, BM 10403, 3, 16:  , *ḫr ntk i.ptr p3-ḫmt*, But it was you who saw the piece of the copper.

b). After *ḫr ptr*.

See above Ex. 1495.

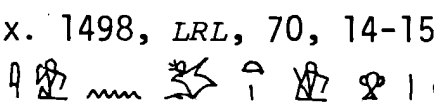
57.12.8. Type I after frontal extrapositions introduced by *(ḫr) ir*.

Ex. 1497, P. Jud. Turin, 3, 1:  , *ir p3w-iry ntw i.iri sw*, As for all this that has been done, it is they who did it.

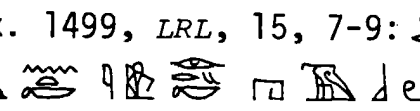
57.12.9. Type II.

ntk i.iri.k stp.f indicating the future tense.[5.]

The *i.iri.f stp.f* formation which fills the second position of types II and V (see Ex. 1504) often indicates the future tense and the optative mood. Thus, we are here dealing with a specific nominal verbal formation, which can function as a member of a nominal sentence without being preceded by *nty* (see Ex. 1060). Since this specific form indicates the optative mood, one tends to classify it as a non-initial prospective 'that' clause. Thus, in contradistinction to the initial emphatic prospective *i.stp.f* (see 26.18.6.) the non-initial form is composed with the *i.iri.f* formation. The *i.iri.f stp.f* formation of types II and V is the only non-initial emphatic formation in Late Egyptian.

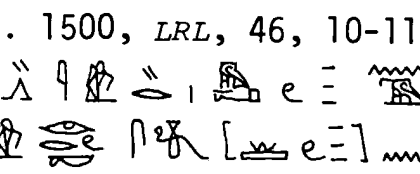
Ex. 1498, *LRL*, 70, 14-15:  , *ḫr ntk i.iri.k 'n smy n t3ty ḥr.w*, It is you who will report about them to the vizier.

57.12.10. Type II after a frontal extraposition introduced by *ḫr ir*.

Ex. 1499, *LRL*, 15, 7-9:  , *ḫr ir p3y.k-dd .... ntk i.iri.k h3b n.n '.k*, As for what you said .... It is you who will send to us about how you are.

57.12.11. Type II after particles.

After *ḫr*.

Ex. 1500, *LRL*, 46, 10-11:  , *(i)n bn*

tw.k m n'.t irm n3-ḥbs.w ḫr ntk i.iri.k swḏ(.w) n p3y.k-nb, Are you not going with the clothes? And it is you who will deliver them to your lord.

57.12.12. Type III. (For time indication see 57.12.6.)

in (m)/ir A + i.stp sw. Type III is composed of four main elements: (1) the particles *in (m)* or *ir* (2) a noun (3) a bare participle, and (4) a direct object expression.

57.12.13. Peculiarities of Type III.

a). The participle is always undefined.

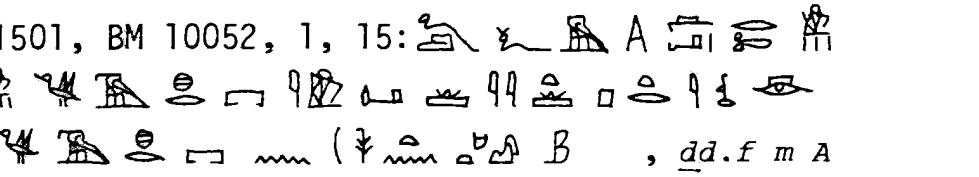
b). The participle is almost always composed of a transitive verb.

c). The direct object expression is obligatory.

d). The noun introduced by *in (m)* or *ir* is always the predicate. *m* precedes defined nouns but not noun equivalents, whereas *ir* precedes undefined nouns and noun equivalents.

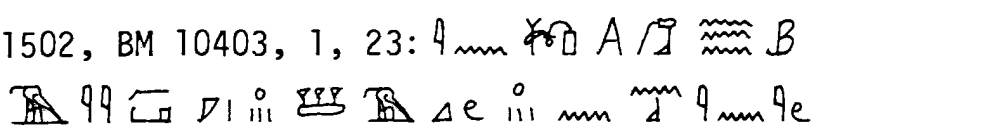
57.12.14. Type III after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *ḏd.f*.

Ex. 1501, BM 10052, 1, 15: 

ḏd.f m A w'-rmṯ-is.t p3-ḫr i.di ptr.n p3-ḫr n (ḥm.t-nsw B, He said, "It was A, a workman of 'The Tomb', who showed us the tomb of Queen B".

in can be followed by two nouns.

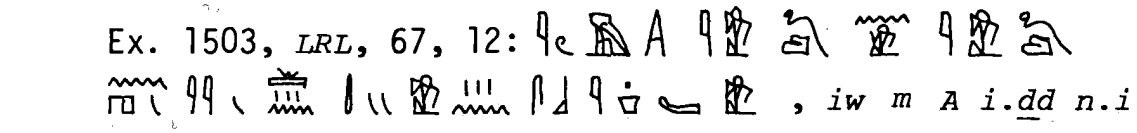
Ex. 1502, BM 10403, 1, 23: 

in sš A w'b B iṯ3y ḥmt š3q.w n nbni 2,

It was the scribe A and the *w'b*- priest B who took the two pole rings of copper.

57.12.15. Type III after the indirect indicators of initiality.

The dependent *iw*.

Ex. 1503, *LRL*, 67, 12:  , *iw m A i.dd n.i i.dd nh3y n md.t n sbi*, And yet it was A who asked me, "Tell some jokes!"

Note that the imperative formation which follows the participle acts as its direct object.

57.12.16. Type IV.

ir w'-A i.iri stp.

See above Ex. 1495.

Since in Ex. 1495, *m'* is preceded by *w'*, *ir* replaces *m*.[6.]

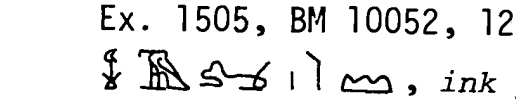
57.12.17. Type V (see above 57.12.9.).

m A i.iri.f stp.f indicating the future tense.

Ex. 1504, *LRL*, 13, 6-7: , *m imn p3-r' ptḥ i.iri.w ptr '.k*, It is Amon, Pre, (and) Ptah who will take care of you.

57.12.18. Type VI.[7.]

ntf + a definite article + the participle of an intransitive verb.

Ex. 1505, BM 10052, 12, 8:  , *ink p3-iy ḫ3rw*,"Am I the one who has returned from Syria?"

The participle of an intransitive verb, when acting as the second member of a nominal cleft sentence is necessarily preceded by the definite article; i.e. the definite article is the specifier element of type VI.

57.12.19. Type VII.

A + definite article + the participle of an intransitive verb.

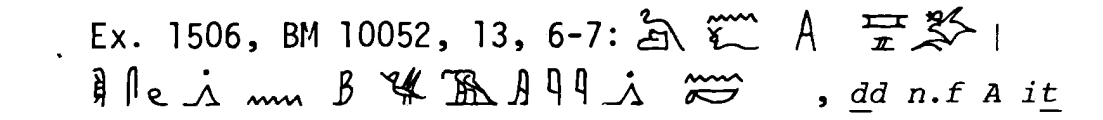
57.12.20. Peculiarities of type VII.

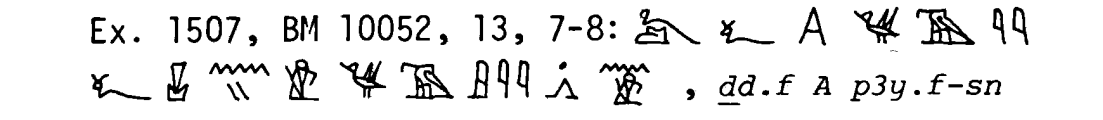
Type VII cannot be preceded either by *m* or by *in*; i.e. the definition of the participle and the introductory particles *in* or *m* are mutually exclusive.

57.12.21. Type VII after the direct indicators of initiality.

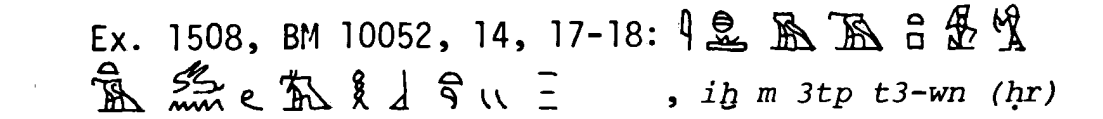
After a verbal formation composed of the verb *dd*.

(it) A + *p3* + participle of the verb *iy*.

Ex. 1506, BM 10052, 13, 6-7:  , *dd n.f A it ỉms n A p3-iy n.k*, And A said to him, "What messenger of B was it, who came to you?"

Ex. 1507, BM 10052, 13, 7-8:  , *dd.f A p3y.f-sn p3-iy n.i*, He said, "It was A, his brother, who came to me".

iḫ n (m) noun + *t3* + participle of the verb *wn*.

Ex. 1508, BM 10052, 14, 17-18:  , *iḫ m 3tp t3-wn (ḥr) nḥb.t.w*, What sort of loads had they on their backs?

Note that the participle is preceded by the definite

article *t3*, which corresponds in gender to *3tp*.

57.12.22. Type VIII.

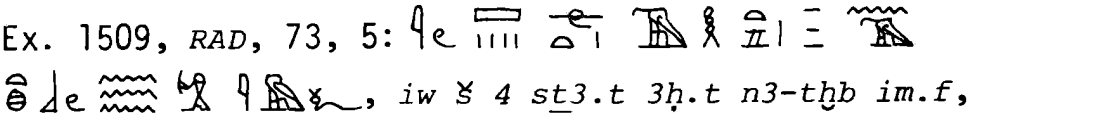
A + definite article + a passive participle.

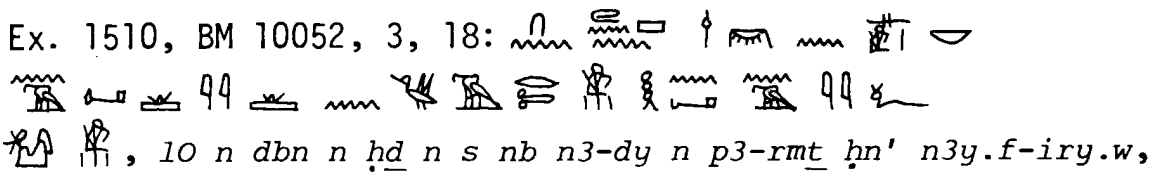
57.12.23. Peculiarities of type VIII.

Type VIII is never preceded by either *m* or *in*; i.e. the definition of the passive participle and the particles *m* or *in* are mutually exclusive.

57.12.24. Type VIII after the indirect indicators of initiality.

The dependent *iw*.

Ex. 1509, *RAD*, 73, 5: 
iw ꜥ 4 st3.t 3ḥ.t n3-tḫb im.f,
But it was only 4 *arourae* which had been flooded in it.

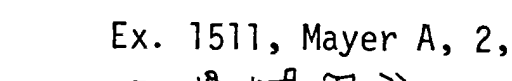
Ex. 1510, BM 10052, 3, 18: 
10 n dbn n ḥd n s nb n3-dy n p3-rmṯ ḥn' n3y.f-iry.w,
Ten *deben* of silver for each man was what was given to this man and to his accomplices.

57.12.25. Conclusion.

The common denominator of types I-VIII is the fact that *A*, that is the predicate, is identical with the unexpressed subject of the relative clause.

57.12.26. Type IX.

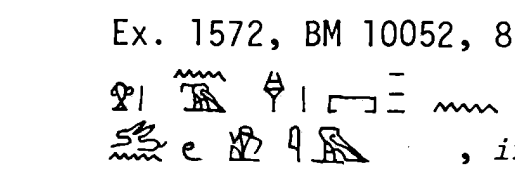
ntf + definite article + the relative form of a transitive verb.

Ex. 1511, Mayer A, 2, 14-15:  , *ntw n3-ptr.i 'q3*, These are precisely the ones I saw.

Note that *ntw* is identical with the unexpressed direct object of *ptr.i*.

57.12.27. Type X.

ntf + *n3* + relative form of an intransitive verb + the resumptive element *im*.

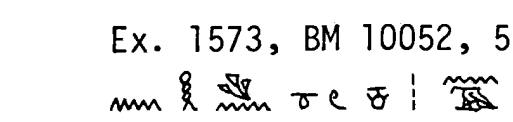
Ex. 1572, BM 10052, 8, 5:  , *inn iw.tw (r) ḥdb.i ḥr n3-(mi)ḥ'.wt n iw-itrw ntw n3-wn.i im*, If they put me to death on account of the tombs of Iumiteru, they are the tombs in which I was.

57.12.28. Type XI.

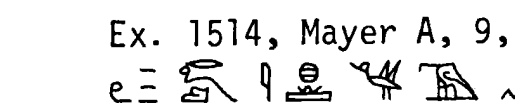
(w')-A + a definite article + the relative form of a transitive verb.

57.12.29. Type XI after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *ḏd.f*.

Ex. 1573, BM 10052, 5, 9-10:  , *ḏd n.f t3ty iḫ n ḫnw.w n3-ini.tn*, The vizier said to him, "What vessels were those which you brought away?"

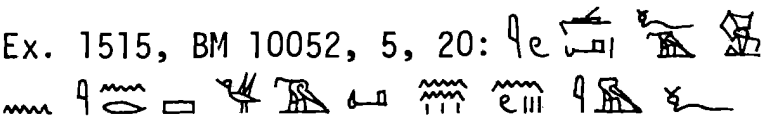
57.12.30. *iḫ* + a definite article + relative form.

Ex. 1514, Mayer A, 9, 10-11:  , *iry.f smty.w*

r-dd iḫ p3-ini.tn im, He examined them saying, "What did you bring away from there?"

57.12.31. Type XI after the indirect indicators of initiality.

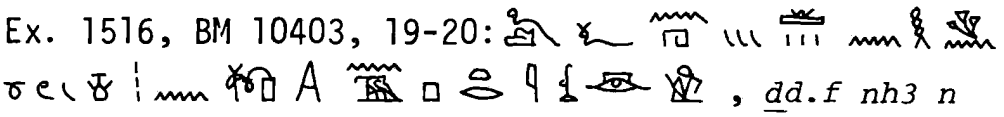
The dependent *iw*.

Ex. 1515, BM 10052, 5, 20:  , *iw w' f3i šri n inr p3-di.n n.w im.f*, And it was a small stone weight with which we allotted to them.

Note that *di*, when denoting 'to allot' is followed by the preposition *m*, hence; the resumptive pronoun which refers to *w'-f3i* .... is needed. That is to say, *.f* which follows *im* gives *di* the notion of 'allotting'.

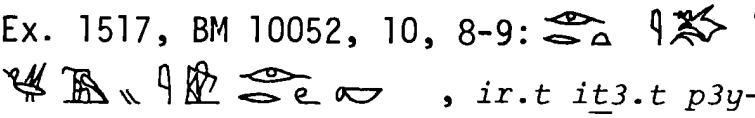
57.12.32. The peculiarities of the nominalizer which precedes the relative form.

Note that the definite article which precedes the relative form agrees in number and gender with *A*;

Ex. 1516, BM 10403, 19-20:  , *dd.f nh3 n ḫnw.w n sš A n3-ptr.i*, He said, "What I saw was some things belonging to the scribe A".

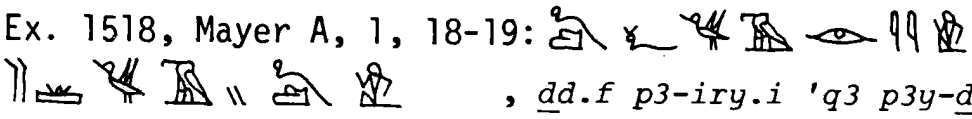
57.12.33. Type XII.

Infinitive + a definite article + relative form.

Ex. 1517, BM 10052, 10, 8-9:  , *ir.t it3.t p3y-i.iri.k i.n.s n.f*, Acting as a thief is what you have done.

57.12.34. Type XIII.

p3-A + a demonstrative + relative form.[8.]

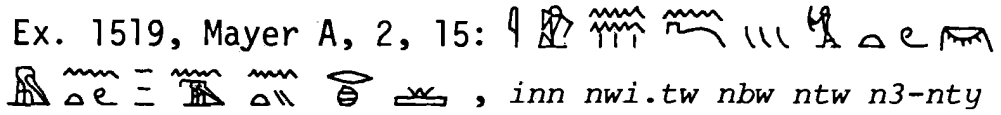
Ex. 1518, Mayer A, 1, 18-19:  , *dd.f p3-iry.i 'q3 p3y-dd.i*, He said, "What I said is exactly what I did".

57.12.35. Conclusion.

When A is defined, the relative form is defined by the demonstrative pronoun (see above Ex. 1518).

57.12.36. Type XIV.

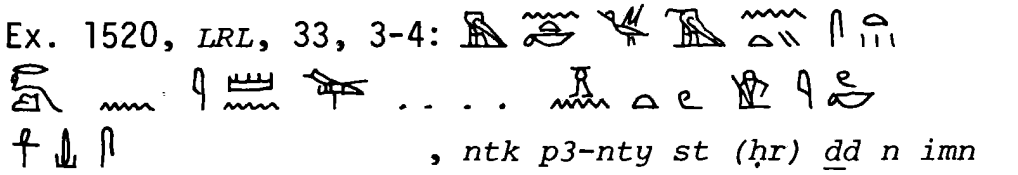
ntf + a definite article + *nty* + the stative.

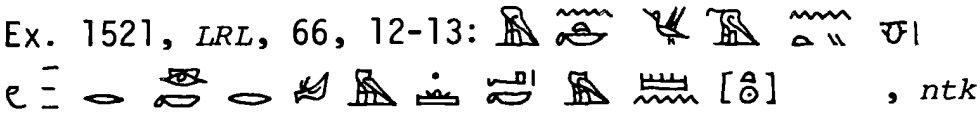
Ex. 1519, Mayer A, 2, 15:  , *inn nwi.tw nbw ntw n3-nty rḫ*, If gold was collected they are the ones who know.

Note that the definite article which precedes *nty* agrees in number with *ntw*. Thus, when the subject of the relative clause is identical with the antecedent, *nty* acts both as the nominalizer and as the subject of the relative clause.

57.12.37. Type XV.

ntf + definite article + *nty* + a first present pattern.

Ex. 1520, *LRL*, 33, 3-4:  , *ntk p3-nty st (ḥr) dd n imn .... ini tw iw.k '.w.s.*, It is for you that they pray to Amon .... "Bring him back alive, prosperous and healthy!"

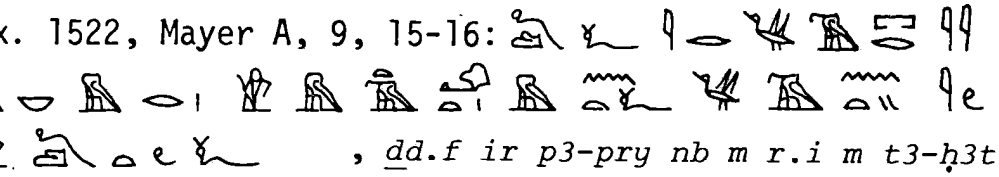
Ex. 1521, *LRL*, 66, 12-13:  , *ntk p3-nty ib.w r ptr.k r sdm '.k m mn .t*, It is you whom

they wish to see, and hear how you are.

Thus, when the subject of the relative clause is different from the antecedent, the subject is fully expressed. Also, although the direct object of the relative clause is identical with the antecedent, the direct object of the relative clause is necessarily expressed.

57.12.38. Type XVI.

ntf + a definite article + *nty* + the third future.

Ex. 1522, Mayer A, 9, 15-16:  , *dd.f ir p3-pry nb m r.i m t3-ḥ3t ntf p3-nty iw.i (r) dd.f*, He said, "All that my mouth uttered previously, that is what I shall (now) say".

57.12.39. Type XVII.

ntf + a definite article + *nty* + an emphatic formation.

See above Ex. 1060.

57.12.37. Type VI.

ø-A + a virtual relative clause.

See Ex. 804 and 1586.

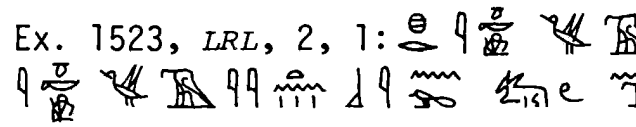
57.13. Bibliography and references.

1. Vergote, *Crum Studies*, 229-237; Polotsky, *Papers*, 418-421 (= *Or.* 31 (1962), 413-416); Erman, *NAG*, 455; Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 87; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 220-221; Groll, *Non-verbal*, 1-4.
2. Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, 29, 87 and 95-97; Erman, *NAG*, 125; Groll, *Non-verbal*, 10-12.
3. That *bt3* is still feminine in Late Egyptian is shown by *HO*, pl. XLVI, 2, vs. 7.
4. Gunn, *JEA* 41 (1955), 94, IX, 3; Erman, *NAG*, 705; Groll, *Non-verbal*, 12-22.
5. Gunn, *Studies*, Chapter 5.
6. Groll, *Non-verbal*, p. 61, XI.
7. Groll, *Non-verbal*, Exx. 204-209.
8. Groll, *Non-verbal*, Exx. p. 91, i.

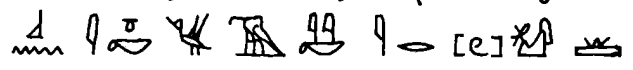
CHAPTER 58. NEGATIVE NOMINAL SENTENCE PATTERNS

58.1. The negative bi-membral nominal sentence patterns.

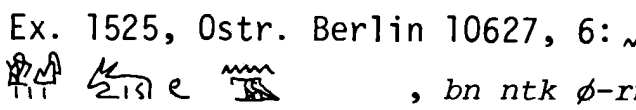
58.1.1. The *bn + ink + p3y.tn-bin + iwn3* pattern.[1.]

Ex. 1523, *LRL*, 2, 1:  , *ḥr ink p3y.tn-nfr bn ink p3y.tn-bin iwn3*, I am to your benefit. I am not to your disadvantage.

iwn3 can be omitted.

Ex. 1524, P. DM 4, 6 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113):  , *bn ink p3y.k-iry n wnm*, I am not your colleague of booty.

58.1.2. The *bn + ntk + ø-A + iwn3* pattern.[2.]

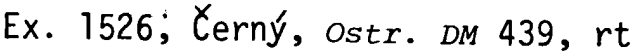
Ex. 1525, Ostr. Berlin 10627, 6:  , *bn ntk ø-rmṯ iwn3*, You are not a man. (19th. Dynasty.)

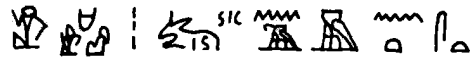
iwn3 follows the bare noun, i.e. the predicate.

58.2. The negative one-membral and the *p3-A p3y* sentence patterns.

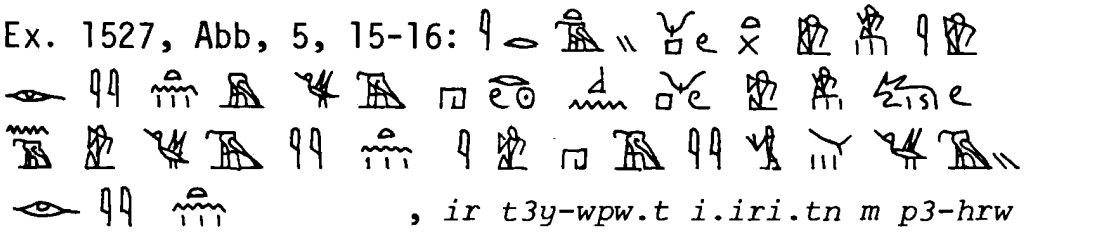
Since there is no **bn (p3-)A p3y* pattern, it is only reasonable to assume that *bn p3-A iwn3* is the negative pattern corresponding to both the *A ø* pattern and the *(p3-)A p3y* pattern.[3.]

58.2.1. The *bn p3-A iwn3* pattern parallel to a bimembral pattern.

Ex. 1526; Černý, *Ostr. DM* 439, rt. 1-3: 


, *ḫr bn t3y.i-ḥm.t iwn3 nts t3y.i-ḥm.t*, Behold, (she) is not my wife. She is my wife.

58.2.2. The negative one-membral nominal sentence pattern after a frontal extraposition and preceding a cleft sentence.

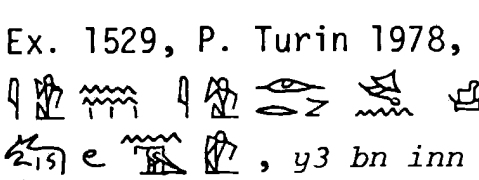
Ex. 1527, Abb, 5, 15-16: 
, *ir t3y-wpw.t i.iri.tn m p3-hrw bn wpw.t iwn3 p3y.tn-i.h3y p3y-iry.tn*, With regard to this demonstration which you have made today, (it) is not a demonstration; it is your funeral(?) that you have made.

58.3. The negation of cleft sentence.

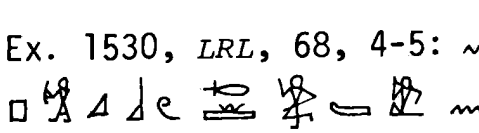
58.3.1. Type I.

Ex. 1528, *Ostr. IFAO* 1328, vs. II, 2 (unpublished):
(i)n bn ntk i.dd n.i, Is it not you who spoke to me?

However, when type I is followed by the adverbial extension *m-dwn*, *iwn3* follows *m-dwn*.

Ex. 1529, P. Turin 1978, vs. 1-2: 
, *y3 bn inn i.iri ḥn.w m dwn iwn3*, Indeed, it is not we who ferry them over regularly.

58.3.2. Type III.[4.]

Ex. 1530, *LRL*, 68, 4-5: 
, *bn m sr '3 i.iri šsp qb' n w' nb n w' nb*, It is not a high

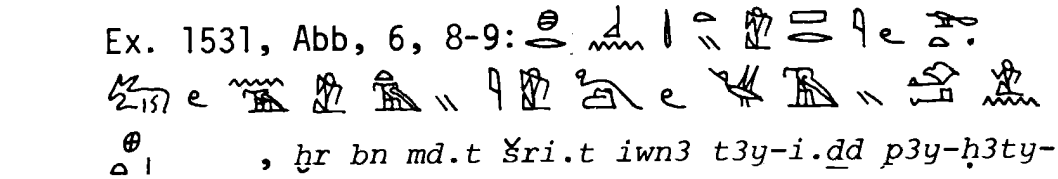
official who tends to accept jokes(?) from ordinary people (lit. 'everyone, everyone').

Note that *m* follows *bn*; i.e. *m* and *A* constitute a closed prosodic unit.

58.3.2. The negation of type XI.[5].

bn A iwn3 p3y + relative form.

See above Ex. 527.

Ex. 1531, Abb, 6, 8-9:  , *ḫr bn md.t šri.t iwn3 t3y-i.dd p3y-ḥ3ty-' n niw.t*, But truely it is no light accusation which this mayor of Thebes made.

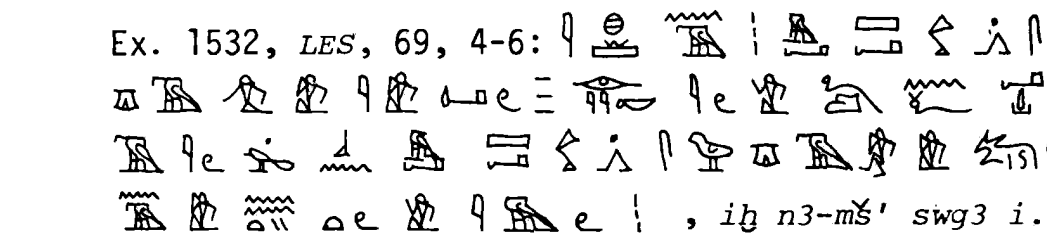
Note that *iwn3* follows the predicate.

58.3.3. The negation of the subject.

ir + *t3y* + *nty* to accentuate a demonstrative pronoun.

See above Ex. 1399.

58.3.4. The negation of type XV.

Ex. 1532, *LES*, 69, 4-6:  , *iḫ n3-mš' swg3 i.di.w iry.k iw.i (ḥr) dd n.f 'd3 bn mš' swg3 iwn3 n3-nty tw.i im.w*, "What are these childish journeys which they have caused you to make?" And I said to him, "It is incorrect. It is not childish journeys in which I am involved (lit. 'in which I am in them')".

Note that *iwn3* follows the predicate.

58.4. Bibliography and references.

1. Gardiner, *AZ* 41 (1904), 130-135; Polotsky, *Papers*, 192-193 (= *Études*, 88-89).
2. Groll, *Non-verbal*, Exx. 295-298.
3. Groll, *Non-verbal*, Exx. 277-286.
4. Erman, *NAG*, 533.
5. Polotsky, *Papers*, 418-435 (= *Or.* 31 (1962), 413-430); Plumley, *Grammar*, 312; Groll, *Non-verbal*, Exx. 309-313.

CHAPTER 59. THE AFFIRMATIVE ADJECTIVAL SENTENCE PATTERNS

59.1. Classification.[1]

The basic Middle Egyptian adjectival sentence pattern as such, i.e. the *nfr sw* pattern, does not exist in the non-literary texts of the 20th. Dynasty. However, patterns which reveal a considerable resemblance to it do exist.

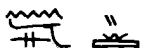
The main grammatical characteristics of the Middle Egyptian *nfr sw* patterns are:

1. the predicative adjective fills the first position;

2. the actor expression, when taking the form of a pronoun, is the dependent pronoun;

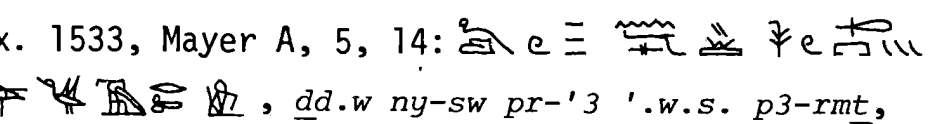
3. there is no correspondence in gender or number between the '*sw*' and the predicative adjective.

59.2. Category A: Adjectival sentence patterns built on analogy with the *nfr sw* pattern.

I.  , *ny-sw A*.

59.2.1. The *ny-sw A* pattern after the direct indicators of initiality.

After a verbal formation composed of the verb *dd*.

Ex. 1533, Mayer A, 5, 14:  , *dd.w ny-sw pr-'3 '.w.s. p3-rmt*,
They said, "The man belongs to Pharoah, l.p.h.".

59.2.2. The *ny-sw A* pattern after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After the dependent *iw*.

See above Ex. 1447.

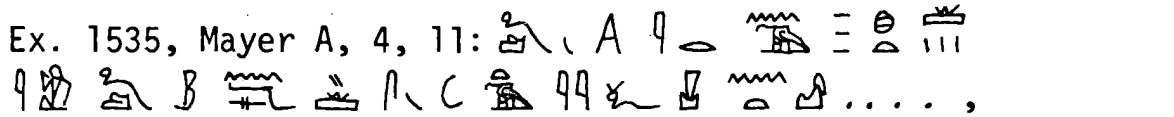
59.2.3. The *ny-sw A* pattern after verbal constructions.

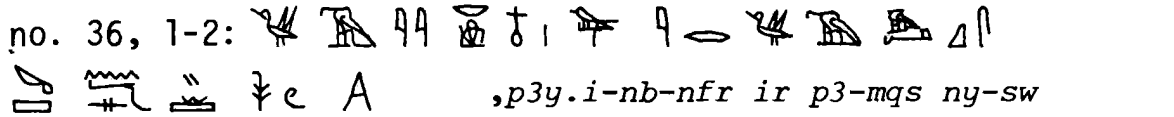
After *bwpw.f stp.f.*

Ex. 1534, P. Leop-Am, 4, 7-8: , *k3my A .... bwpw.f pḥ p3-mr n p3-nsw ny-sw p3-17 n it3.w*, A gardener A .... he had not penetrated into the pyramid of the king, but he belonged to the 17 thieves.

59.2.4. The *ny-sw A* pattern after non-verbal constructions.

a). After a frontal extraposition introduced by *ir*.

Ex. 1535, Mayer A, 4, 11:  , *dd A ir n3-ḫ.t i.dd B ny-sw C t3y.f-sn.t ....*, A said, "As for the things which B said belonged to C, his sister, ..."

Ex. 1536, *Ostr. IFAO* 850 = *BIFAO* 41 (1942), p. 19, no. 36, 1-2:  , *p3y.i-nb-nfr ir p3-mqs ny-sw A*, My good lord, as for the *mqs*, does it belong to A?

b). After a '*ntk sw*' pattern.

See below Ex. 1540.

II The *ntk sw* pattern.

59.2.5. The *ntk sw* pattern after the direct indicators of initiality.

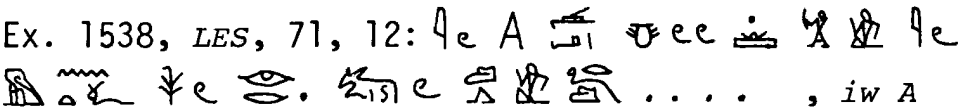
After a verbal formation composed of the verb *dd*.

Ex. 1537, *LES*, 69, 7-8: , *ḫr ntf*

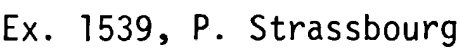
p3-lbln nty tw.k (ḥr) dd ink sw, And his too is the Lebanon which you say is yours (lit. '(about) which you say, "It is mine"').

59.2.6. The *ntk sw* pattern after the indirect indicators of initiality.

a). After the dependent *iw*.

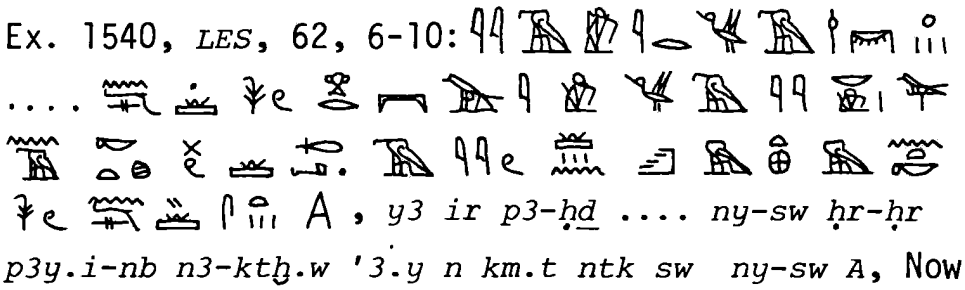
Ex. 1538, *LES*, 71, 12:  *iw A w'-wdpw iw ntf sw (ḥr) ir.t (r-)iwd.i r-dd ....*, And A, a butler who belonged to him, stepped between me, saying .....

b). After *nty*.

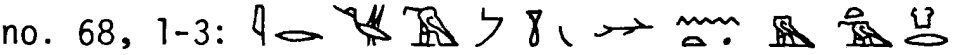
Ex. 1539, P. Strassbourg 39, 12:  .... *nty ntk sw*, ... who belongs to you.

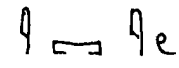
59.2.7. The *ntk sw* pattern following non-verbal constructions.

a). The *ny-sw A* pattern.

Ex. 1540, *LES*, 62, 6-10:  *y3 ir p3-ḥd .... ny-sw ḥr-ḥr p3y.i-nb n3-ktḫ.w '3.y n km.t ntk sw ny-sw A*, Now, as for the silver, ... it belongs to Herhor, my lord, and the other great ones of Egypt; it belongs to you; it belongs to A.

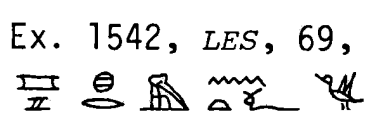
b). A nominal cleft sentence preceded by *ir*.

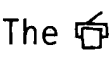
Ex. 1541, *Ostr. IFAO* 869 = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 60, no. 68, 1-3: 

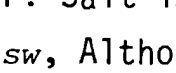
 , *ir p3-m3wḏ nty m t3-k3ri iw ink sw*, It is the carrying pole in the chapel which belongs to me. (Lit.'It is the carrying pole which is in the chapel belonging to me').

59.2.8. The *ntk sw* pattern after particles.

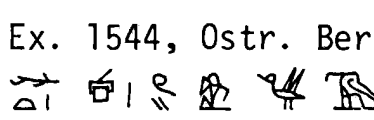
After *ḫr*.

Ex. 1542, *LES*, 69, 7-8:  , *ntf p3-ym ḫr ntf p3-lbln*, To him belongs the sea, and to him belongs the Lebanon.

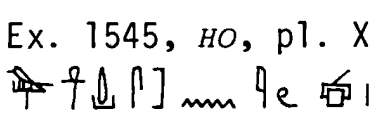
59.2.9. III. The  , *swt sw*, pattern.

Ex. 1543, P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 17:  , *iw bn swt sw*, Although they were not his.

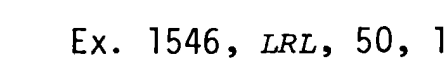
Note that since *sw* acts as the subject of *swt*, one is entitled to classify the pattern *swt p3-hbny* as a *swt sw* pattern.

Ex. 1544, Ostr. Berlin 12343, vs. 4:  , *ink sw m ḫt swt p3-hbny*, The (other) wood belongs to me (lit. 'it is my property as far as wood is concerned') but the ebony belongs to him.

Note that since *sw* is lacking in the following example, one has to classify it as a one-membral adjectival pattern.

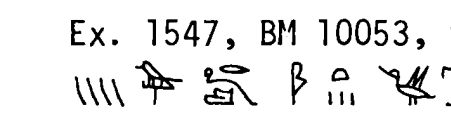
Ex. 1545, *HO*, pl. XLVII, 1, vs. 2-3:  , *ny-sw pr-'3 (i)n iw swt n ḥ'.f .... ny-sw pr-'3 '.w.s.*, (Did) they belong to Pharoah, or did they belong to the man himself? .... They belonged to Pharoah, l.p.h.. (19th. Dynasty.)

59.2.10. IV The *n .... imy tn* pattern

Ex. 1546, *LRL*, 50, 13:  ,
n.tn imy st r-dr.w, All of them belong to you.

The common denominator of patterns I-IV is the actor expression, which both takes the form of a dependent pronoun, and fills second positions. Note, however, that when the actor expression is an abstract noun, it is only the disagreement in gender or number, between the adjectival predicate and its nominal actor expression which enables us to classify a sentence pattern as an adjectival one.

59.2.11. The pattern *m3'.t p3-dd.i* (i.e. *m3'.t*, an abstract noun used as adjective).

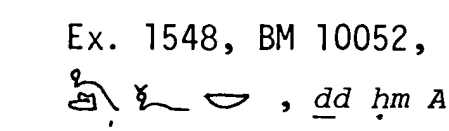
Ex. 1547, BM 10053, vs. 2, 18:  , *iry.f 'nḫ n nb '.w.s. r-dd m3'.t p3-dd.i nb*, He took an oath by the Lord, l.p.h., saying, "All that I have said is true".

Note that here *m3'.t* and *p3-dd.i* disagree in gender.

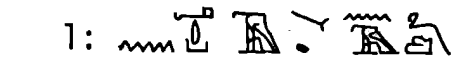
59.2.12. Patterns in which the first position is occupied by an adjective are to be classified as *nfr sw* patterns.

59.2.13. The adjective *'d3*.

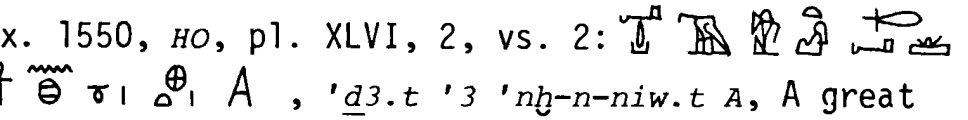
Compare

Ex. 1548, BM 10052, 14, 7:  , *dd ḥm A 'd3 p3y-dd.f nb*, The slave A said, "All this that he has said is false".

with

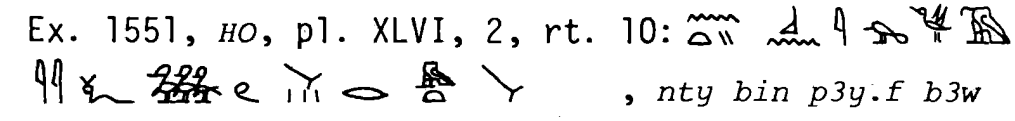
Ex. 1549, *Ostr. IFAO* 681 = *BIFAO* 41 (1942), p. 18, no. 33, 1:  , *(i)n 'd3 n3-dd (.i)*, Is it false, what I said?

Although *ḏd* is here preceded by the definite article *n3*, *'ḏ3* does not take the form *'ḏ3.w*; i.e. there is disagreement in number between *'ḏ3* and *n3-ḏd.i*. See also

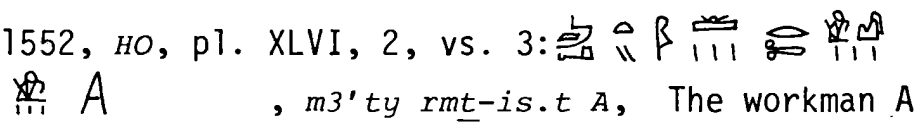
Ex. 1550, *HO*, pl. XLVI, 2, vs. 2:  , *'ḏ3.t '3 'nḫ-n-niw.t A*, A great liar is the citizeness A.

Here *'ḏ3* has the feminine ending *.t*, and is followed by the determinative ; i.e. it acts as a noun.

59.2.14. The adjective *bin*.

Ex. 1551, *HO*, pl. XLVI, 2, rt. 10:  , *nty bin p3y.f b3w r mwt*, Whose strength is worse than death.

59.2.15. The adjective *m3'ty*.

Ex. 1552, *HO*, pl. XLVI, 2, vs. 3:  , *m3'ty rmṯ-is.t A*, The workman A is right.

Thus, in contradistinction to *'ḏ3*, and to *bin*, the adjective *m3'* has the ending *ty* or *tw* (see 1552 and 1557); i.e. the marked form of *'d3* and *bin* can be described as lacking ending.

Ex. 1553, *Ostr. IFAO* 682 = *BIFAO* 41 (1942), p. 15, no. 25, 1: , *(i)n nfr p3-iḥ šsp(.i) sw*, Is the calf good? Should I accept it?

59.2.16. A *nfr* + *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* pattern.

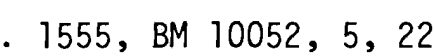
Ex. 1554, *LRL*, 32, 4: , *ḫr nfr iw.k (ḥr) di.t ḥ3ty.k n.f*, And it is wise that you are considerate in regard to him.

Since *nfr* both fills a first position and lacks any marked ending it should be classified as a predicative adjective.

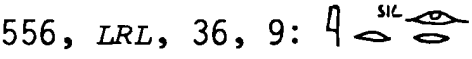
59.2.17. The one-membral adjectival sentence pattern.

The one-membral adjectival sentence pattern after the direct indicators of initiality.

a). After a verbal formation composed of the verb *dd*.

Ex. 1555, BM 10052, 5, 22:  , *dd.f 'd3*, He said, "(It is) false".

b). After *r-dd*.

Ex. 1556, *LRL*, 36, 9:  , *ir (i.)iri.w 'm3 (r-)dd m3'*, If they came to know that (it was) correct ....

59.3. Category B. Adjectival sentence patterns built on analogy with the nominal sentence patterns.

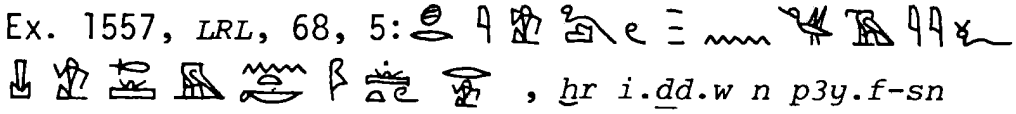
Category B contains either a). patterns in which the first position is filled by the independent pronoun, or b). patterns in which there exists an agreement in gender and number between the predicative adjective and its actor expression.

59.4. Category B^a.

59.4.1. The *ntk m3'.tw* pattern.

The *ntk m3'.tw* pattern, after the direct indicators of initiality.

After a verbal formation composed of the verb *dd*.

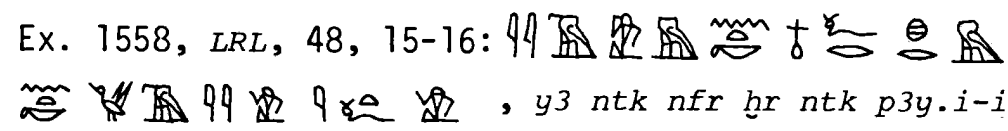
Ex. 1557, *LRL*, 68, 5:  , *hr i.dd.w n p3y.f-sn '3 ntk m3'.tw r.i*, One should give way to his elder

brother. (Lit. 'One should tell his elder brother, "You are fair to me".)

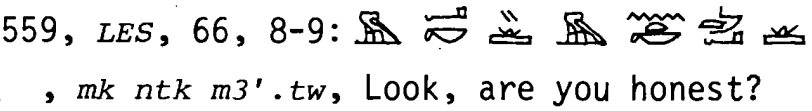
59.4.2. The *ntk nfr* pattern.

The *ntk nfr* pattern after particles.

a). After *y3*.

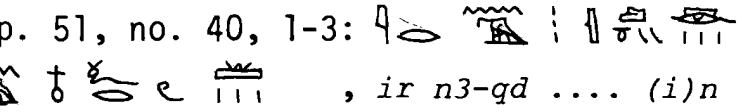
Ex. 1558, *LRL*, 48, 15-16:  , *y3 ntk nfr ḫr ntk p3y.i-it*, Indeed you are kind, and you are my father.

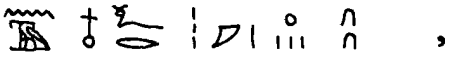
b). After *mk*.

Ex. 1559, *LES*, 66, 8-9:  , *mk ntk m3'.tw*, Look, are you honest?

59.5. Category B^b.

One membral adjectival sentence patterns.

Ex. 1560, *Ostr. Gardiner* (unnumbered) = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 51, no. 40, 1-3:  , *ir n3-qd .... (i)n nfr.w*, As for the dreams .... Will they be good ones?

Ex. 1561, *Ostr. IFAO* 878 = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 59, no. 64, 1:  , *(i)n nfr.w ḫmt 20*, Are the 20 (*deben*) of copper good?

Note that since *nfr* and *ḫmt 20* agree in number, Ex. 1561 should be classified as a nominal sentence, and can be translated as 'good ones'.

59.6. Bibliography and references.

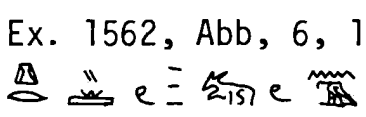
1. Erman, *NAG*, 216-243; 456-458; Sethe, *Nominalsatz* 32; Groll, *Non-verbal*, Chapter II.

CHAPTER 60. THE NEGATIVE ADJECTIVAL SENTENCE PATTERNS

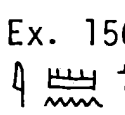
60.1. The negation of Category A.

60.1.1. The negation of the *ny-sw A* pattern.

The *ny-sw A* pattern is made negative either by *bn .... iwn3* or by *bn*. Compare

Ex. 1562, Abb, 6, 12:  , *iw bn ny-sw gr ḥr.w iwn3*,
Because they do not belong to the (category) that can be passed over in silence;

with

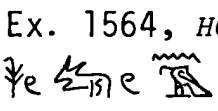
Ex. 1563, *LES*, 69, 7: ....  , ... *iw bn ny-sw imn*, ... which do not belong to Amon.

60.1.2. The negation of the *ink sw* pattern.

The *ink sw* pattern is made negative either by *bn .... iwn3* or by *bn*.

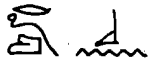
60.1.3. The *bn ink sw iwn3* after the indirect indicators of initiality.

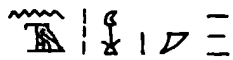
After the dependent *iw*.

Ex. 1564, *HO*, pl. LII, 2, rt. 9-10: ....  , ... *iw bn ink sw iwn3 ny-sw A*, ... since it is not mine. It belongs to A.

60.1.4. The *bn ink A* pattern after the direct indicators of initiality.

After *r-ḏd*.

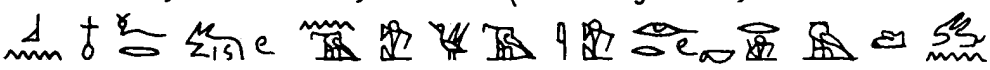
Ex. 1565, *HO*, pl. XLVII, 1, vs. 14: 

 , *r-dd bn ink n3-ḫ3.w*, Saying, "The chisels do not belong to me".

60.1.5. The negation of the *m3'.t p3-dd.i* pattern (see above 59.2.10-59.2.11.).

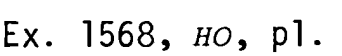
The *m3'.t p3-dd.i* pattern is made negative by *bn*.

Ex. 1566, BM 10053, vs. 3, 5: , *iry.f 'nḫ-n-nb '.w.s. iw bn m3'.t p3-dd.i nb*, He took an oath by the lord, l.p.h., saying, "If all that I have said is not true ....".

Ex. 1567, P. DM. 5, vs. 3 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 107):  , *bn nfr iwn3 p3-i.iri.k r.i m-dwn m-dwn m-dwn*, It is unfair what you have been doing against me regularly.

60.1.6. The negation of the one-membral adjectival sentence pattern.

The one-membral adjectival sentence pattern is made negative by *bn .... iwn3*.

Ex. 1568, *HO*, pl. XLV, 1, rt. 7:  , *ḫr bn nfr iwn3*, But (this other donkey) is (also) not good.

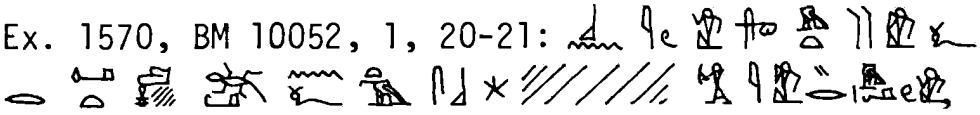
60.1.7. The negation of the *ntk nfr* pattern.

Ex. 1569, *Ostr. IFAO* 1328, vs. II, 3 (unpublished): , *bn ntk '3 iwn3*, You are immature. (Lit. 'You are not grown up'.)

CHAPTER 61. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE PATTERNS[1].
(see above 26.4.2.-26.4.5.).

61.1. Questions without particle.

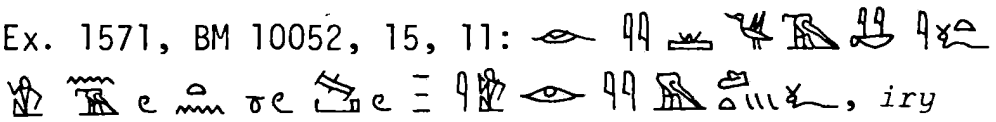
61.1.1. A negative third future.

Ex. 1570, BM 10052, 1, 20-21: 

bn iw.i (r) smty.f r di.t dmi n.f t3-sb3(y.t) irm.i, Shall I not inform against(?) him in order to make the punishment fall on him as well as on me?

See also 62.4.4.

61.1.2. A perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 1571, BM 10052, 15, 11:  , *iry p3y.k-it n3-wtn.w i.iry m dr.t.f*, Did your father make those borings that were made with his own hand?

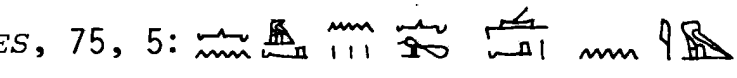
61.1.3. An independent pronoun + the stative of an adjective.

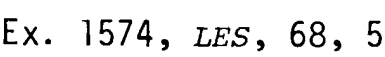
Ex. 1572, *LES*, 66, 8-9: , *mk ntk m3'.tw*, Look, are you honest?

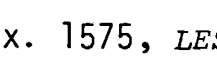
61.2. Questions introduced by , *(i)n*.

61.2.1. The morphology of *in*.

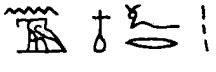
in is sometimes written as , *nn*. The following combinations indicate that this *nn* is not the negative element.

Ex. 1573, *LES*, 75, 5:  , *(i)n mn w' im.tn* ...., Is there no one among you ....

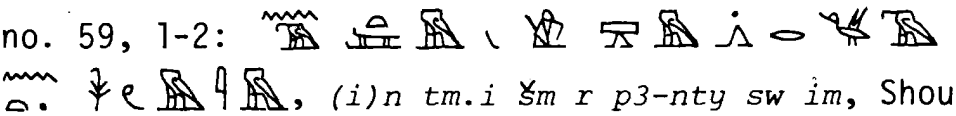
Ex. 1574, *LES*, 68, 5:  , *(i)n wn i.iri.f di.t* ...., Would he have caused ....?

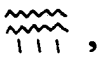
Ex. 1575, *LES*, 72, 2:  , *ḫr (i)n bn*, And if .... not .... .

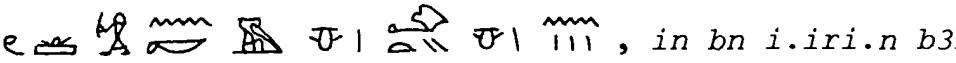
It is also sometimes written , *n3*.

Ex. 1576, *Ostr. IFAO* 878 = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 59, no. 64, 1:  , *(i)n nfr.w ḥmt 20*, Are the 20 (deben) of copper good?

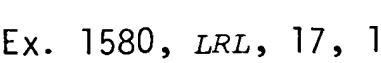
Ex. 1577, *Ostr. IFAO* 1007 = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 59, no. 65, 1: , *(i)n i.iri.f r t3y*, Is it against it that he acted (or 'will act')?

Ex. 1578, *Ostr. IFAO* 851 = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 57, no. 59, 1-2:  , *(i)n tm.i šm r p3-nty sw im*, Should I not go to the place where he is?

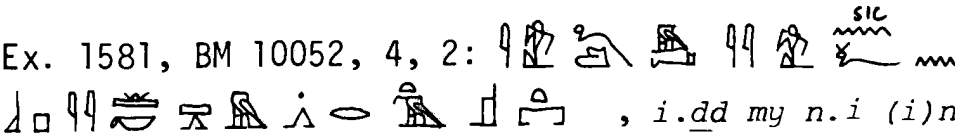
It is also sometimes written  , *inn*.

Ex. 1579, *LRL*, 46, 16:  , *in bn i.iri.n b3k n.k m ib ḥ3ty.n*, Don't we work for you with all our heart (lit. 'the middle of our heart').

61.2.2. *in* preceding the perfect active *stp.f*.

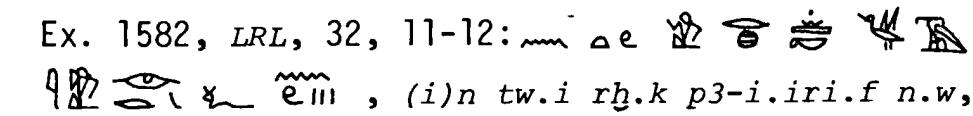
Ex. 1580, *LRL*, 17, 14:  , *(i)n pḥ.w r.k i.n.k*, "Have they reached you?" so you asked.

61.2.3. *in* preceding the *bwpw.f stp.f*.

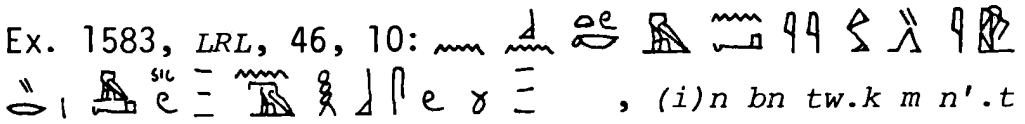
Ex. 1581, BM 10052, 4, 2: 

, *i.dd my n.i (i)n bwpw.k šm r t3-s.t*, Now tell me whether you went to the place.

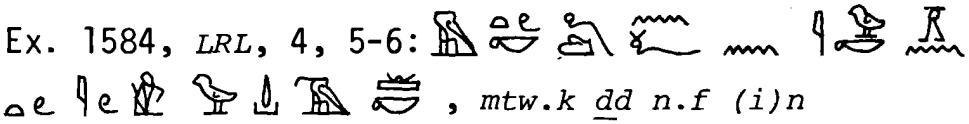
61.2.4. *in* preceding an affirmative first present.

Ex. 1582, *LRL*, 32, 11-12:  , *(i)n tw.i rḫ.k p3-i.iri.f n.w*, Do I know what he has done with them?

61.2.5. *in* preceding a negative first present pattern.

Ex. 1583, *LRL*, 46, 10:  , *(i)n bn tw.k m n'.t irm n3-ḫbs.w*, Are you not going with the clothes?

61.2.6. *in* preceding a third future pattern.

Ex. 1584, *LRL*, 4, 5-6:  , *mtw.k dd n.f (i)n iw.k (r) in.t(.i) iw.i wd3.k(wi)*, And you will ask him (Amon), "Will you bring him (lit. 'me) back safe?"

61.2.7. *in* preceding an emphatic formation.

(See above Ex. 1078.)

61.2.8. *in* preceding a negative non-initial prospective *stp.f*.

(See above Ex. 1578.)

Ex. 1585, *Ostr. IFAO* 854 = *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 52, no. 43, 1-2: , *(i)n tm(.i) wbd.f*, Should I not burn it?

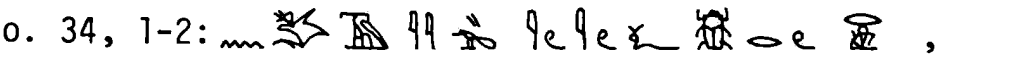
61.2.9. *in* preceding *wn m-di.i ø-A* and *mn m-di.i ø-A*.

See Exx. 1091, 1097, 1102, and 1120.

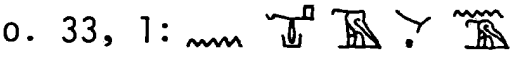
61.2.10. *in* preceding a nominal sentence pattern.

See above Ex. 1481.

61.2.11. *in* preceding a cleft sentence.

Ex. 1586, *Ostr. IFAO* 694 = *BIFAO* 41 (1942), p. 18, no. 34, 1-2:  , *(i)n t3y iw iw.f (r) ḫpr r.i*, Will I be robbed? (Lit. 'Is it stealing that will happen against me?')

61.2.12. *in* preceding an adjectival sentence pattern.

Ex. 1587, *Ostr. IFAO* 681 = *BIFAO* 41 (1942), p. 18, no. 33, 1:  , *(i)n 'd3 n3-dd*///, Is it false, what (I) said?

61.3. The *in* .... *in* .... construction.

Ex. 1588, *LRL*, 15, 6-7: , *(i)n sw m-di.k (i)n 3q p3-i.iri.f*, Do you have it, or has it been destroyed?

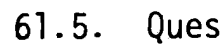
Ex. 1589, *LRL*, 73, 7: , *(i)n ini.k sw (i)n bwpwy.k in(.t.f)*, Did you bring it or did you not?

Ex. 1590, *LES*, 62, 11: , *(i)n dns.k (i)n mnḫ.k*, Are you bad tempered, or are you good tempered?

61.4. Conclusion.

The particle *in* can precede initial main clauses and non-initial non-prepositional subordinate clauses. It can not precede prepositional subordinate clauses and non-initial main clauses.

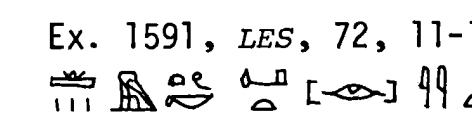
The construction *in* .... *in* .... indicates very strongly that *in* is used when the speaker is in doubt (i.e. when he does not know whether the answer is affirmative or negative), and hence is an inquiring construction.

61.5. Questions introduced by  (,), *ist* and , *is*.

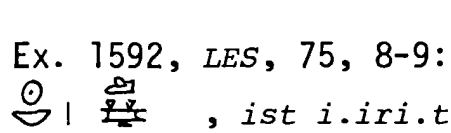
61.5.1. Verbal formations introduced by *ist*.

a). The *bw iri.f stp.f* formation.

(See above Ex. 882.)

Ex. 1591, *LES*, 72, 11-12:  ,
ist bw iri.k rš.t mtw.k di.t iri.tw n.k w'-wḏ,
Shouldn't you (rather) be pleased and have a stela made for yourself?

b). The emphatic *i.iri.f ir.t.f* formation.

Ex. 1592, *LES*, 75, 8-9:  , *ist i.iri.tw ir.t grg r' nb dy*, Is even here wrong done every day?

c). The first present.

See above Ex. 841.

A negative verbal formation preceded by *in* or *ist* constitutes an affirmative sentence pattern.

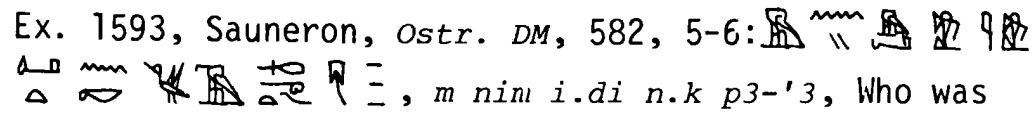
61.5.2. Conclusions.

a). *ist* is used when a strong amazement is expressed on the part of the speaker.

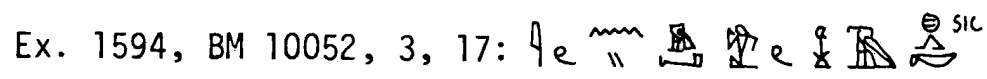
b). *ist* precedes only initial main clauses.

61.6. Interrogative sentences containing *nim*, 'who?"

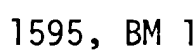
61.6.1. A participial statement introduced by *m*.

Ex. 1593, Sauneron, *Ostr. DM*, 582, 5-6:  , *m nim i.di n.k p3-'3*, Who was it who gave you the donkey?

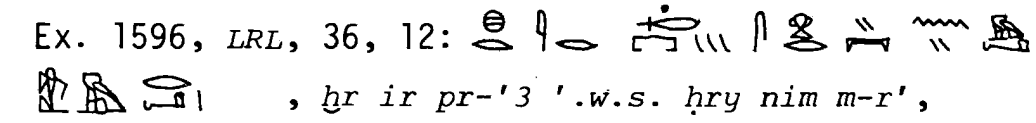
In the following Ex. the pronominal suffix *.k* is an error for *tw.k*:

Ex. 1594, BM 10052, 3, 17:  , *iw nim wḫ3 (tw).k*, And who is it who looks for you?

61.6.2. An *A.ø* nominal sentence patterns.

Ex. 1595, BM 10052, 14, 14:  , *nim nim*, Who (and) who (were thus)?

The *A.ø* pattern after a frontal extraposition.

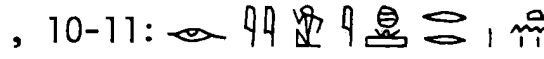
Ex. 1596, *LRL*, 36, 12:  , *ḫr ir pr-'3 '.w.s. ḥry nim m-r'*, And as for Pharoah, whose master (is he) still?

61.7. Interrogative sentence patterns containing the interrogative particle *iḫ*, 'what?'

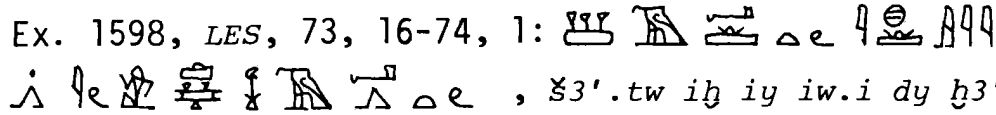
61.7.1. Verbal formations containing the interrogative particle *iḫ*.

a). *iḫ* as the direct object of third future formation. See above Ex. 84.

b). *iḫ* as the direct object of the perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 1597, *LRL*, 1, 10-11:  , *iri.i iḫ r.tn*, What have I done to you?

c). *iḫ* as the subject of a *š3'.tw* formation.

Ex. 1598, *LES*, 73, 16-74, 1:  , *š3'.tw iḫ iy iw.i dy ḫ3'.tw*, How long am I to be left here? (Lit. 'Until what has

come am I to be left here?')

d). *iḫ* as part of a dative expression.

See above Ex. 82.

61.7.2. A bimembral nominal sentence pattern.

See above Ex. 49.

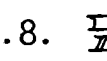
61.7.3. A nominal cleft sentence.

Ex. 1599, Mayer A, 9, 11: , *iḫ p3-ini.tn im*, What did you bring away from there?

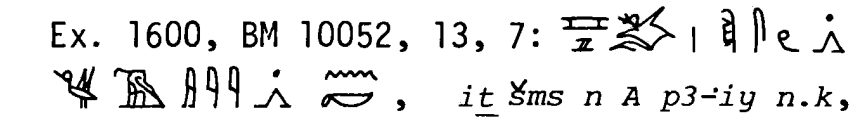
See also Ex. 1300.

61.7.4. Conclusion.

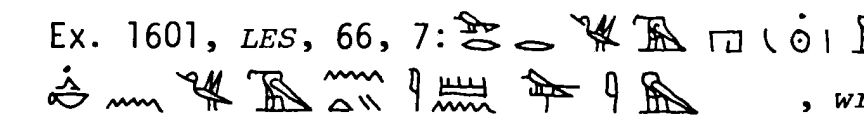
In the framework of the nominal sentence patterns, *iḫ* fills the first position, and is always the predicate.

61.8.  , *it*, 'which?'

it occurs in a nominal cleft sentence.

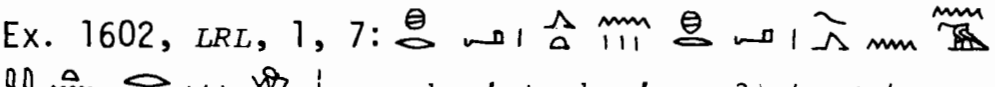
Ex. 1600, BM 10052, 13, 7:  , *it šms n A p3-iy n.k*, Which of A's messengers was it who came to you?

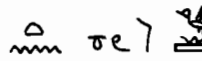
61.9. , *wr*, 'how much?'

Ex. 1601, *LES*, 66, 7:  , *wr r p3-hrw m-dr iw.k m p3-nty imn im*, How long is it since you came from the place where Amon is?

wr is a predicative adjective.

61.10. , *ḫr*, 'how?'

Ex. 1602, *LRL*, 1, 7:  , *ḫr '.tn ḫr ' n n3y.tn-rmṯ*, How are you (lit. 'your condition')? How are your people?

61.11.  , *ṯnw*, 'where?'

See above 8.8.1.

61.12. Bibliography and references.

1. Erman, *NAG*, 734-746.

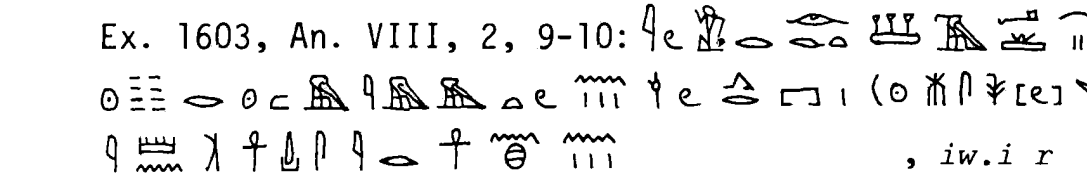
CHAPTER 62. CLAUSES OF CONDITION[1].

62.1. Classification.

There is no clear demarcation line in Late Egyptian between clauses of time and clauses of condition, and virtual clauses of this type in particular often admit of an interpretation both as if-clauses and when-clauses. That the clause of condition usually precedes the main clause is only natural. Virtual clauses of condition are rather literary, and clearly a continuation of Middle Egyptian usage.

62.2. The position of the clause of condition.

Since the fulfilment of the condition precedes the result, it is quite in agreement with logic, if the clause of condition (protasis) normally stands before the main clause (apodosis). Exceptions are very rare.

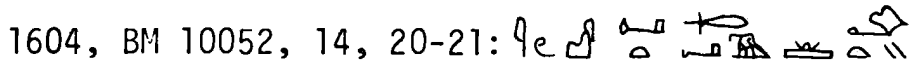
Ex. 1603, An. VIII, 2, 9-10: 

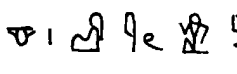
iw.i r ir.t ꜣ3'(-m) 3bd 2 3ḫ.t sw 8 r sw 10 im mtw.n wd r pr-(r'-ms-sw mry-imn) '.w.s. ir 'nḫ.n, I shall stay there (i.e. in Memphis) from the eighth to the tenth of the second month of the innundation season, and we shall leave then for Pi-Ra'messe, (that is) if we are alive. (19th. Dynasty.)

Here *ir 'nḫ.n* is an afterthought.

62.3. Virtual clauses of condition.

Virtual clauses of condition are rare.

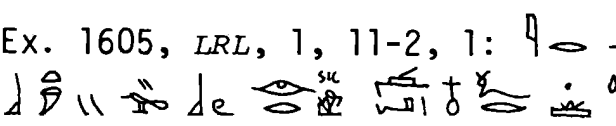
Ex. 1604, BM 10052, 14, 20-21: 

 , *iw.t (r) di.t '3 ḥ3ty.t iw.i (r) pr.t iw.i wḏ3.tw*, If you keep a stout heart, I shall get off safe.

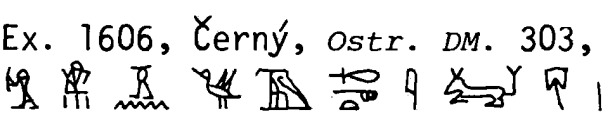
62.4. Clauses of condition introduced by *ir*, 'if'.

These are found more frequently in literary than non-literary texts.

62.4.1. *ir* is followed by the perfect active *stp.f*.

Ex. 1605, *LRL*, 1, 11-2, 1:  , *ir iry.i ḥḥ n bt3 bw iri w'-nfr di.t smḏ.w*, If I had committed a million wrongs, does not one good (deed) erase them?

62.4.2. *ir* is followed by the *wn* of existence.

Ex. 1606, Černý, *Ostr. DM.* 303, 3:  , *ir wn b3k ini p3-'3*, If there is (some) work, bring the donkey.

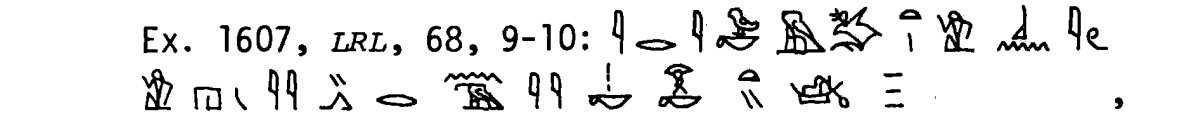
ir, 'if', can be preceded by the particle , *ḫr*, best translated 'and'. Careful distinction has then to be made between *ḫr ir*, 'and if' and *ḫr ir*, 'when'. Neither *ir*, 'if' nor *ḫr ir*, 'and if' can be followed by the first present, while with *ḫr ir*, 'when', the first present is the only possibility, and *ḫr* is then never absent.

62.4.3. *ir* is followed by the *iw.f (ḥr) stp.f* of the future.

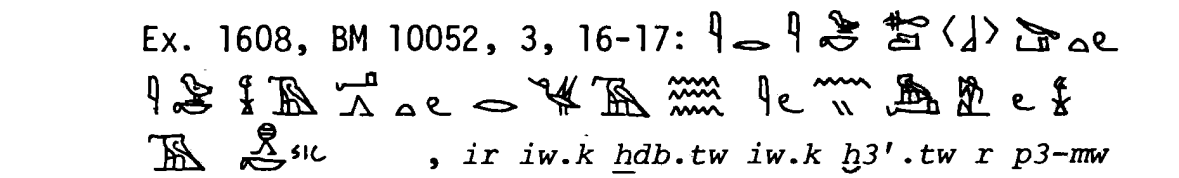
See above Exx. 1187, 1188 and 1190.

An isolated example of a clause of condition joined to the main clause by means of needs further confirmation (see above Ex. 702).

62.4.4. *ir* is followed by *iw.f* + adverbial predicate.

Ex. 1607, *LRL*, 68, 9-10:  , *ir iw.k m t3ty bn iw.i (r) h3.t r n3y.k-skty.w*, If you are vizier, shall I not go down to your boats?

62.4.5. *ir* is followed by *iw.f* + a stative.

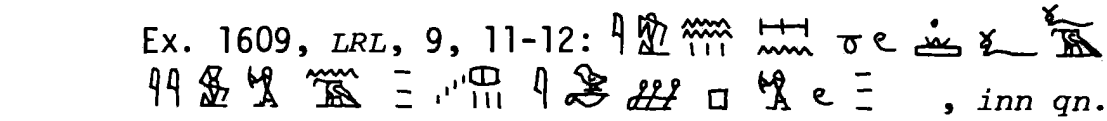
Ex. 1608, BM 10052, 3, 16-17:  , *ir iw.k ḥdb.tw iw.k ḫ3'.tw r p3-mw iw nim wḫ3 (tw).k*, If you are killed and thrown into the water who will look for you?

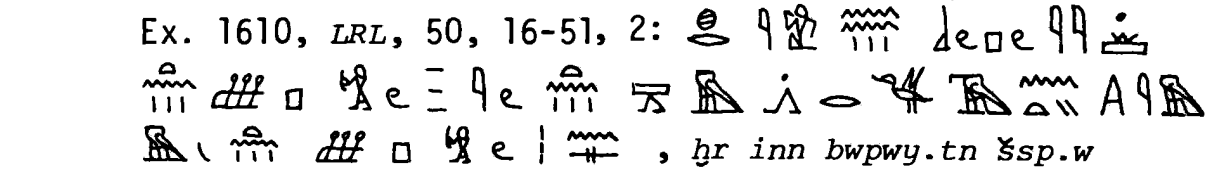
62.5. Clauses of condition introduced by *inn*.

62.5.1. Classification.

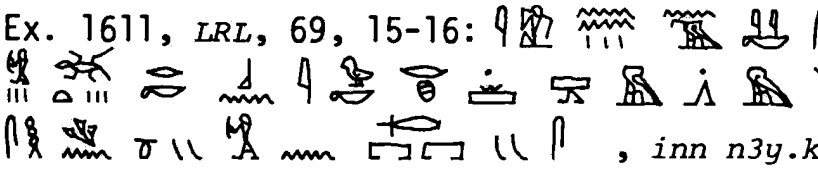
The proper Late Egyptian conditional particle, although hardly ever found in literary texts, is , *inn*, 'if'.

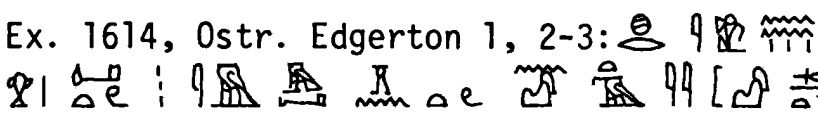
62.5.2. *inn* with the perfect active *stp.f* or *bwpw.f stp.f*.

Ex. 1609, *LRL*, 9, 11-12:  , *inn qn.f f3.t n3-it iw.k (r) šsp.w*, If he has finished gathering in the barley, you shall receive it.

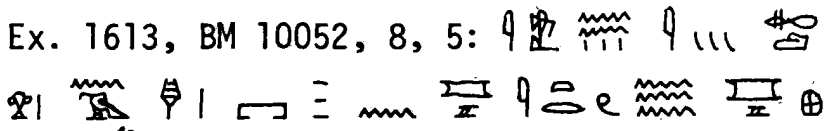
Ex. 1610, *LRL*, 50, 16-51, 2:  , *ḫr inn bwpwy.tn šsp.w iw.tn (r) šm r p3-nty A im mtw.tn šsp.w n.s*, And if you have not received them, you shall go to the place where A is and shall receive them from her.

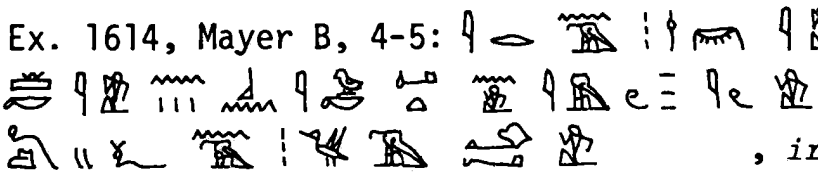
62.5.3. *inn* with the first present.

Ex. 1611, *LRL*, 69, 15-16:  *inn n3y.k-sḫn.w 'ȝ3 r.k bn iw.k (r) rḫ šm m p3y-sḫn n pr-'3 '.w.s.*, If your orders are too many for you, you will not be able to abandon (lit. 'go away from') this order from Pharoah, l.p.h..

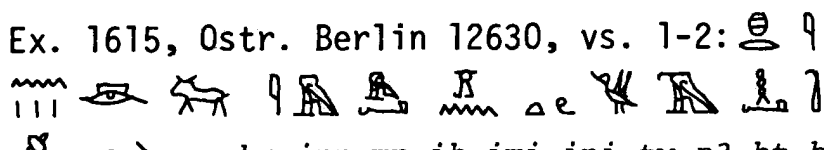
Ex. 1614, Ostr. Edgerton 1, 2-3:  *ḫr inn bn tw.k ḫr di.t.w imi ini.tw n.i t3y.i-'3.t*, And if you do not give them, let my she-ass be returned to me.

62.5.4. *inn* with the affirmative and negative third future.

Ex. 1613, BM 10052, 8, 5:  *inn iw.tw (r) ḥdb.i ḫr n3-(mi)ḥ'.wt n iwitrw ntw n3-wn.i im*, Am I to be put to death on account of the tombs of Gebelen, becuase those are the ones in which I was.

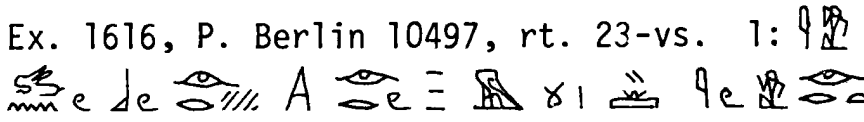
Ex. 1614, Mayer B, 4-5:  *ir n3-ḥḏ i.gmi.k inn bn iw.k (r) di.t n.i im.w iw.i (r) šm r ḏd.f (n) n3-(n) p3-ḥ3ty-'*, As for the silver which you found, if you will not give me (any) of it, I will go and tell of it to the men of the mayor.

62.5.5. *inn* with the *wn* or *mn* of existence.

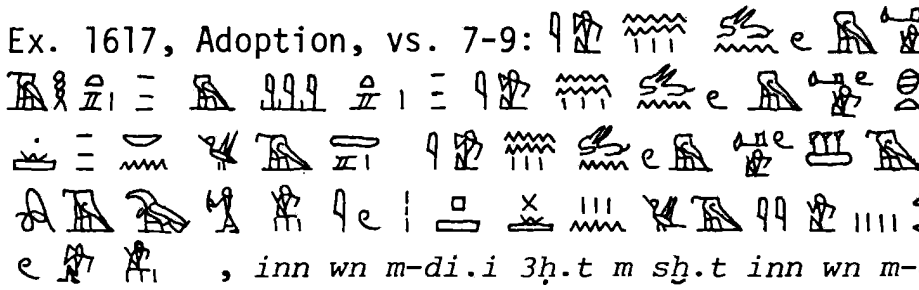
Ex. 1615, Ostr. Berlin 12630, vs. 1-2:  *ḫr inn mn iḥ imi ini.tw p3-ḥt ḥn' p3-w.t*, ,

And if there is no ox, let the bed and the coffin be returned.

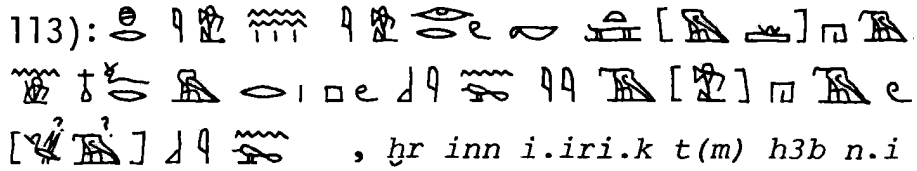
62.5.6. *inn* with *wn* followed by *bw iri.f stp.f*.

Ex. 1616, P. Berlin 10497, rt. 23-vs. 1:  , *inn wn bw iri A ir.t.w m sš iw.i (r) ir.t.w (m) sš*, If A can not do them well, I shall do them well.

62.5.7. A succession of *inn* with *wn m-di.f ø-A*.

Ex. 1617, Adoption, vs. 7-9:  , *inn wn m-di.i 3ḫ.t m sḫ.t inn wn m-di.i ḫ.t nb n p3-t3 inn wn m-di šwty.w iw.w (r) pš.w n p3y.i-4 hrd.w*, If I have fields in the country, if I have anything in the world, if I have merchandise, they shall be divided among (lit. 'as parts to') my four children.

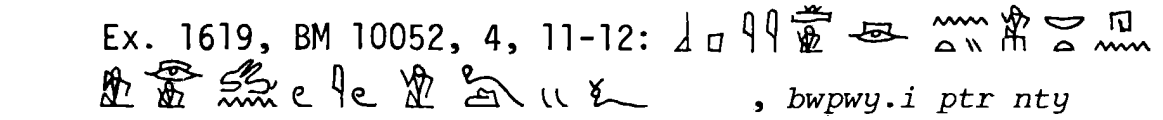
62.5.8. *inn* with the emphatic *i.iri.f stp.f* formation.

Ex. 1618, P. DM. 4, rt. 8-10 (= Černý MSS, Notebook 113):  , *ḫr inn i.iri.k t(m) h3b n.i nfr m r-pw bin y3 hrw (p3-)bin*, If you do not write to me either good or bad, it really means a bad time.

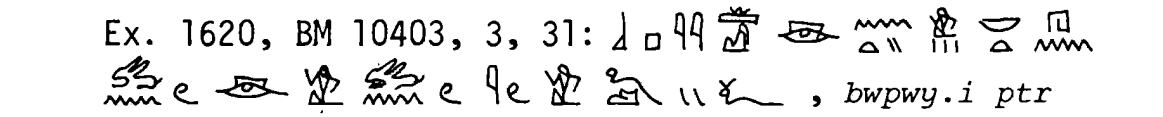
62.6. Clauses of unfulfilled condition.

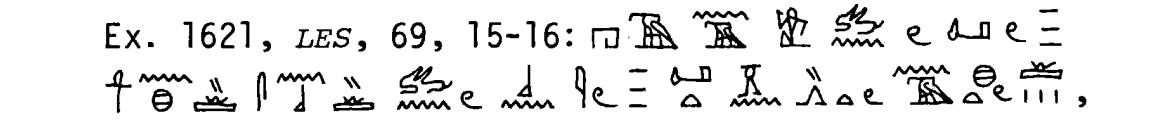
62.6.1. Introduced by *hn*.

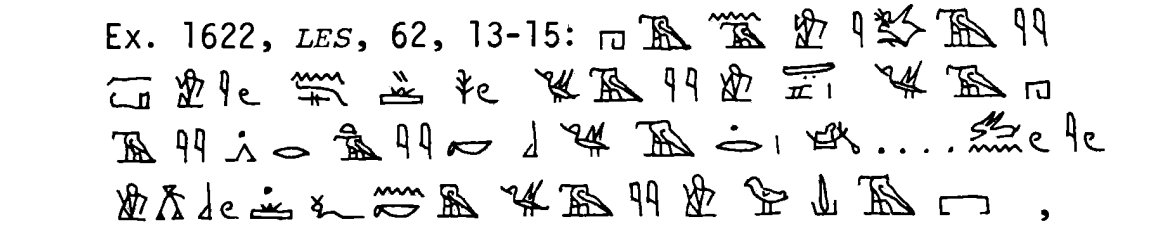
Clauses of unfulfilled condition can be introduced by *hn*. This , *hn*, is followed by *stp.f*, while the apodosis contains *wn + iw.f (r) stp.f* or *bn iw.f (r) stp.f*.

Ex. 1619, BM 10052, 4, 11-12:  , *bwpwy.i ptr nty nb hn ptr.i wn iw.i (r) dd.f*, (He said,) "I saw no one at all. If I had seen, I would tell".

Sometimes *wn* intervenes between *hn* and the following *stp.f*.

Ex. 1620, BM 10403, 3, 31:  , *bwpwy.i ptr nty nb hn wn ptr.i wn iw.i (r) dd.f*, I saw no one at all. If I had seen, I would tell.

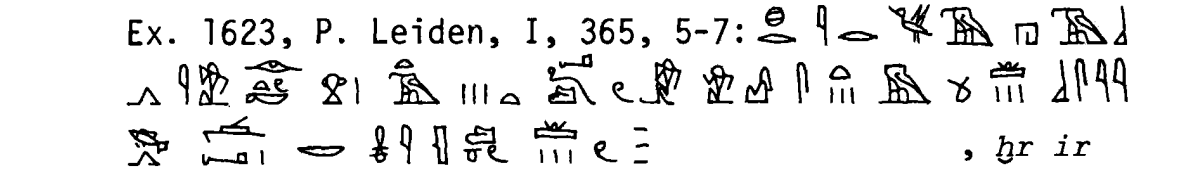
Ex. 1621, *LES*, 69, 15-16:  , *hn wn (m-)di.w 'nḫ snb wn bn iw.w (r) di.t ini.tw n3-ḫ.t*, If they had had life and health, they would not have sent these things.

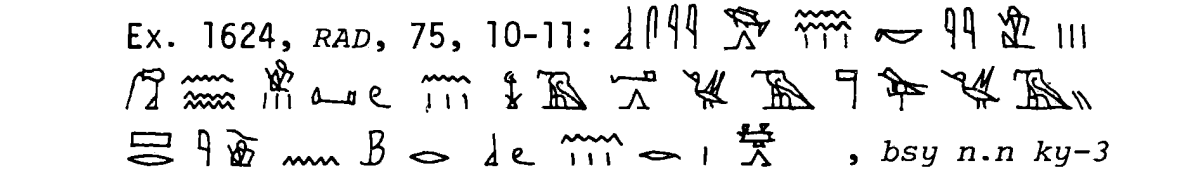
Ex. 1622, *LES*, 62, 13-15:  , *hn ø-it3y iw ny-sw p3y.i-t3 p3-h3y r t3y.k-br .... wn iw.i (r) db3.f n.k m p3y.i-wd3*, If it had been a thief belonging to my (own) country who went aboard your ship .... I would have repaid it to you out of my treasury.

See also Ex. 1451.

62.6.2. Introduced by *bsy*.

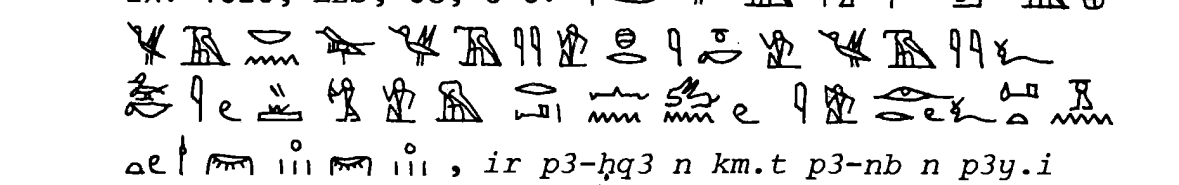
That *bsy* is not a particle, but a verb, is proved by cases where it is provided with a pronominal suffix as an actor expression.

Ex. 1623, P. Leiden, I, 365, 5-7:  *ḫr ir p3-h3b i.iri.k ḥr t3-3.t 'dd.w st m šs bsy w' nb mi-qd.w*, As for what you have written about the three girls, they are well. If only everyone were like them! (19th. Dynasty.)

Ex. 1624, *RAD*, 75, 10-11:  *bsy n.n ky-3 w'b di.n ḫ3' p3-ntr p3y šri n B r-bl*, If only we had another three *wēb*-priests, so that we might make the god dismiss this son of B.

62.6.3. Introduced by *ir*.

Isolated examples of a clause of unfulfilled condition introduced by , *ir* seem to occur[2] in

Ex. 1625, *LES*, 68, 3-5:  *ir p3-ḫq3 n km.t p3-nb n p3y.i ḫr ink p3y.f-b3k m r-' (i)n wn i.iri.f di.t ini.tw ḥḏ nbw*, If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of my possessions and I (were) also his servant, would he have sent silver and gold?

62.7. Patterns which occur as apodosis to a protasis introduced by *ir*:

i). *bw iri.f stp.f* (see Ex. 1605);
ii). a third future (see Ex. 1607);
iii). an imperative (see Ex. 1606);
iv). a participial statement (see Ex. 1608);
v). a bi-membral nominal sentence introduced by *ḫr* (see Ex. 1625).

62.8. Patterns which occur as apodosis to a protasis introduced by *inn*:

i). a first present introduced by *y3* (see Ex. 1618);
ii). a third future (see Ex. 1609);
iii). an imperative (see Ex. 1614);
iv). a cleft sentence (see Ex. 1613);

62.9. Patterns which occur as apodosisto a clause of unfulfilled condition:

i). *wn* + the third future (see Ex. 1619);
ii). an initial prospective *stp.f* (see Ex. 1624);
iii). a bi-membral nominal sentence (see Ex. 1625).

62.10. Bibliography and references.

1. *GG*, 216; Erman, *NAG*, 811-818.
2. See also Groll, *Non-verbal*, Ex. 281.

CHAPTER 63. THE SYNTACTIC POSITIONS OF THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL *IW*

63.1. Classification.

The syntactic positions of verbal formations preceded by the dependent *iw* can be classified as:

1. adverbial positions;

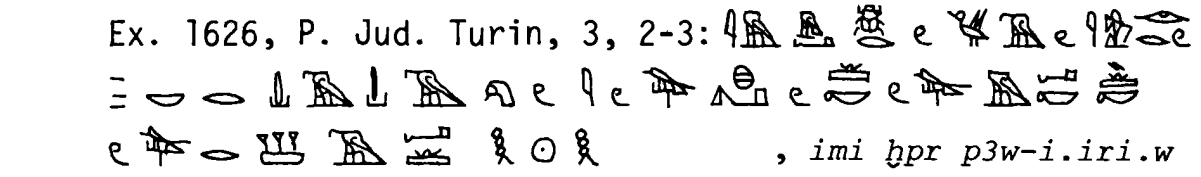
2. nominal positions (i.e. 'that'-clauses) and adjectival positions (i.e. 'who'- and 'whom'- clauses).

63.2. *iw* subordinate clauses in adverbial positions.

When dealing with *iw* subordinate clauses which occupy adverbial positions, one is bound to classify them by their semantic renderings.

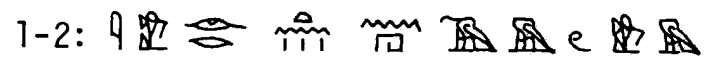
63.2.1. The 'when', 'while' connotation.

The usual English rendering of a *iw* subordinate clause is a 'when' or a 'while' clause.

Ex. 1626, P. Jud. Turin, 3, 2-3:  , *imi ḫpr p3w-i.iri.w nb r d3d3.w iw.i ḫwi.kwi mki.kwi r-š3' nḥḥ*, May the (consequences of) all that they have done fall upon their (own) heads, while I am secure and invulnerable for ever.

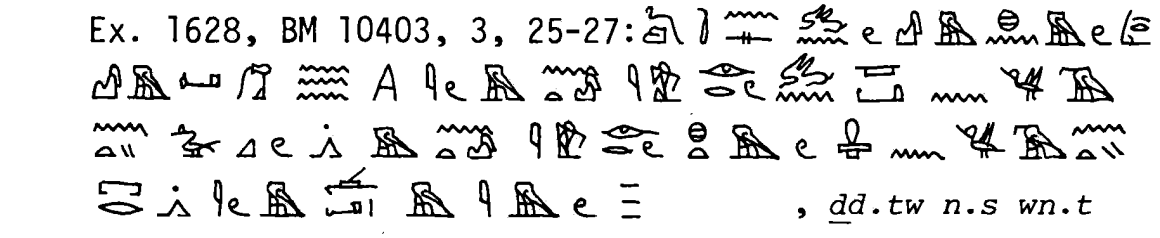
Certain other distinctive semantic nuances, however, are often implied in verbal formations preceded by the dependent *iw*, which occupy adverbial functions.

63.2.2. The 'since' connotation.

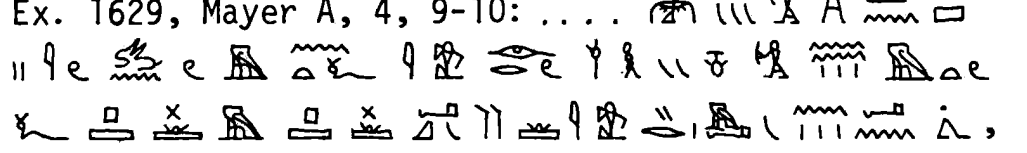
Ex. 1627, Abb, 6, 1-2: 

i.iri.tn nhm m r n t3y.i-'.t y3 iḫ iw ink p3-ḥ3ty-' dd smy n p3-ḥq3 '.w.s., You have rejoiced over me at the door of my house. What do you mean by it, since I am the prince who reports to the Ruler, l.p.h.?

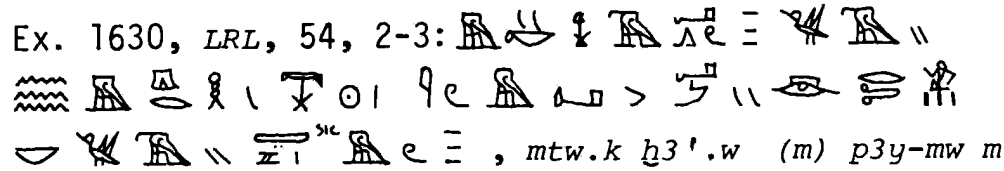
63.2.3. The 'so that' connotation.

Ex. 1628, BM 10403, 3, 25-27:  *dd.tw n.s wn.t m ḫnm m-di w'b A iw ntt i.iri wn n p3-nty (m) 'q ntt i.iri ḫtm n p3-nty pri iw(.t) m w' im.w*, One said to her, "You were a maidservant with the *wēb*-priest A, so that it was you who opened for those who went in, and closed for those who went out, being as one of them(?)".

63.2.4. The 'for' connotation.

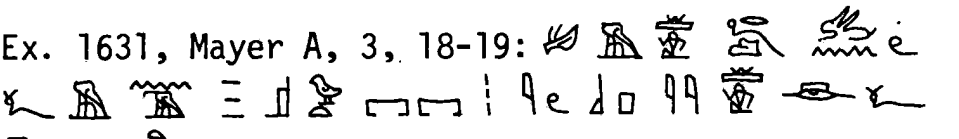
Ex. 1629, Mayer A, 4, 9-10: ....  .... *nbwty A dbn 2 iw wn ntf i.iri wdḫ n.n mtw.f pš m pš 'q3 irm.n 'n*, ... the gold-worker A (took) two *deben*, for it was he who used to melt (it) down for us, and then divided in fair division with us.

62.2.5. The 'and' connotation.

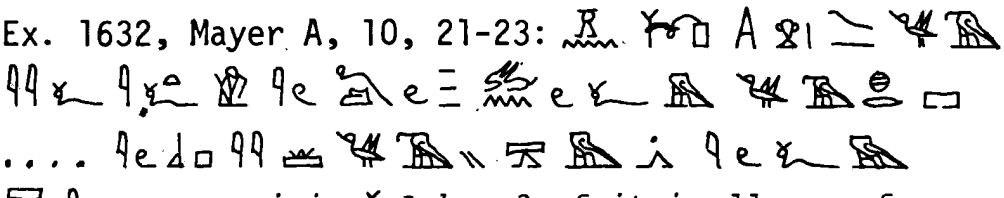
Ex. 1630, *LRL*, 54, 2-3:  *mtw.k ḫ3'.w (m) p3y-mw m*

grḫ iw m di 'm3 rmṯ nb p3y.t3 (i)m.w, And you shall throw them in the (lit. 'this') water at night, and do not let anybody know about it.

63.2.6. The 'but' connotation.

Ex. 1631, Mayer A, 3, 18-19:  , *sḏm.i r-ḏd wn.f m n3-s.wt iw bwpwy.i ptr.f m ir.t.i*, I heard that he was in the places, but I did not see him myself (lit. 'with my eye').

63.2.7. The 'although' connotation.

Ex. 1632, Mayer A, 10, 21-23:  , *ini sš A ḫr p3y.f-it iw ḏd.w wn.f m p3-ḥr .... iw bwpwy p3y šm iw.f m šri*, The scribe A was brought on account of his father, they having said that he was in 'The Tomb' ...., although this man (i.e. A) did not go, he being a child.

63.2.8. *iw* + the perfect active *stp.f*.

When preceded by the dependent *iw*, and filling adverbial positions, the tense indication of certain verbal formations is changed.

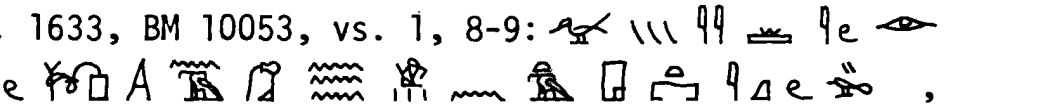
When the perfect active *stp.f* is preceded by the dependent *iw* it indicates the pluperfect tense.[1]. However, there are some exceptions to this rule.

a). *iw ini.f* in the complex *iw.f (ḫr) iy .... iw ini.f* indicates the relative present tense.

b). *iw t3i.f* in the complex *iw.f (ḥr) šm .... iw t3i.f* indicates the relative present tense.

63.3. The dependent *iw* in nominal and adjectival positions.

iw stp.f, when functioning either as a virtual relative clause (see Ex. 1443) or a virtual noun-clause indicates the past, and not the relative past tense.

Ex. 1633, BM 10053, vs. 1, 8-9:  ,
gmy iw iry sš A n3-w'b.w n t3-ḥw.t iqw, It was found that the scribe A and the priests of 'The Temple' had committed damage(?).

Conclusion: Since the combination with *iw* effects the time indication of *iw* subordinate clauses filling adverbial positions, one is entitled to deal with these clauses according to their syntactic positions.

63.4. The dependent *iw* + the third future (see above 17.4.1.).

Note that *iw iw.f (r) stp.f* refers to the future-perfect tense.

Note that when *iw iw.f (r) stp.f* acts as a virtual relative clause it indicates the future tense and not the relative future.

63.5. Bibliography and references.

1. De Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 159; Černý, *Polotsky Studies*, 82; Wente, *JNES* 21 (1962), 306, n. 19; and Groll, *JNES* 28 (1969), 184-191.

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